

**ADULT EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY  
DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF A UGANDAN NON-  
GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION**

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## Abstract

A number of studies have explored the relationship between adult education and community development. These often do not provide in-depth accounts of how such relationships emerge and develop. The case study of Emesco Development Foundation (EDF) was conducted to specifically interrogate this relationship from the contextual setting of a single NGO in Uganda. The interest was on how adult education emerged, is understood and practiced by novice adult educators in community development work. EDF is a rural-based, indigenous NGO located in Kibaale district, mid-western Uganda.

The study, a qualitative investigation, was framed by the educational theories of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) and located within the critical theory paradigm. The two theories, which provide radical perspectives of adult education, resonate well with the participatory approaches to community development that have taken centre stage in the NGO world and are reminiscent of practices in EDF. Youngman's (2000) framework of political economy of adult education and development was also adopted, later during the study, to explain the understandings and practices of adult education in EDF within the socioeconomic, political and global context. As is the norm with case study design, a range of methods were used to generate data and these included interviews, focus group discussions, document review, observations and photovoice.

Findings indicate that EDF's philosophy, policies and practices on adult education have been characterised by change, power dynamics, ideological contradictions and compromises. EDF's initial focus of social enterprise as a driver of community development has over time been replaced by a focus on '*giving knowledge and skills*' or providing adult education. Consequently, most actors have had to re-negotiate identities of adult educator in addition to their professional identities. In a bid to harmonise the multiple forces and interests of various stakeholders, EDF has assumed the position of a '*power broker*' as a survival strategy.

The study noted that adult education as field of practice and discipline is broad, complex and dynamic. It therefore recommended that adult education unlike most professions should promote an inclusive culture in order to accommodate other professions and novice actors. The study further highlights a need for EDF to strengthen its income generation capacity to sustainably finance its projects and thus avoid having to compromise their valued ideology.

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**Bananuka Hannington Twine**

## **Dedication**

To my late dad, George William Rwanyakibungo, who did so much for us but left too soon to enjoy his sweat.

## Declaration of originality

I, Bananuka Hannington Twine, declare that:

- i. The research reported in this thesis, except where I have indicated otherwise, is my original work.
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As the candidate's Supervisor I agree/do not agree to the submission of this thesis

Signed:  \_\_\_\_\_

Dr Vaughn Mitchell John

## Abbreviations

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ACDF	Assistant Community Development Officer
ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AE	Adult Education
AL	Adult Learning
AMFIU	Association of Microfinance Institutions of Uganda
ANC	African National Congress
ANCEFA	Africa Network Campaign on Education for All
CA	Capability Approach
CBHCAU	Community Based Health Care Association of Uganda
CBO	Community Based Organization
CBWs	Community Based Workers
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CD	Community Development
CDF	Community Development Facilitators
CDWs	Community Development Workers
CHWs	Community Health Workers
CRPs	Community Resource Persons
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DVV	Deutscher Volkshochschul Verband (German Adult Education Association)
EAEA	European Adult Education Association
EDF	Emesco Development Foundation
EFA	Education for All
ESR	Education for Self Reliance
EU	European Union
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationists
FEMNET	African Women's Development and Communication Network
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GWP	Global Water Partnership

HD	Human Development
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HRDD	Human Rights, Democracy and Development
HS-D	Human-Scale Development
ICDP	Integrated Community Development Programme
ICEIDA	Icelandic International Development Agency
ICHP	Integrated Community Health Programme
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
KCHVA	Kibaale Community Health Volunteers Association
KCSON	Kibaale District Civil Society Organizations' Network
KDPU	Kibaale District Planning Unit
KKCR	Kibaale Kagadi Community Radio
LC	Local Council
LEAD	Leadership Education for Action and Development
LIIMCO	Local Initiatives for Integrated Control of Malaria
LLL	Lifelong Learning
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development
MoPSA	Ministry for the Public Service and Administration (South Africa)
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEMA	National Environmental Management Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NOGAMU	National Organic Agriculture Movement of Uganda
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NRMO	National Resistance Movement Organization
PAALAE	Pan African Association for Literacy and Adult Education

PAMOJA	PAMOJA Africa Reflect Network
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PI	Principal Investigator
R	Respondent
RDT	Rapid Diagnostic Test
REFLECT	Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques
Re-SCOPE	Regional Schools and Colleges Permaculture
SACCOS	Savings and Credit Co-operatives
SADC	Southern Africa Development Cooperation
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SATNET	Sustainable Agriculture Trainers Network
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendant
TOT	Training of Trainers
TV	Television
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UGAADEN	Uganda Adult Education Network
UGX	Uganda Shillings
UIL	UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCST	Uganda National Council for Science and Technology
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific Organization
URDT	Uganda Rural Development and Training Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar
UWASNET	Uganda Water and Sanitation NGO Network
VDC	Village Development Committee
VHC	Village Health Committee
WSC	Water Source Committee
WST	World-System Theory

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# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.1 Introduction

Uganda, like many other developing countries, is struggling to address issues relating to underdevelopment such as poverty, inadequate health care, high population growth and low agricultural output. Efforts to address such challenges have largely relied on mimicking development models that countries of the North followed (Joshi, 2005; Youngman, 2000). As a result, some development scholars criticise countries of the South for adopting policies from the North without much scrutiny (Chirot & Hall, 1982; Ferraro, 1996; Joshi, 2005; Matunhu, 2011; Youngman, 2000). Uganda has had a unique history since the end of colonialism in 1962. This study sought to examine the role of adult education in community development from the context of a rural-based Ugandan non-governmental organisation (NGO).

Although there is substantial literature on the importance of adult education in national development (EAEA, 2006; Gaolathe, 2004; PAMOJA, FEMNET, ANCEFA, & PAALAE, 2008; Schugurensky & Myers, 2001; Tembo, 2004; UIL, 2009), this has not been supported through policy formulation and government commitment in Uganda (MoGLSD, 2008; Okech, 2004; Openjuru, 2004). Adult education remains at the periphery among development players and where it is practiced it is misunderstood or given lukewarm attention (Gaolathe, 2004; Kane, 2008; Openjuru, 2004). The government of Uganda still lacks a policy on adult education and lifelong learning but also has not committed itself to substantially streamlining or even funding adult education programmes as part of its development agenda (see Chapter 5). Adult education efforts have been more on an ad hoc arrangement by several players including civil society organizations, government departments and international bodies.

Since the end of World War II, NGOs have become indispensable actors in community development work (Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007; Literacy-Watch, 2000; Makuwira, 2004; Mercer, 2002; Michael, 2002; Muhumuza, 2005; Omofonmwan & Odia, 2009; Shivji, 2004;

Werker & Ahmed, 2008). NGOs have therefore been described as the third sector in development, after government and the market (Muhumuza, 2005). Many NGOs involved in community development work engage in adult education, though they often do not state this explicitly (Openjuru, 2004).

This study therefore sought to understand the role which adult education plays in community development and how it is practiced, but also to explore the intricate relationship between the two, based on a case study of Emesco Development Foundation (EDF). The interest here is to interrogate how adult education emerges and gains recognition in an NGO with a major community development agenda. This chapter therefore provides an introduction to a case study of EDF, the objectives and rationale for the study. The chapter concludes with an outline of how the thesis is structured.

## **1.2 Focus and purpose of the study**

The focus of this study was to investigate the role of adult education (AE) in community development (CD) through a case study of Emesco Development Foundation (EDF), a rural-based Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in Uganda, but also to interrogate the relationship between the two. Specific interest relates to how adult education emerged, is understood and practiced by novice adult educators in community development work. The case study examined the first ten years of EDF and also limited itself to Buyanja County, where EDF initially operated.

Generally, this study was borne out of a desire to understand the role that adult education plays in community development. It also has a special interest in establishing the type of relationship and how this relationship comes about. It ought to be noted that the majority of NGOs in Uganda broadly describe their work as community development (Barr, Fafchamps, & Owens, 2004). As much as adult education does not feature in most of NGOs' vision and mission statements, it dominates their programmes and work. The concept and use of adult education in NGOs' work

comes strongly in awareness-raising and advocacy functions. The study was therefore intended to trace the emergence, development and practices of adult education in EDF.

The study further sought to interrogate the notion of community development workers (CDWs) in EDF as novice adult educators, and whether their training reinforces EDF's belief in the role of adult education in the broader community development agenda. CDWs are community members who volunteer to act as leaders and agents of change within the community (see Chapter 8). Currently, adult education delivery on the global stage has taken on a professional face thereby re-defining the qualification of actors (Youngman, 2005). This study, therefore, explored CDWs' understanding of their role as adult educators.

This study also sought to generate awareness among NGOs in Uganda about their functions as adult educators. NGOs hardly acknowledge this role in their missions and visions (Openjuru, 2004). Failure to identify themselves with adult education practices may result in ill-defined training and improper documentation of efforts and contribution.

### **1.3 A brief description of Emesco Development Foundation (EDF)**

#### **1.3.1 EDF and what it stands for**

EDF is based in Kibaale District, Mid-Western Uganda. Uganda is one of the five East African countries, together with Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. The context of EDF can better be understood from the environment in which it operates, that is, local, national and global perspectives (see Chapter 5). The local perspective is discussed with a focus on Kibaale, while the Ugandan context represents the national perspective and the international agenda rounds up the discussion. EDF describes itself as a pro-poor development organization, as stated in their mission below:

EDF exists to efficiently and effectively provide, support, promote and implement integrated community development interventions that enhance the knowledge, skills and rights of the poor communities of Kibaale District to sustainably utilize the available

resources, services and technologies to better their socio-economic status (EDF, 2010b, p. 5).

**Figure 1: The logo of EDF**



**Source:** Website of EDF, [www.emesco.org.ug](http://www.emesco.org.ug)

EDF is an indigenous NGO operating in Kibaale District, which is composed of three counties of Buyanja, Buyaga and Bugangaizi. EDF is commonly known among the local populace of Kibaale District as EMESCO. According to Mr. Emely Kugonza, the founder and current Executive Director of EDF, the term EMESCO stands for their core objectives (EDF, 2010a):

- i. **E**mpowering communities to sustain themselves
- ii. **M**eeting rural communities' needs in a sustainable way
- iii. **E**nable rural communities to live in harmony and in a healthy environment
- iv. **S**upporting rural communities for better livelihoods
- v. **C**ooperating with local, national and international development organizations and other stakeholders to bring about sustainable rural development
- vi. **O**ffering opportunities for development to rural communities

From the logo in Figure 1 above, it is evident that EDF's focus is multi-dimensional. EDF is focused on improving household incomes and improving the level of agriculture through modern farming and improved health and sanitation standards at family level. EDF believes that good

health is the foundation of community development, noting that a sick family cannot produce substantial output.

EDF started its activities in 2000 in the county of Buyanja. It has now extended to Buyaga County but plans are underway to extend its services to Bugangaizi County (EDF, 2010b, p. 14). EDF began with the philosophy to transform the poor in the area with the belief that local communities have the answers to their own problems. They wished to achieve their mission using an empowerment approach that taps into local knowledge and technologies. EDF's major goal was to join hands with government and other development actors in the fight against poverty. This was after the realization that more than 50% of the people in Kibaale were living below the poverty line, higher than the national average estimated at 35% (UNDP, 2009).

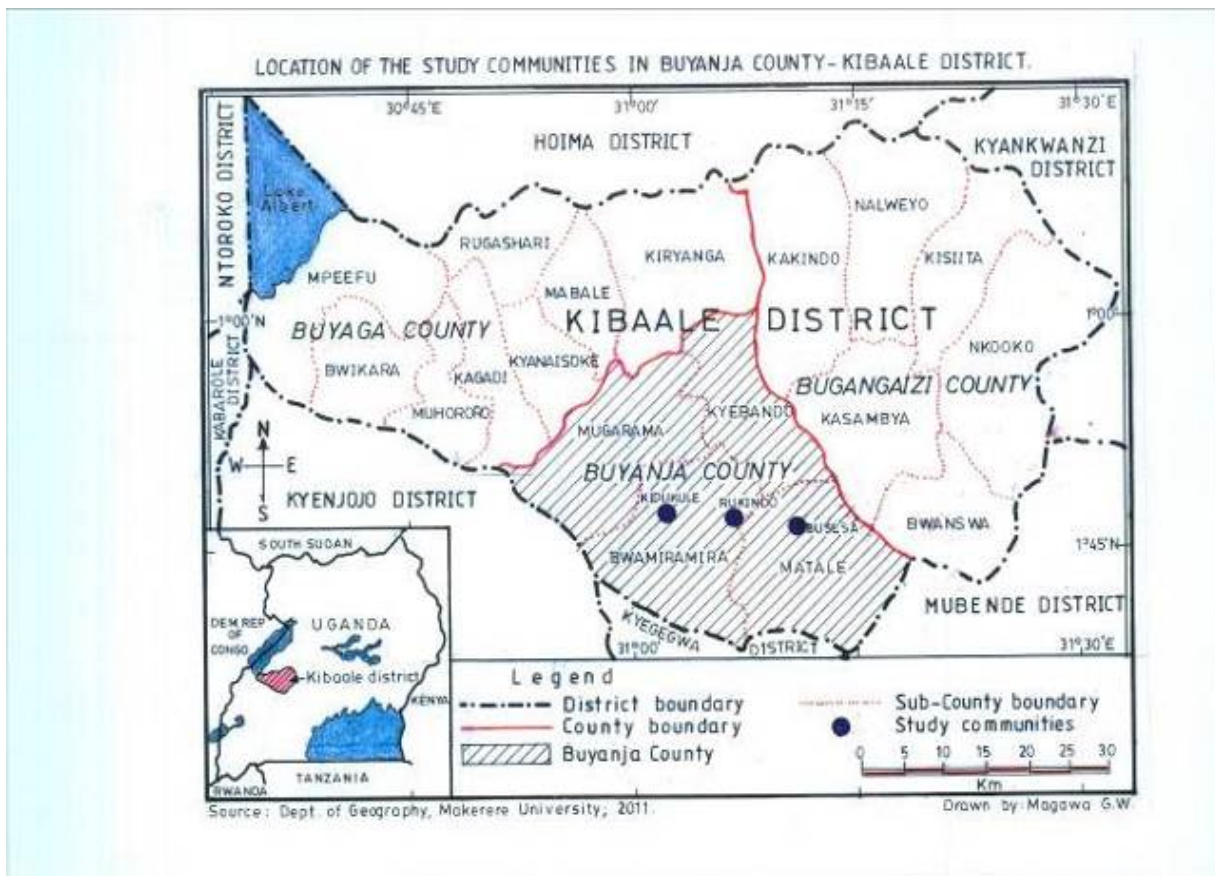
EDF operates on the principle of an integrated community development approach, that is, 'in a bid to promote holistic development, EDF endeavours to implement a number of related activities simultaneously in any given community, namely, Health, Agriculture, Water and Environment' (EMESCO, 2010, p. 1). This approach is based on its philosophy that for development to take place all sectors must move together. EDF believes that a family constantly suffering from malaria, for example, cannot realize improved agricultural output (see Chapter 5).

EDF runs three community development programmes for water and sanitation, sustainable agriculture and community health. For each of these programmes, EDF trains volunteer community members who are selected from the community for training and who then go back to act as agents of change in their communities. The training is done through a modular approach by EDF staff and other technical resource persons from government and other bodies. These volunteers are known as community development workers (CDWs) and include: community health workers (CHWs), community resource persons (CRPs) and traditional birth attendants (TBAs). Each community or village also has a village development committee (VDC), which coordinates the development efforts (see Chapter 8).

### 1.3.2 Kibaale District

Kibaale District was created in 1992, after being carved out of Hoima District, and measures an area of 4,246 square kilometres (Asimwe & Nolan, 2001). It is located in mid-western Uganda and borders the districts of Hoima in the north, Kiboga and Mubende in the east, Kyenjojo in the south and Bundibugyo and Kabarole in the west. The district lies on the Central Plateau of Uganda with an altitudinal range of about 680 – 1500 meters above sea level, with a tropical climate and annual rainfall varying between 1000mm to 1500 mm (Asimwe & Nolan, 2001). The map below shows the geographical location of Kibaale District.

**Figure 2: Map of Kibaale District showing study communities**



**Source: Geography Department, Makerere University (2011)**

Kibaale district is part of the current Bunyoro Kingdom and the historical and powerful pre-colonial Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom. Administratively, Kibaale is composed of 3 counties, 18 sub

counties, 1 Town Council, 82 parishes and 956 villages (KDPU, 2004; UBOS, 2008a). However, a number of changes are currently underway to split the district into 3 districts, that is, Kagadi comprising of Buyaga, Buyanja for the current county of Buyanja and Kakumiro for the current Bugangaizi County.

Population projections for Kibaale District for the year 2012 are estimated at 681,300, that is, 336,100 male and 345,200 females (UBOS, 2008a). The high population growth is attributed to a high fertility rate of 7.8 per woman and an influx of immigrants from mainly south-western Uganda in search of cultivable land (KDPU, 2004).

The conditions prevailing among the people whom EDF serves can best be described by a report from SIMAVI, one of the development partners from the Netherlands:

Buyanja County is the smallest of the three counties of Kibaale District that has a total population ... of 69,196 people [based on census 2002 projections]. The majority of this population lives below the poverty line and over 95% live in the rural area where their main occupation is peasant farming. Kibaale District has a high rate of infant mortality of 122/1000 live births and a high maternal mortality rate of 506/100,000 live births. Communicable diseases are the major causes of ill health and 80% of which are preventable ... Trained health workers handle only 11.3% of child deliveries while 68.4% are delivered by untrained personnel. The rest of women deliver by themselves without assistance. The doctor population ratio is 1:42,000; the (trained) Midwife population ratio is 1:12,000 and the Nurse population ratio is 1:11,800 (Simavi, 2009, p. online ).

Although the situation has not changed much, there are signs of general improvement among the population. Agricultural output is rising, general health conditions have improved and a number of families and schools can access clean water. The local population attributes these changes largely to EDF (see Chapters 5 to 8).

### 1.3.3 Uganda

Apart from EDF being influenced by the contextual situations in Kibaale, it also responds to the national context. Geographically, Uganda is located at latitude 4°12'N & 1°29'S and longitude 29°34'E & 35°0'W, and approximately at an altitude range of between 620 and 5,110 meters above sea level (UBOS, 2013). The total surface area measures 241,550.7 km<sup>2</sup> with 199,807 km<sup>2</sup> as the land cover, which is comparatively  $\frac{1}{6}$ <sup>th</sup> of South Africa and slightly smaller than the State of Oregon, USA. The temperature ranges between 16-31°C (UBOS, 2010a). Uganda's total population is estimated (based on 2002 population census) at 34.5 million by September 2013 (UBOS, 2013) but is further projected to exceed 50 million by 2050 (NPA, 2013; USAID, 2010).

Uganda still follows the British educational system, its former colonial master. Primary education takes 7 years, followed by 6 years for the secondary level and 3-5 years at a Bachelors Degree level. Literacy of the population aged 10 years and above stands at 73%, that is, 79% for male and 66% for female (UBOS, 2012). In Uganda, literacy is defined as the ability to read, write and numerate with understanding (MoGLSD, 2008).

At the national level, health facilities are generally lacking, an issue that compels NGOs such as EDF to intervene. Deliveries in health facilities were estimated at 34% for the year 2009, meaning that the majority of mothers deliver at home or with the assistance of TBAs, as is the case in Kibaale (UBOS, 2010a). Infant and under five mortality rates stand at 76 and 137 per 1,000 live births respectively, while maternal mortality is at 435 per 100,000 live births (Lirri, 2011). The adult population aged 15-49 with HIV/AIDS, for the years 2007/2009, was estimated at 4.3% for male and 6.6% for female, making an average of 5.5% (USAID, 2010). This is far better than many countries, especially in the sub-Saharan region. The low HIV/AIDS prevalence rates are attributed to Uganda's protracted campaign against the disease, spearheaded by the country's president, Yoweri Museveni, which started in the early 1990s.

Poverty levels in Uganda are still high, with about 31% of the population still living below the poverty line (New-Vision, 2010). This situation is worsened by a very high population growth. At a rate of 3.4% per annum, Uganda has the second highest population growth in the world next

to Niger (NPA, 2013; USAID, 2010). This translates to about 50% of the population being below 15 years of age and dependant on adults. According to Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) estimates, while agriculture employs about 70% of the population, it contributed only 21% to the Gross Domestic product for the year 2010 (UBOS, 2010a). The majority of the population, especially in rural areas, is engaged in subsistence agriculture with usually little remaining for sale. The biggest percentage of the population relies on wood and its products for energy, which poses a great threat to the environment.

The government has, from time to time, come up with several intervention policies and programmes to address the high poverty levels such as the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) and ‘*Boona Bagagawale*’, a Luganda phrase for “let everyone be rich”, with minimal success. The problem is rooted in the complex global macro and micro-economic structural bottlenecks. EDF believes that they have a duty to make a contribution towards national socio-economic improvement beginning with the district of Kibaale (EDF, 2010b).

### **1.3.4 Global context**

On the global scene, EDF works in collaboration with the Ugandan government towards the realization of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), particularly on: *Eradicating extreme poverty, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases and ensuring environmental sustainability* (EDF, 2010b). This work is a response to government’s reduced capacity to tackle these problems sustainably (Muhumuza, 2005). Many developed countries feel they can contribute to the development challenges in the developing world directly by working with NGOs (Barr, Fafchamps, & Owens, 2003; Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007; Makoba, 2002). This ensures their ability to bypass the state, which could perhaps divert the funds into different priorities than those of the donor.

## **1.4 Rationale for this study**

Most literature on the relationship between adult education and community development is from the West, is too generalized and usually falls short of explaining how this relationship emerges and develops (Hamilton, 1992). Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983) further stressed that community development was essentially an educational process. The relationship between adult education and community development is therefore not clearly defined, making this study important. This study used an NGO as a micro-level unit to understand this relationship, taking into account the socio-cultural, ideological and political factors that constrain, facilitate or even enhance the relationship.

In spite of the fact that the debates on the relationship between adult education and community development date as far back as the 1950s (Niederfrank & Cole, 1972; Spence & Wolff, 1953; Van-Der-Veen & Preece, 2005), writers from mainstream adult education still complain of neglect of adult education in the global development agendas (Gaolathe, 2004; Indabawa & Mporu, 2006; Mera, 2004; Openjuru, 2004). This negligence makes it necessary that more efforts should be directed at reaching a clear understanding of the role of adult education in community development. This study thus makes a contribution in respect of current debates on the issues of adult education for community development.

There is also a research gap on NGOs and the role they play in adult education delivery. As Openjuru (2004, p. 79) notes: 'NGOs make wonderful contributions to adult education. However, because they do not consider that they are doing adult education work, but rather that they are doing community development or social work, whatever they are doing is not credited to adult education'. John (2008) also notes that NGOs lack the capacity and time to undertake groundbreaking research that properly documents their activities. This study, therefore, was seen as a unique opportunity to explore and document the NGO contribution to adult education. It was also hoped that the study could create a basis for further scholarship in NGO work, particularly relating to improving the lives of poor communities.

Lastly, the interest in adult education as a community development strategy was borne out of my professional engagement, over a decade, in training of adult educators in university setting. The training was basically part of some requirements for completing a three-year Bachelor's degree programme. In contrast, EDF relies largely on community volunteers with just basic education. Prior to their involvement with EDF, they get a one month modular training and then dispatched to their communities to play multiple roles including adult education. Therefore there was an interest to question how they learn, cope and adapt to their new multiple roles.

## **1.5 The objectives and key research questions of the study**

The general aim of the study was to investigate Emesco Development Foundation's (EDF) understanding and practice of adult education within their broader community development agenda.

### **1.5.1 Specific objectives:**

- 1) To explore EDF's understanding of the role of adult education in community development and how such understanding has developed over time.
- 2) To examine how EDF's understanding of adult education informs its programmes and practices.
- 3) To understand how context (policy, gender, socio-economic structures and culture) have shaped the philosophy of EDF in relation to adult education.
- 4) To understand and theorize the development processes of Community Development Workers (CDWs) as novice adult educators in the contextual setting of a single NGO.

### **1.5.2 Key research questions**

This study was guided by four key questions

1. What is EDF's understanding of the role of adult education in community development and how has this understanding emerged over time?

2. How does EDF's understanding of adult education inform its programmes and practices?
3. How does the context of EDF (policy, gender, socio-economic structures and culture) influence adult education practices?
4. How does the development process of community development workers relate to EDF's understanding of adult education?

### **1.5.3 Delimitation of the study**

This was an instrumental case study with an interest in understanding the role of adult education in community development. It therefore had no intentions of generalizing the findings, although some level of generalization may be possible in terms of what has been described as fuzzy generalizations (Bassegy, 1999) or theoretical generalization (Yin, 2009).

As indicated above, the case was bound in time and space. In terms of time, it considered the period 1990 to 2000. In terms of space, three communities were selected from Buyanja County, where EDF started its work. However, in terms of the general understanding of EDF work, observations were spread throughout its area and time of operation.

## **1.6 Operationalization of key terms and concepts in the study**

### **1.6.1 Adult education**

The definition and scope of adult education has eluded many and as a result has had to shift positions from various points in time and is possibly still changing. Some people have limited adult education to adult learning, or even in a much narrower sense of adult literacy (Aitchison, 2003; Knowles, 1978), while others have described it in a much broader sense as all learning spanning human life (Lindeman, 1926; Nyerere, 1973). UNESCO's (1976) definition of adult education, as cited by the sixth International conference on Adult Education UIL (2009), is broad enough to take care of variations in socio-political and cultural conditions in different countries:

Adult education denotes the entire body of organised educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development, adult education, however, must not be considered as an entity in itself, it is a sub-division, and an integral part of, a global scheme for life-long education and learning (UIL, 2009, p. 13).

However, this definition according to Preece (2009) is too broad, and subject to different ways of interpretation by policy makers, practitioners and researchers, particularly since the notion of adulthood itself is affected by legal, cultural and social contexts. The fluidity of the definition perhaps explains why some development agencies such as the World Bank have over time questioned its practical role in development (Kane, 2008).

Adult Education in Uganda, like in many other countries, has been seen in a narrow perspective of literacy and adult basic education (Aitchison, 2003; Okech, 2004). It ought to be noted, however, that adult education is potentially much more than literacy or basic education. Successful adult education includes agricultural extension, vocational education, community development and training for active citizenship (Ruud-Van-Der & Preece, 2005, p. 381). The Ugandan government defines adult education as:

... all learning processes, activities or programs, intended to meet the needs of various individuals considered by society as adults, including out of school youths forced by circumstances to play the roles normally played by adults (MoGLSD, 2008, p. 6).

This study will adopt the Ugandan definition of adult education, which tries to capture the tenets of UNESCO but is also considerate of the Ugandan context.

## **1.6.2 Development**

The definition of development remains fluid and changes from country to country and from one organization to another (Frank & Smith, 1999; Indabawa & Mpofu, 2006; Youngman, 2000). The concept of development has always been associated with positive changes or growth and expansion. In the neoliberal era, it has been equated to modernization which simply means attainment of standards of Western technological, economic and political advancements (Youngman, 2000). According to Frank and Smith (1999), this is not always the case, and in actual sense, development implies both positive and negative change. Sen (1999) talks of development as being more than mere increased Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and numerical indicators, but as human freedom informed by education, health care and cultural sensitivity.

The term ‘development’ in this study will be taken to mean a process of change leading to the betterment of society as whole, but also conscious of the individuals’ freedom and wellbeing (Frank & Smith, 1999; Indabawa & Mpofu, 2006; Myrdal, 1974; Preece, 2005b; Sen, 1999; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006; Tungodden, 2001b; Youngman, 2000).

## **1.6.3 Community development**

Although the definition and scope of community development remains debatable (Frank & Smith, 1999; Hamilton, 1992; Turner, 2009), the essential elements in the classical community development model are not in dispute (Cinneide, 1987). There is common agreement that community development represents bottom-up approaches, focusing on local groups in organizing, planning, co-operating and implementing projects for the benefit of their community with an emphasis on indigenous human and natural resources. It also recognizes the necessity of interaction with outside bodies such as the government and NGOs for necessary advice and support (Abdykaparov & Messerli, 2008; Cinneide, 1987; Kane, 2008; Shaw, 2008; Turner, 2009).

The concept of ‘community development’ in this study will be taken to mean an aspect of development based on local community driven initiatives, though in some instances with

external support. It is largely a process of social change or educational process towards betterment in the lives of community members as individuals, but also as a social unit (Brennan, 2009; Campfens, 1997; Cinneide, 1987; Frank & Smith, 1999; Indabawa & Mpofu, 2006; John, 2006; Shaw, 2008; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006).

#### **1.6.4 Community Development Workers (CDWs)**

The concept of CDWs is broad and used to refer to professionals or community volunteers who work with communities in the process of community development by way of taking leadership roles (Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006). While in the traditional sense, community development workers are officials, most often outsiders with technical expertise (Williams, 2006), there is an emerging belief that these should actually be members of the local communities with special attributes (MoPSA, 2007).

In this study, the concept of community development workers refers to a range of volunteer community members that are, from time to time, elected by their communities to train with EDF in various development related fields to gain knowledge that is later shared with their communities (EDF, 2010b; MoPSA, 2007; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006; Williams, 2006). In addition to leading others, mainly by example, they also take on educational roles as novice adult educators.

#### **1.6.5 Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)**

The concept of NGOs remains ambiguous and sometimes is used interchangeably with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). Lekorwe & Mpabanga (2007), citing the World Bank (2001), define NGOs as: 'Private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, and/or undertake community development' (Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007, p. 4). On the other hand, Van-Der-Veen & Preece (2005) define NGOs as legally formed autonomous organizations that possess non-profit status and whose primary motivation is to improve the wellbeing of the people. Likewise,

Muhumuza (2005) defined NGOs as privately initiated and funded, voluntary, non-profit, autonomous institutions primarily concerned with relief, advocacy and development.

What is common among all the definitions is the concept of non-profit, the desire for the betterment of peoples' wellbeing and largely the pursuit of a pro-poor agenda. Therefore, for purposes of this study, the term 'Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)' will be taken to refer to legal entities formed on the basis of non-profit and voluntarism to pursue development-related agendas with a major purpose of improving peoples' wellbeing (Ibembe, 2007; Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007; Makoba, 2002; Makuwira, 2004; Mercer, 2002; Michael, 2002; Muhumuza, 2005; Omofonmwan & Odia, 2009; Shivji, 2004; Van-Der-Veen & Preece, 2005; Werker & Ahmed, 2008). The term NGO will be used interchangeably with CSOs (Michael, 2002). EDF, the unit of analysis in this case study, is such an NGO in the Ugandan development context.

## **1.7 Organization of the thesis**

Chapter one provides a general introduction to the study, with a special focus on the interests and rationales that prompted the study, the context, objectives, research questions and delimitation of the study.

Chapter two focuses on the literature that informed this study. Major areas explored include adult education and its relation with community development, the concept of the NGO movement and their role in adult education, the concept of community development workers and their emerging role as novice adult educators. The chapter also explores the understanding of adult education in Uganda from a historical context. Adult education is also adequately explored from the concept of political economy and broader lenses of development.

Chapter three presents the theoretical frameworks for the study. The theoretical frameworks guiding the study, that is, the education theories of Nyerere and Freire are discussed. In both instances, the applications and limitations of the theories are covered. The chapter also draws some comparisons between the two theories and how they enhance each other as lenses for the

study. The chapter concludes with Youngman's concept of political economy of adult education and development, which was adopted later in the study.

Chapter four presents the research design and methodological issues of the study. Research paradigms of positivism, interpretive and critical theory are explored with strong emphasis on the latter, giving reasons why it was preferred for the study. The chapter further covers the case study research design highlighting its choice, unit of analysis, types and limitations. It also covers the methods of data collection, research process, data analysis and issues of validity and researcher positioning plus ethical considerations. It concludes with limitations encountered during the study.

Chapter five covers the presentation of study findings with specific reference to the contexts and forces at play in EDF, among them, the historical background, the organizational and the managerial structures. It basically presents a framework under which EDF operates, that informs its understanding and practice of adult education. It details the stakeholders of EDF, their roles and how they came together. It further discusses the philosophy under which EDF is built, its structure and activities. The contexts of EDF are discussed in detail, including land tenure in Kibaale, culture and gender issues. The chapter also discusses organizational environments such as government and other bodies that impact EDF's operations and existence. All these are discussed in light of the literature and theoretical frames which inform the study.

Chapter six focuses on EDF's understandings of adult education and how such understanding has evolved over time in the context of its community development practices.

Chapter seven presents the findings relating to perceptions of educators regarding the practice of adult education in EDF. Special attention is paid to how adult education principles are applied to pedagogical practices, curriculum development and management, materials development and the training environments. The relevance of adult education in EDF's work is explored through the lenses of the educational theories of Nyerere of Tanzania and Freire of Brazil.

Chapter eight focuses on the role of CDWs as novice adult educators and first-level technical resource persons in their communities. The chapter traces and discusses the philosophical basis of the concept in EDF, how they are selected, their roles and responsibilities.

Chapter nine concludes the study by summarising the findings and making recommendations in terms of EDF's work. The chapter also theorises the findings as multiple centres of power and dialogue. The chapter further makes clear the implications of the findings for the practice of adult education and community development.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This study was concerned with understanding the role that adult education plays in community development but also to explore the dynamic relationship between the two practices based on a case study of a rural-based NGO in Uganda. Therefore, the literature was guided by the concepts and themes of adult education, development, NGOs, and the context of EDF.

#### **2.1 The discipline and profession of adult education**

Adult education has slowly gained recognition as a separate field from general education. Adult learners are said to have intrinsic motivation and self-directedness in what has come to be called the theory of andragogy, the art of teaching adults (Knowles, 1980). Even though andragogy has been criticized (Hartree, 1984; Tusting & Barton, 2003), it has informed the practice of adult education for most of the 20th century. The desire to promote adult education as a vehicle for national development has continued to take centre stage in many countries' development plans (Kassam, 1994). This desire has over time prompted the search for alternative strategies for teaching of adults (Kassam, 1994; Seaman & Fellenz, 2002).

The fluidity and breadth of adult education is explained by the various terminologies that have been used interchangeably with it. Nafukho, Amutabi and Otunga (2005), while quoting Youngman, list a number of terms or forms that have come to define the broad discipline of adult education. They include agricultural extension, in-service training, literacy, out-of-school education, audiovisual education for adults, mass media education, vocational education, in-service personnel training, community development and cooperative education.

## 2.1.1 Terms and concepts associated with adult education

Although, the term adult education has been defined and operationalized for this study in Chapter one, it is worth bringing to light terminologies that are gaining global significance in relation to adult education. These include the following, amongst others: Lifelong Learning (LLL) or *education permanente* and Adult Learning (AL) and the learning society.

### 2.1.1.1 Lifelong learning (LLL)

Although the idea behind LLL as related to adult education is not new, the term has come into popular usage in the 1990s as a way to broaden the purpose for which adult education is meant to serve and represent. LLL stands for all learning endeavours and experiences in life, that is, the pre-schooling learning experiences, formal schooling and post-school learning experiences (EAEA, 2006; Nafukho, Amutabi, & Otunga, 2005; Preece, 2009; Rossel, 2011; Walters, 2006)<sup>1</sup>. In their paper presented at the world conference on ‘Education for All’ in Jomtien, Thailand, Haddad, Colletta, Fisher, Lakin and Sutton (1990, p. 12) note that, ‘Basic education is ... the foundation for lifelong learning and human development on which countries may build, systematically, further levels and types of education and training’. Preece (2009) equally stresses that literacy in itself does not necessarily lead to lifelong learning, but merely acts as a fundamental component of it. The European Adult Education Association (2006) gives a comprehensive description of LLL, as they note that:

The notion of *lifelong learning* embraces all areas and regards school, vocational training, university and adult education as components of a comprehensive system that are of equal value. Its use of the term learning is visionary, almost utopian in its scope. It is radical also in the sense that it shifts the emphasis from teaching, training or instruction to the learner. One can sit in the classroom and learn nothing, or be outside the classroom and learn a great deal. (EAEA, 2006, p. 5).

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<sup>1</sup> EAEA is an abbreviation for European Adult Education Association

### **2.1.1.2 Adult learning (AL)**

The term adult learning has recently found favour among adult educators and professionals in the field. The proponents of AL instead of adult education stress that the former puts emphasis on the learner rather than the educator or the process. Preece (2005a, p. 1) also adds that, ‘... education implies formal systems of provision, whilst learning suggests a wider notion of non-formal and informal systems’. Walters (2006) equally notes that terms such as learning or capacity building resonate well within branches of adult education such as the health, environmental, welfare, or business sectors. It is further argued that learning is a life process and can take place without an educational institution or conscious process. As a result of this argument, AL is now finding favour in government reports and policy documents.

### **2.1.1.3 Learning society**

According to Nafukho et al., (2005), a learning society is one where everybody participates in education and training throughout their life. However, critical to the learning society is the fact that there is exposure of individuals to a learning environment. The learning society is associated with LLL in such a way that individuals of all ages have a chance and exposure to learning opportunities for social, economic and personal enrichment. On the importance of the concept Nafukho et al., (2005, p. 154) notes that, ‘A learning society creates socially competent people who can question what is happening around them, and creates the social capital that every society needs’.

### **2.1.1.4 Learning organisation**

This concept has flourished since the 1990s and is attributed to Peter M. Senge (Garvin, Edmondson, & Gino, 2008). Although the concept has found wide usage and application in adult education, it emerged within the corporate and business world. It is a term that has come to imply dynamic and functional organizations open to new ideas and change for better output. This concept was motivated by the fact that, due to fast changing technologies, markets and competitive environments, quick adaption to new ideas was essential. The concept holds that no

one, irrespective of seniority in the workplace, has a preserve on ideas. Major characteristics of a learning organization include a supportive learning environment, information sharing, experimentation with new ideas, continuous learning and a blame-free culture (Cors, 2003; Garvin et al., 2008). The concept has therefore come to be associated with efficiency and responsiveness to new ideas. In the field of adult education, the concept is more associated with workplace learning where employees are skilled at creating, acquiring and transferring knowledge (Cors, 2003; Garvin et al., 2008).

The concepts discussed above are strongly associated with adult education. It is of interest in this study to investigate the extent to which EDF aligns itself to such concepts in terms of their philosophy and practice.

### **2.1.2 Origins and development of adult education**

Adult Education is as old as the history of mankind itself (Abdykaparov & Messerli, 2008; Atim & Ngaka, 2004; Mohsini, 1993; Nafukho et al., 2005; Sodhi & Multani, 1989). This study is, however, concerned with professional adult education, or what has come to be known as '*modern adult education*'. It is called modern adult education because there has been a desire to professionalize and universalize adult education across borders. However, it should be noted that adult education has, over time, largely emerged in response to the needs of society and prevailing circumstances.

The earliest forms of documented or '*modern adult education*' can be traced to Eduard Christian Lindeman, an American educationist (Beder, 1989; Lindeman, 1926). However, Lindeman's views on adult education are further linked to his close associate and mentor, John Dewey (Smith, 2004). John Dewey, as quoted by Osuji (2006), had earlier defined education as continuous reconstruction or re-organization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience. Whereas Dewey's concern was largely on education in general, his definition of adult education goes beyond the school system to the current essence of adult education as being 'coterminous with life' (EAEA, 2006; Mohsini, 1993; Nafukho et al., 2005; Nyerere, 1973;

Osuji, 2006). Lindeman tried to make a case for adult education as a separate field from the education of children when stating:

A fresh hope is astir. From many quarters comes the call to a new kind of education with its initial assumption affirming that adult education is life – not a mere preparation of an unknown kind of future living. Consequently all static concepts of education which relegate the learning process to the period of youth are abandoned. The whole of life is learning, therefore education can have no endings. This new venture is called adult education (Lindeman, 1926, pp. 4-5).

It ought to be noted, however, that every country and society has had its own history and purpose in terms of the development of adult education. It is largely held, for example, that in Europe the emergence of modern adult education came into force with the advent of industrialization (EAEA, 2006; Sodhi & Multani, 1989). There was a shift in the means of production, which demanded new skills and as a result there was need for retraining of the human resources to fit into the new world order. Whereas Hall (2009) agrees and links the adult education movement in Europe to industrialization, he says that it arose as a social movement against the horrors of early forms of capitalism and industrialisation such as reduction of child labour, health and safety in the workplace, obtaining the vote for women and movements for peace in the context of the two world wars.

In some countries such as India, China, South Africa, Zimbabwe and others, early forms of adult education were used as a means to rally the masses against colonialism and for ideological liberation. In India, for example, even though modern adult education was first introduced by the British colonial government in the late half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with a purpose of training adults to acquire skills for getting employment in the colonial government, it was later to be used as part of the political liberation movement by the likes of Mahtma Gandhi and Rabindernath Tagore (Mohsini, 1993; Sodhi & Multani, 1989).

Around the early 1920s, both Gandhi and Tagore used adult education in the constructive work movement having switched from direct civil disobedience. They believed that adult education

would be helpful in the preparation of people for self-rule, but also for worthy living in the modern era. According to Gandhi, 'the aim of adult education, was therefore for life and should touch the life of the village at all points and utilize life situations for the above purpose' (Mohsini, 1993, p. 26). On literacy, Gandhi was of the view that it was never the end of education and not even the beginning (Mohsini, 1993). This implies that Gandhi also considered life experience prior to modern education and one's environment as part of education. This is very similar to the views of John Dewey, Edward Lindeman and Julius Nyerere, who stress that adult education is coterminous with life.

### **2.1.2.1 Theories of adult learning**

Adult education emerged largely as a breakaway branch of education. Although it is still contested as to whether adults generally learn differently from children (Tusting & Barton, 2003), early adult educationists such as Edward Lindeman, Malcolm Knowles and others came to observe that adults have special learning needs and capabilities. Nafukho et al., (2005, p. 9) states that, 'Malcolm Knowles observed that many principles of learning as well as teaching methods have been developed with and for children, and argued that teaching adults requires a different set of instructional strategies'. Knowles therefore came up with the theory of *andragogy* as the art and science of helping adults learn.

In his theory of *andragogy*, Malcolm Knowles came up with five assumptions to stress the difference of adult learners from children, which include self-concept, experience, readiness to learn, orientation to learning and motivation to learn (Nafukho et al., 2005). This theory has, however been criticized, as Tusting and Barton (2003) note:

People have also questioned whether this model is really a description of the specific characteristics of adult learning, or merely specific to the types of situations that adult learners tend to be in. This would suggest that it may also apply to some forms of children's learning. The model as it stands largely ignores the significance of the context in which the adult learning takes place (Tusting & Barton, 2003, p. 21).

Other theories of adult learning that have had profound influence on the field include self-directed learning and transformative learning. Self-directed learning, largely attributed to Malcom Knowles, is where learners take the initiative to plan, execute and evaluate their learning outcomes. On the other hand, transformative learning, largely attributed to Jack Mezirow, is where education changes the learner's perspective of life. It is also called emancipatory education (Corley, 2008). However, Corley further argues that there is no theory that singularly explains how adults learn. He notes that adult learning is complex, context bound and highly personal. Therefore adult educators ought to keep abreast of the various theories so that they are able to apply them during practice.

### **2.1.2.2 Adult education in the African context**

Adult education has been part of African society and existed even in the pre-colonial period. In traditional African societies for example, adult education was incidental and embedded in the life of society and families (Atim & Ngaka, 2004; Nafukho et al., 2005). Adult education was a means by which the older generation passed on skills and values to the younger generation. There were no professional educators but those who taught, did so on the basis of special skills acquired through experience, personal innovation or forced situations such as attack by wild animals and enemy tribes. Adult education was exercised through oral tradition under the leadership of chiefs, headmen and elders over the community as a whole (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Indabawa & Mpofu, 2006). Such education was largely informal within the community and homesteads (Nyerere, 1973). The skills passed on through adult education were usually in the form of traditional medicine, agriculture, hunting, military warfare, art crafts and others that were deemed essential for societal survival.

However, *modern adult education* was introduced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Africa got into contact with the outside world, particularly the Arab traders and later European Christian missionaries and colonial administrators (Atim & Ngaka, 2004; Ellis, 2004; MoGLSD, 2008; Nafukho et al., 2005). In spite of the fact that adult education has in the past taken on different meanings and usage in different African countries (ibid), this is slowly changing as informed by

the forces of globalization. Issues related to global warming, genetic engineering, the changing family, and nuclear power are increasingly becoming issues of common concern (EAEA, 2006).

Post-colonial Africa has also had its prominent adult education proponents and advocates, including Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. These post-independent African leaders sought to use adult education as a means of intellectual and socioeconomic liberation (Nafukho et al., 2005). The most outstanding of all, however, is Julius Nyerere who tried to address adult education from an African context in his popular theory of education (see Chapter 3).

### **2.1.2.3 Adult education in Uganda**

Modern adult education in Uganda was first associated with Christian missionaries who introduced adult education in areas of health and building as a vehicle for civilization (Atim & Ngaka, 2004). Adult education introduced by missionaries was mainly in the form of vocational training to provide survival skills for their Christian converts (Atim & Ngaka, 2004). These efforts by Christian missionaries were continued on by the colonial government and successive governments after independence in 1962. The central theme of adult education by both Christian missionaries and government was the need to propel the needs of civilization, based on the standards of the western world, to the colonized people of Uganda. A number of policy documents and acts discussed below are meant to give a glimpse of the thinking and understanding of adult education in Uganda over time.

#### **2.1.2.3.1 The Government white paper on Education (1992)**

The white paper on education remains one of the most comprehensive Ugandan government documents, which discussed education broadly with concrete suggestions describing the way forward. In this document, government broadly recognizes the need for non-formal and adult education as a crucial component of education stressing its importance in national development. The document also recognizes efforts of private providers of adult education and stresses the need for a policy to harmonize these efforts. The document also placed the mandate of non-

formal and adult education under the ministry of education and sports (MoES, 1992). Mass illiteracy was identified [in the document] as one of the hindrances of national development and therefore the country was called on to marshal resources for its eradication.

One of the measures suggested for adult education was the use of formal education facilities such as buildings and human resources. Among those suggested was the formation of a national council for non-formal and adult education to spearhead the implementation of the proposals and the coordination of all efforts by various stakeholders in the country. The paper also recommended the formation of the directorate of non-formal and adult education under the ministry of education and sports, headed by a director who would also serve as secretary to the national council for non-formal and adult education.

In spite of the many proposals and recommendations for non-formal and adult education alongside continuous and lifelong learning, minimal achievements have been registered in this regard.

#### **2.1.2.3.2 The Education Act (2006)**

The education act is the supreme law on issues related to education in Uganda. The act stipulates four levels of education, that is, pre-primary education, primary education, post-primary education and training, and tertiary and university education. Adult education or life experiences are unfortunately not provided for as alternative channels through which formal qualifications can be acquired. Non-formal education centres are mentioned but in relation to children in hard to reach areas such as fishing and pastoral communities.

It can be argued that the absence or lack of mention of adult education and lifelong learning is not accidental, but a result of the ongoing negotiations concerning the mandates of the ministry of Education and Sports and that of Gender, Labour and Social Development (UGAADEN, 2012).

### **2.1.2.3.3 Draft Uganda National Adult Literacy Policy (May, 2012)**

This has perhaps been the most fragile policy since 2002, when the first draft came into force entitled ‘Adult Learning Policy’. This was later abandoned with the argument that adult learning was broad and cut across the mandates of two ministries, that is, Education and Sports (MoES) and then Gender, Labour and Social development (MoGLSD). Although, the white paper on education (1992) had recommended the ministry of education as the home for adult education and lifelong learning, literacy and social development aspects do fall under the ambit of the MoLGSD. Around 2005-2007, another position was reached to name the policy as ‘Non-formal Policy on Adult Learning’. This title was also later abandoned for ‘Non-formal Adult Education’ around 2009. The current draft being pushed by the MoLGSD has adopted the title of ‘National Adult Literacy Policy’ (MoGLSD, 2012). All these shifts have been occasioned by the push by CSOs who feel that youth and adult education have been neglected in mainstream development planning in the country.

The ever-changing position of government on adult education and the delay to enact a policy is largely attributed to a lack of clear understanding of adult education at all levels in the country. Government departments themselves have been struggling to agree on where adult education should be anchored. This has consequently affected funding and delivery of adult education to the deserving populace. In spite of the absence of policy on adult education, CSOs and NGOs such as EDF have been struggling to deliver adult education in the country.

### **2.1.2.3.4 The Uganda Vision 2040 (2013)**

The government of Uganda recently came up with a national vision to act as a planning tool for the next 30 years. This vision is aimed at achieving ‘A Transformed Ugandan Society from a Peasant to a Modern and Prosperous Country within 30 years’ (NPA, 2013, p. iii). This document analyses the country’s bottlenecks and development targets but also highlights the strategies to achieve the stated goals. Key among the strategic bottlenecks mentioned include: ideological disorientation, weak private sector, underdeveloped human resources, underdeveloped services sector and under-development of agricultural sector among others.

While focusing on education as a key strategy towards achieving the Vision 2040, importance is placed on primary and secondary education towards realisation of literacy levels. The promotion of vocational education and practical skills at all levels of tertiary education is also mentioned. It ought to be noted therefore that adult education for people outside the formal school system remains superfluous in the vision and not even a major component of education as a strategy. This state of affairs could too be attributed to the absence of a policy on adult and non-formal education in the country.

### **2.1.2.3.5 A summary of adult education policy in Uganda**

As noted above, adult education in Uganda has not attracted favourable government attention in terms of planning and financing. In spite of the fact that adult education is mentioned in many government policy documents and reports, it remains the poor cousin of general education (Bananuka, 2009; Bananuka & Katahoire, 2008; MoGLSD, 2008; Okech, 2004; Schugurensky & Myers, 2001). Furthermore, the absence of a policy framework has led to fragmented and uncoordinated efforts in adult education provision, standardization, financing and planning in general. Adult education programs are currently a ‘dead-end’ kind of system because they are not linked to the general education system of the country. This has further reduced the importance attached to adult education, as it does not lead to any kind of recognizable certification, employment opportunities and promotion in the labour market.

Currently, adult education survives largely on the efforts of a group of volunteers and NGOs, and support from a number of development partners such as DVV-International, Iceland International Development Agency (ICEIDA), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and a number of others (Okech, 2004). These challenges are similar to those raised by Schugurensky and Myers (2001) in a report on AE policy in Latin America in the 1990s.

### **2.1.3 Classification of adult education**

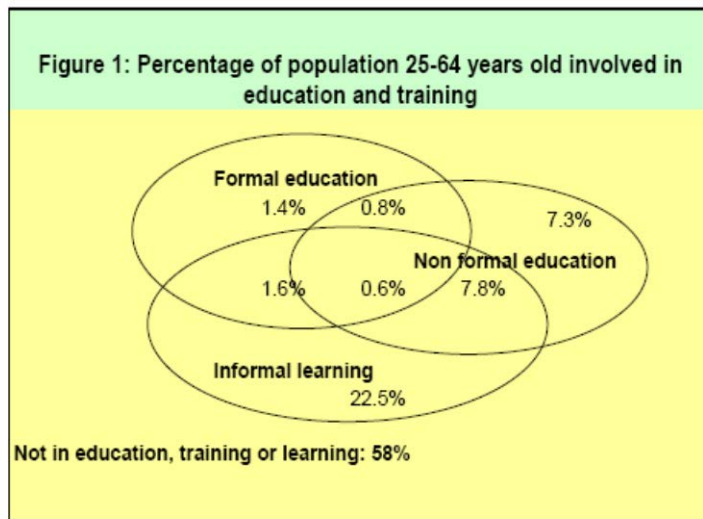
Classification of adult education is as fluid as its definition, as it is said to embrace a wide range of fields and disciplines. Adult education can, however, be classified broadly according to delivery systems and purpose.

#### **2.1.3.1 Classification by delivery system**

There are three major adult education delivery systems, namely formal, non-formal and informal (Merriam & Brocket, 1997; Nafukho et al., 2005; Nnazor, 2005; Seaman & Fellenz, 2002). These systems have, however, been understood differently in different countries (Filson, 1991). Every society, for example, has over the years evolved its own learning modes as a coping strategy (Tuijnman, 1996). In Nigeria, for example, adult education has gone through different delivery modes (Filson, 1991). At first, it was through informal adult education delivery modes where people both young and old learnt through informal sources. Later, with the advent of European missionaries, adult education took a new shape, especially in the form of non-formal and formal delivery, where strict entry procedures and certification requirements were necessary.

The growth and sophistication of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), has revolutionized adult education delivery. According to the World Declaration on Education for All, the media has become a major player in adult education delivery, even though this learning is usually unstructured, unintentional, and sometimes socially harmful (Haddad et al., 1990). This has included all forms, ranging from formal to informal means by way of teleconferencing, cable television and radio, to mention but a few. Research has over time shown, that of all the delivery systems of adult education, formal education is less common, as shown in the figure below (EAEA, 2006, p. 22).

**Figure 3: Diagram depicting adult education delivery systems based on 25 states of the European Union (EU)**



Source: Eurostat LFS, Ad hoc module on lifelong learning 2003  
Target population: 25-64 years old

*Extracted from (EAEA, 2006, p. 22)*

It can be observed from the diagram that the majority of adults are involved in informal learning, followed by non-formal learning. This means that formal education is less popular with adult learners, perhaps due to its strict and rigid nature. However, the figure assigned to adults not involved in any learning of 58%, can be said to be highly exaggerated. This is because informal learning, being incidental and embedded in one's environment, seems to cover every young and adult person. Therefore, such a percentage would contradict the saying that 'to live is to learn' (Lindeman, 1926; Nyerere, 1973).

### **2.1.3.2 Classification by purpose**

The role and purpose of education, while debatable, is also better defined in terms of the specific needs and conditions of a given society (Nyerere, 1973; Preece & Singh, 2003; Roland, 1997; UIL, 2009; Youngman, 2000). The desire to universalize the purpose of adult education has been criticized and described as a misguided adventure (Finger & Asun, 2001). The main purpose commonly put forward, from a neoliberal point of view, is that of social change and development (Youngman, 2000). Another purpose usually put forward is that of adult education for its own

sake, that is, self-actualization and human satisfaction (Merriam & Brockett, 1997). There is, however, an emerging voice that stresses that adult education should also serve to help individuals to live in harmony with the environment (Osuji, 2006).

In the context of Botswana, adult education encompasses three main fields: Adult Basic Education, which provides people with opportunities to gain basic literacy and numeracy skills; Extension Services, largely meant for betterment livelihood practices such as agriculture and livestock production; and Continuing Education, which refers to all programmes designed for people who have completed the basic cycle of ten years of schooling (Gaolathe, 2004). This study intends to use the classification as adopted by the government of Botswana because it accommodates all forms of adult education, but also clearly locates the type of adult education in practice by EDF, as extension services. It is neither ABET nor continuing education but rather one that seeks to reach out to communities to improve their livelihoods in terms of agriculture, health care and sanitation, provision of clean and safe water and environmental protection.

It can therefore be concluded that adult education is meant to serve both the individual and society, not only to function to the desired levels, but also to ensure harmony in society and the environment.

## **2.2 Philosophical perspectives of adult education**

In order to understand adult education as a social concept and field of study, it is important to explore its philosophical grounding. According to Beder (1989), the philosophy of adult education refers to beliefs about the way in which adult education should be conducted and the general principles which guide the practice. Different writers have come up with various perspectives in a bid to explain adult education philosophy (Beder, 1989; Nafukho et al., 2005; Price, 2001; Walter, 2009). The differences in perspectives are sometimes merely in terms of usage and application. I will therefore focus on just five, which I believe provide adequate ground for understanding the field of adult education. They include liberal adult education, progressive adult education, behaviourist adult education, humanistic adult education and radical adult education perspectives.

### **2.2.1 The liberal perspective of adult education**

The liberal perspective stresses the purpose of adult education as the development of expansive knowledge, and therefore holds that there is a body of knowledge out there that is essential for the normal functioning of an individual (Price, 2001). This perspective believes in a written curriculum, which has stood the test of time. Adult educators are perceived to be custodians of this knowledge, while libraries, museums and zoos are there to enhance this knowledge (Walter, 2009). This perspective is important to adult education and development, because there is still a view that adult education should take adult learners to a desired level of knowledge, for example, the ability to read and write which enables them to function at certain standards. Believers in this perspective also hold that illiterate people are poor or powerless because they lack basic knowledge to function properly. Literacy studies, vocational education and other forms of continuing education are often seen as belonging to this philosophy.

### **2.2.2 The progressive perspective of adult education**

The progressive perspective has had the most influence on adult education and traces its roots to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with links to early educationists like John Dewey. Progressivism places a lot of importance on experience and looks at adult education as a cooperative process between educators and learners. According to this school of thought, nothing can be considered permanent, as values are relative, subjective and changeable (Nafukho et al., 2005). The role of the educator here is that of a guide that helps learners how to think rather than what to think (Nafukho et al., 2005). The curriculum is an ever-changing body in relation to needs and the prevailing circumstances. The pedagogy is democratic and learning tools stress problem-solving skills (Price, 2001). There are close links between liberalism and progressivism, although the latter places emphasis on the learner. In this school of thought, learners, with the assistance of the adult educator, take the lead in structuring learning to improve their own lives.

### **2.2.3 The behaviourist perspective of adult education**

The behaviourist perspective of adult education is sometimes considered to have a greater inclination towards the discipline of psychology and is attributed to scholars like B.F. Skinner, Pavlov, Watson and Thorndike (Nafukho et al., 2005; Price, 2001). According to this perspective, desirable behaviours in education can be promoted by rewards or positive conditioning, while undesired behaviours can be discouraged by punishment or negative rewards (Walter, 2009). According to this philosophy, human actions are a result of past conditioning and environment (Nafukho et al., 2005). This perspective is helpful to the adult educator because it holds that learners come to learning with an idea of what they want to learn, and how that can be achieved. The role of the educator is that of a behavioural director that ensures desired behaviour through necessary conditioning (Price, 2001). Adult educators, therefore ought to consult learners on issues of the curriculum, learning objectives and content.

### **2.2.4 The humanistic perspective of adult education**

The humanistic adult education perspective places emphasis on personal growth and self-actualization in learning and is centred on the needs and desires of the learner (Walter, 2009). This perspective identifies much with the concept of *andragogy* and self-directed learning as advocated by Malcom Knowles. The humanistic perspective on adult education takes learners as autonomous, self-motivated adults who are able to take responsibility for their own learning (Walter, 2009). The humanist educator is a co-learner in the educational process and functions as a facilitator rather than a giver of already-made knowledge (Price, 2001). Educators working within this perspective always strive to assist learners to develop their own potential and esteem by listening and dialoguing with them (Nafukho et al., 2005). There is also a need to enlist learners' past experience and current challenges as the beginning point in a learning adventure.

### **2.2.5 The radical perspective of adult education**

The radical adult education perspective is sometimes referred to as critical adult education philosophy and is attributed to educators like Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich and Julius Nyerere, but

also associated to the Marxist tradition (Beder, 1989; Nafukho et al., 2005; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009). According to this perspective, the purpose of adult education is to inform fundamental and profound social change in economic and political spheres (Price, 2001). According to Walter (2009):

Adults here are active creators of their own lives, histories, and futures. They learn through problem-posing education to free themselves from the ideological and material bindings of oppression - whether by poverty, discrimination, racism, or sexism - and to uncover and challenge the systemic structures that support these forms of domination and disempowerment (Walter, 2009, p. 18).

Accordingly, this philosophy is critical of ready-made curricula but advocates for one that addresses learner interests and conditions. It also advocates for facilitation methods which are learner-centred in terms of teaching materials and learning content. Educators from this paradigm view adult education as a liberation tool from intellectual captivity and powerlessness. Adult education helps people to identify forces responsible for their condition, and seeks to challenge such forces. This perspective has found favour within new development paradigms and the NGO philosophy of empowerment and participation and in community development. This study chose to adopt theories rooted in this perspective to understand NGO-led adult education in community development settings.

It can be observed that what has been discussed here remains largely in the language and domain of adult education professionals. Although Nafukho et al., (2005) refer to these perspectives as Eurocentric, but endeavours are being made to relate them to the prevailing conditions in EDF, the Ugandan context, broadly drawing on African perspectives like that of Nyerere.

### **2.3 Policy and financing of adult education**

One way to understand the place of adult education in development is by looking at how it is perceived and translated into policy and financing. Adult education has not received fair attention in development circles. This is in spite of the various global proclamations on education

as a human right and on adult education as an indispensable aspect for development, such as the 2001 and 2002 Reports of the UN Special *Rapporteur* on Education (PAMOJA et al., 2008). Even as everybody focuses on the MDGs, specifically MDG 2, that is, universal primary education, the focus has been on children rather than adults. Nyerere (1973, p. 44) notes that, ‘There is a regrettable tendency in times of economic stringency - which for poor countries is all the time - for governments to economize on money for adult education’. Tembo (2004, p. 1) further observes that:

Indeed, as parents we only consider educating our children on the pretext that “it is their time, ours has passed”. As workers we tend to think this is relevant for those who have never been to school as we already have the certification that proves we ‘qualify’ for the job market.

The low priority of adult education and limited funding is always based on research findings that seem to indicate that adult literacy does not necessarily lead to poverty reduction or realizable positive development (Van-Der-Veen & Preece, 2005). This argument however ignores all other educational practices in community development and negates the fact that adult education is broader and goes on into the whole life and betters ways of doing things irrespective of age (Aitchison & Alidou, 2009; Lindeman, 1926; Mohsini, 1993; Nyerere, 1973; Osuji, 2006; Preece, 2009).

It should be noted that the little global attention to adult education is always on literacy (Osuji, 2006), and yet the problems of the poor, especially in the rural areas of Sub-Saharan Africa, are far beyond literacy or the ability to read and write. The major challenges faced by these people are poverty, ill health and low agricultural output, resulting from poor agricultural practices and thereby malnutrition and environmental degradation leading to rapid climate change. It has been observed that these challenges can be tackled through non-formal and informal education. The other challenge facing adult education or lifelong learning as part of the development agenda stems from the fact that its understanding has been based on Western models, which are obviously less applicable, especially in countries of the South (Preece, 2009).

However, the presumed neglect of adult education noted above, by national governments and international development bodies need further investigation. Adult education as a discipline is found in almost all government programmes such as health, agriculture, local government and other social sector programmes. Furthermore, NGOs which have been credited for a positive role in adult education draw their funds largely from governments of development countries. There is also a growing desire by governments of the South to outsource service delivery to NGOs, since they [NGOs] tend to reach the poorest of the poor. Therefore the problem might be located more in the amorphous nature and vagueness of adult education as a field of practice in relation to other development disciplines (Bierema, 2011; Ostrom et al., 2008).

In conclusion, therefore, a number of observations can be deduced from the literature just discussed:

- i. Adult education in all human societies has always been spontaneous in response to societal needs, conditions and environment. Hence, the global push to universalize adult education practice is a futility (Preece, 2009).
- ii. The failure to narrow the field and meaning of adult education has been counterproductive. As a result adult education has been muddled into ‘anything and everything’. This not only denotes the confusion but also failure to locate the place and meaning of adult education. The amorphous nature of adult education seems to suggest that every profession is in part adult education. Even though such an argument is true on the surface, it fails to capture the real essence which adult education intends to achieve.
- iii. The emergence of adult education in governments and other human and societal organizations indicates that adult education evolves in response to necessity. The only difference though, is that currently NGOs such as EDF live in rich environments of information, materials and better practices. Therefore, institutions have the capacity to transcend the traditional structures and societies by benchmarking best practices to enhance their own breed of adult education.

## 2.4 Adult education and development theory

The concept of adult education is much older in usage when compared to development. Development, as a concept, first came into usage after World War II and emerged as a means of trying to align poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the level of the industrial capitalism of Europe and North America (Hawi, 2005; Joshi, 2005; Youngman, 2000). The concept of development came into use in reference to economic growth and industrialization shaped by the Western model and standards (Joshi, 2005). Its usage was therefore in reference to underdevelopment in the rest of the world in relation to economies of the Global North. Development was therefore conceived as a process that would transform the backward, traditional and subsistence economies of the Global South into more modern, industrial and technologically superior economies of the Global North.

However, Hall (1982) is critical of this view which looks at the development as an injection from the top or externally generated. He argues that development is an awakening process of people at the bottom of society in which their creative forces are freed to tackle their underdevelopment problems. This is akin to Nyerere (1973) when he argues that development is not a given aspect by one man [woman] to another, but rather man [woman] only develops self by what he [she] does.

As development has largely been said to be a deliberate process to cause desirable changes in society, the practice of adult education has often been framed according to the goals of development (Youngman, 2000). The discussion below, on the linkage between adult education and development, will follow the various theories of development and how each has over the years swayed and informed adult education practice. At the end of the discussion, the conclusion will consider what all this means for the practice and profession of adult education. Is it, for example, adult education that changes to align itself to development or vice versa? The ensuing discussion is considered helpful in examining how the development thinking has over time influenced adult education understanding and practice in EDF.

Under this section, the concept of ‘Countries of the South’ is used to mean Third World Countries, the periphery or developing countries, while the ‘Countries of the North’ refer to the West or industrialized countries, the centre or developed countries. The choice of these words depends on context of usage and period in history. However, they ultimately mean the same thing.

### **2.4.1 Development theories**

Youngman (2000), while quoting Bernstein, notes that, ‘The study and practice of adult education in countries of the South are framed by the context of “development”, the idea of the necessity and possibility of progress towards a “more desirable kind of society”’. (Youngman, 2000, p. 49). He further notes that, ‘The focus of development is societal change, and the social theory of Marx, Durkheim and Weber is an important intellectual legacy because of their work on the transition to modern (industrial, capitalist) society.’ (Youngman, 2000, p. 49). It is perhaps on this basis that Youngman discusses five development theories or paradigms, as he calls them, that is, modernization theory, dependency theory, neoliberal theory and populism.

My discussion of development theories will follow that of Youngman, but only focus on the first three and then add a fourth one, ‘alternative development theory’, that will include Youngman’s populism. In the alternative development paradigm, I add Immanuel Wallerstein’s World-System theory, Manfred Max-Neef’s ‘Human-Scale Development paradigm’ and Sen Amartya’s ‘Development as Freedom’ theory. A number of other writers have also over time tried to find a separate development paradigm for Africa. These will also be highlighted, with an endeavour to describe how these theories explain the practice of adult education, particularly in the context of EDF.

#### **2.4.1.1 Modernisation theory**

Modernisation theory has derived its ideals from a combination of disciplines in economics, sociology, biology and psychology. Sociologically, the focus was on social change from traditional to modern society – characterized by urbanization, democracy, literacy and a market

economy (Youngman, 2000). Psychologically, the focus was on modern personality, characterized by rationality and motivation for success (Hennayake, 2010; Youngman, 2000; Zapf, 2004). The economic focus was however on social interaction such as education to propel a backward traditional society to a modern one (Youngman, 2000). This theory has influenced development thinking for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Modernisation theory assumed a linear development path through definite stages from backwardness to modernity or high mass consumption, as Walt W. Rostow, an American economist, put it in his famous '*stages of economic growth*' published in 1960. The theory stressed economic growth through capitalism driven by a market economy and competitive democracy, but also advocated for state intervention as a regulatory means, and wealth redistribution arising from the '*trickle-down effect*' (Joshi, 2005; Youngman, 2000).

The dominant view that emerged in the 1960s and through the 1970s was that adult education was essential for development based on the tenets of modernization theory. Writers such as Prosser, Townsend-Coles and Lowe particularly emphasized adult non-formal education and adult literacy as essential for propelling society to modernity (Youngman, 2000). It should be noted, however, that this view about adult education is still evident in adult education programmes by both government and NGOs in Uganda and elsewhere.

What is evidently missing is the harmonization of this view with the tenets of NGOs and community development, that stress community initiated learning interventions. Recent research has also shown that literacy is no magic bullet for poverty reduction (Preece, 2005b; Preece & Singh, 2003; Van-Der-Veen & Preece, 2005). The approach to adult education proposed by proponents of modernization theory also falls short due to the fact that it proposes a generic approach to societal problems that is not consistent with the principles of community development and NGOs.

Applying the modernization theory to adult education is also limited, not only in relation to procedure, but also to the values tied to development. As Combs and Ahmed, quoted by Youngman (2000), note about modernisation theory, 'for a subsistence farmer to become a better

commercial farmer, he must first visualize his farm as an economic unit – a business – and not simply a way of life’ (Youngman, 2000, p. 58). Such a view, with its inclination towards individualism driven by capitalism and the market economy, is not concomitant with African values, which espouse cooperation and non-competitive wellbeing.

### **2.4.1.2 Dependency theory**

Dependency theory emerged more as an explanation to the problem of underdevelopment rather than suggesting a development strategy. It emerged in the mid 1960s in response to the failure of modernization theory to propel development to the periphery. It emerged largely from the experience of Latin American states and as a slight shift from Marxist beliefs, hence it being referred to as neo-Marxism (Ferraro, 1996). While Marxism had argued that the spread of mercantile capitalism from the centre to periphery had blocked growth of capitalism there, dependency theory held that the problem was more in exchange relations (Youngman, 2000).

Under-development at the periphery is explained in historical terms but also the market system terms. Historically, countries of the North benefited from cheap labour and raw materials from countries of the South, while they exported expensive industrial products (Ferraro, 1996; Joshi, 2005). According to Ferraro (1996, p. 1), the only way out of these unfair relations entails that:

... poorer countries should embark on programs of import substitution so that they need not purchase the manufactured products from the richer countries. The poorer countries would still sell their primary products on the world market, but their foreign exchange reserves would not be used to purchase their manufactures from abroad.

The theory seemed to suggest an economic war between the North and the South. The questions that remained unanswered were whether the South could match the superiority of Northern economies and whether countries of the South could agree to cooperate and act as a block or whether they had enough markets for their produce, just in case the North wished to retaliate (Ferraro, 1996; Joshi, 2005).

Though dependency theory did not create a big impact on global policy, it influenced notable measures that included cutbacks to imports, controls on foreign capital, promotion of the self-reliance concept and a call to the promotion of cheap indigenous technology. On education, the proponents advocated for a home-made education system that directly addresses local needs of the population and not a borrowed one modelled on industrial European economies (Youngman, 2000).

In reference to adult education, Paulo Freire's views are said to have been influenced by dependency theory. He was of the view that adult literacy studies and extension education should challenge underdevelopment produced by dependence (Youngman, 2000). According to Freire, dependency was more 'cultural invasion' and he therefore called for 'cultural action' (Youngman, 2000). Adult education that emerges from this theory is what Freire called '*conscientization*', a process of self re-discovery from the forces that have kept an individual from full utilization of her/his full potential. Therefore such adult education could lead to a process of liberation from the control of oppressive forces (Freire, 1972).

Adult education aligned to this thinking is still in operation. For example, many NGOs claim that their programmes, adult education in particular, are meant to empower the communities to empower themselves. This study intends to explore whether this dominant view in NGOs is a reality or rhetoric, based on the case of EDF.

### **2.4.1.3 Neoliberal theory**

This theory emerged as a re-examination of modernisation theory, stressing individual choice as the driver of production and economic growth (Kotz, 2002). Neoliberalism dominated the development platform from the 1980s through to the 1990s by demonizing government intervention in market stability, while at the same time castigating the welfare state (Youngman, 2000). Its proponents advocated for free international trade based on the principle of '*comparative advantage*', which stresses that countries should specialize in the production of goods and services for which they can produce cheaply and import those they can produce at higher cost.

Neoliberal development theory has had profound impact on education in general and on adult education in particular. Firstly, that adult education by government should be seen in a business sense as a means to propel economic growth and international competitiveness. Secondly, that education should largely be a private venture, because inequality is a form of individual incentive. The second position ultimately calls for cutbacks in government spending on education in the form of cost-sharing (Youngman, 2000). In the same vein, it is argued that adult education should be placed in the hands of the private sector, where training is based on market needs.

The resultant effect on adult education, particularly in countries of the South, has been state withdrawal and privatization of adult education. This has been evident in Uganda with the rise of private adult education institutions for those who can afford them – largely by the market demands - in areas such as computer skills training, vocational skills and professional development (Babikwa, 2004).

The notion that adult education be placed in the hands of the private sector has proved catastrophic, as it segregates the beneficiaries by targeting only the rich. This negates the real principle which adult education is meant to serve, that is, giving a second chance to those that missed out on formal schooling (Babikwa, 2004; EAEA, 2006; Schugurensky & Myers, 2001). Furthermore, with the dominance of multi-national corporations that are profit-driven, coupled with the high rate of unemployment in countries of the South, adult education remains largely a good for the privileged.

#### **2.4.1.4 Alternative/new development paradigms**

There are a number of development paradigms, theories or models that have emerged since the 1980s in a bid to account for the failure of existing theories to explain the development challenge in the South. These alternatives have largely arisen to address the fact that existing theories have not helped to align development with the wellness of ordinary people. I will highlight a few,

which I have categorized under populism. These include: Human-Scale Development (HS-D), World-System Theory (WST) and Development as Freedom by Amartya Sen.

Populism emerged as a pro-people development strategy after the realization that state intervention and capitalism were in no way benefiting the ordinary person. As global focus shifted from one development theory to another, there was deterioration among the poor in the South with unemployment, diminishing markets and poor state services. Populism was driven by a combination of ideologies such as *feminism, environmentalism and ethnoculturalism* – which advocated for development with special regard to poor rural women, environmental sustainability and cultural sensitivity (Youngman, 2000). Advocates of populism raised a concern for the voices of the poor and vulnerable groups calling for a bottom-up approach to development. These are briefly discussed below.

#### **2.4.1.5 Human-Scale Development (HS-D)**

The most outstanding proponent of HS-D theory was Manfred Max-Neef, a Chilean economist. According to Cruz, Stahel and Max-Neef (2009, p. 2021), ‘Central to this paradigm is a systemic re-conceptualization of human needs and an attempt to place this discussion at the centre of the development debate’. Like most economists within the new development paradigm, Max-Neef was concerned by the fact that development interventions were not adequately addressing endemic poverty in countries of the South. Scholars aligned to the HS-D strategy are driven by what they termed ‘fundamental human needs’ (Cruz et al., 2009; Max-Neef, Elizalde, & Hopenhayn, 1989). HS-D stresses that these needs are similar across all societies, though each society satisfies them differently.

The most relevant and key insights of this approach are that development refers to people and not objects, human needs are seen as finite, every system of needs is either satisfied or not and that satisfiers are not static like needs (Cruz et al., 2009). Cruz et al., (2009, p. 2023) further note that; ‘... the H-SD theory acknowledges that due to our common human nature, humans need to satisfy some fundamental needs that are common to all of us, in order to sustain a rich and meaningful life’.

### **2.4.1.6 World-System Theory (WST)**

WST emerged as a close ally of the dependency theory, as they are both grounded in ideological underpinnings that critique capitalism. It is argued that underdevelopment, persistent in the Third World, is best explained by unlimited global free trade rooted in capitalism (Chirot & Hall, 1982). The theory is traced back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, although it only came to prominence with the writings of Immanuel Wallerstein, an American sociologist in the 1960s and 1970s (Chirot & Hall, 1982; Gowan, 2004; Martínez-Vela, 2001; Worsley, 1979).

WST theorists hold that the traditional society concept as perceived by modernization theorists is a myth, since it does not take cognizance of the fact that the ‘so called modern societies’ became what they are due to the exploitation and destruction of the periphery through colonialism (Chirot & Hall, 1982; Gowan, 2004; Martínez-Vela, 2001; Worsley, 1979). Therefore modernity of the North can better be explained by backwardness of the South.

Critics of WST argue that the explanation of economic backwardness through dependency and capitalism is a fallacy, since not all weak economies were victims of colonialism, such as Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe. They hold that it was rather backwardness that eventually produced a dependency pattern (Chirot & Hall, 1982; Worsley, 1979). It is further noted that WST ignored the role of technological dynamism and economic success in the explanation of economic growth, hence not considering countries like England and Holland in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Chirot & Hall, 1982; Gowan, 2004). When compared to other populist paradigms, it also lacks a clear linkage of individual well-being as a foundation of development. This therefore leaves it very close to the traditional theories of development.

The WST theory has remained more of an academic debate and therefore has not had a profound impact on global economic policies on adult education or education generally. However, from this perspective adult education that emerges from this theory would be similar to that of dependency theory, that is, promoting conscientization and self-sustainability.

### 2.4.1.7 Capability Approach (CA)

I have also classified Amartya Sen's capability approach as a populist paradigm, based on the fact that it emerges as a critique to both the leftist and capitalistic view of development, while placing vulnerable groups at the centre of the argument (Youngman, 2000). Sen perceives development in total contrast to traditional understandings rooted in industrialization, economic growth, technological advancement, and rise in personal income or broadly GDP. Rather, he sees development as a process of expanding real human freedoms. Hence, freedom is both the means and the end of the development process (Gay, 2003; Sen, 1999; Tungodden, 2001a).

According to Sen, freedom is constituted by five interconnected components, that is, political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security (Tungodden, 2001a). Sen further believes that the process of development should be hinged on the removal of what he calls '*sources of unfreedom*', that is, poverty and tyranny, neglect of public facilities, intolerance, repressive states, poor economic opportunities and social deprivation. Poverty is specifically seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes (Sen, 1999).

The inclusiveness of the rights of women is given as another strong stimulus of the development process. Major attributes of women's rights include reduction in infant mortality and population control but also reduction in social violence (Sen, 1999). Cultural sensitivity and respect of social values are also part of human freedoms that play a crucial role in development. According to Sen, women's education and improved health is critical to the development process (Gay, 2003; Sen, 1999; Tungodden, 2001a).

Although Sen does not clearly indicate what form of education has profound impact on development, he maintains that investment in education and health should not be a preserve of the rich economies, but poor ones as well (Gay, 2003; Sen, 1999; Tungodden, 2001a). According to Sen, limited access to education is a form of limited freedoms and a means of deprivation of the right to tap into individual potentials in production, creativity, trade and social interaction

(Sen, 1999). This argument relates to Freire's concept of *conscientization*, where humans become more aware of the sources of their oppression (Blackburn, 2000).

Sen credits basic education as being more than just value addition to production, to include communication, sound argument, rational decision-making and being taken seriously by others (Sen, 1999). This argument therefore expands the role of education, specifically adult education, beyond the confines of modernization theory and neo-liberal theories (Youngman, 2000). Sen's theory therefore provides good lenses for adult education in EDF, that is, whether adult education is hinged on production, or more broadly, to developing sound reasoning and removing various forms of '*unfreedom*'.

Populism, or the alternative development paradigm, has had a big impact on adult education as a popular movement for social change. This has seen adult education move more to the NGOs away from the state. There has been an international focus on NGOs as agents of development and adult education because of their presumed pro-poor approach and people-centeredness rooted in principles of empowerment and community development.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the state of adult education globally and over time can best be understood from the changing development paradigms. For the last century, for example, modernization theory and neo-liberalism, with their central focus on economic growth, have had greater influence on adult education. Adult education has over time tried to align itself to the changing development debates, not only as a means of staying relevant, but also to tap into funds from funding sources. The next section highlights the concept of NGOs, which is considered key in the case of EDF.

## **2.5 NGOs, development and adult education**

### **2.5.1 NGOs in the development context**

In chapter 1, it was stressed that the concept of NGOs is fluid and in many cases used interchangeably with CSOs and CBOs. However, in specific terms, NGOs are one type of CSOs,

as the latter includes other entities such as social and popular movements, popular organizations, and community-based organizations (Nafukho et al., 2005). Hall (2000; 2009) looks at NGOs or CSOs in a broad sense as forms of social movements, where groups of individuals are clamouring for self governance and determination of self destiny in the development arena (Hall, 2000; Hall, 2009).

NGOs are mainly classified as national or international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) based on their registration status and area of operation. INGOs are those registered abroad and normally operating in a range of countries, whereas those registered in a home country and operating within the same country are referred to as national, local or indigenous NGOs. NGOs are also classified according to their functions or according to their founding bodies, such as faith-based organizations founded by churches and other religious bodies (Hall, 2000; Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007; Makoba, 2002).

Internationally, NGOs are traced back to the end of the Second World War, when economic powers sought to lend a hand in the development of poor nations without routing their assistance through governments (Hearn 2007; Heinrich, 2001; Manji & O'Coil, 2002). Lekorwe and Mpabanga (2007) further note that, 'The roots of NGOs are different according to the geographical and historical context. Although NGOs' presence and influence is undisputedly spread over the entire globe, their presence has been more in the developing world with funding flowing mainly from the developed world.'

NGOs have been an indispensable partner for national and international development agendas and as a result have been described as the "third sector" after government and the private sector (Lekorwe & Mpabanga, 2007). The central role of NGOs in today's development agenda can be explained by the dismal performance of the African state in the development process and the resulting changes in international development policy, where the rich nations and societies want to deal directly with poor communities by-passing state structures (Baguma, 2009; Barr et al., 2003; Makoba, 2002; Manji & O'Coil, 2002; Muhumuza, 2005). Hall (2000) notes that; NGOs are increasingly becoming sub-contractors to the World Bank and other international funding bodies. The situation is not very different in Uganda (Barr et al., 2004).

Whereas Makoba (2002) and Muhumuza (2005) seem to agree that the growth of NGOs in Uganda, just like many other developing countries, is a result of state failure to supply basic services to the population, Muhumuza further attributes the rapid NGO growth in Uganda to relative calm brought about by the advent of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government in 1986. This assumption seems not to hold water, since Kenya and Tanzania, who have been relatively peaceful, have not had the matching growth of NGOs as in Uganda.

Research studies have shown that a number of NGOs operating in rural development place emphasis on, or largely describe their work as educational, awareness-raising or as some form of education and training (Barr et al., 2003; Hearn 2007; Moroso, 2004; Shivji, 2004; Werker & Ahmed, 2008). This is perhaps based on the view that backwardness, deprivation and powerlessness are a result of lack of education or failure of people to realize their potential because of external forces (Frank & Smith, 1999; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006).

**Table 1: Nongovernmental organizations in Uganda and Bangladesh in selected activities**

Activities	Percent of sample reporting	
	Uganda	Bangladesh
Raising awareness	97	92
Advocacy and lobbying	60	31
Education and training	57	47
Credit and finance	33	35
Support to farming	32	35
HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention	21	40
Health care	16	55
Water and sanitation	11	51
Employment facilitation	8	47

**Source: Werker & Ahmed (2008), page 85.**

As seen from the table above, the majority of NGOs in Uganda, just like in Bangladesh, another developing country, tend to associate their work with adult education related activities such as awareness-raising or training (Barr et al., 2004; Werker & Ahmed, 2008). Major approaches and methods used to spread their messages include workshops, open air speeches, and door-to-door visits. According to Barr et al., (2004, p. 12) ‘The strong emphasis on talking as opposed to the

delivery of physical goods or services probably makes it easier for ineffective or unscrupulous organizations to hide within the sector'. Another profound feature of NGOs in Uganda is that they prefer to take a holistic approach to service delivery. As Barr, et al., (2004, p. 12) note:

Most surveyed NGOs adopt a holistic approach rather than specializing in a specific service or activity. During pre-testing, most respondents resisted, or even resented, being described as service providers, preferring to describe their activities in general terms such as 'community development'. While this approach guarantees maximum flexibility, it precludes gains from specialization and makes monitoring very difficult.

On the limitations of NGOs as representatives of peoples' aspirations and destiny, Shivji (2004) notes that 'NGOs simply cannot substitute themselves for the people. They are neither the elected representatives of the people nor mandated to represent them' (Shivji, 2004, p. 3). The central argument is that NGOs ought to reconceptualise their fancy titles as 'stakeholders and partners' with people in development because this is built on a false foundation. It is for similar reasons that Hall (2000) believes that NGOs cannot in any way claim to offer democratic spaces.

It should further be noted that, in looking at the vision and mission of NGOs, especially those in the South, it is quite difficult to conclusively determine how much of those visions and missions are truly driven by the people they serve. Most programmes and agendas of NGOs are largely externally determined (Contu & Girei, 2013). As Barr, et al., (2004, p. 32) observe, 'Many Ugandan NGOs indeed de facto or de jure operate as sub-contractors for international donors'. Shivji (2004) agrees and notes that:

...we are funded by, and rely almost exclusively on, foreign funding. This is the greatest single limitation. 'Whoever pays the piper plays the tune' holds true, however much we may want to think otherwise. In many direct and subtle ways, those who fund us determine our agendas, place limits on our agendas or reorient them. Very few of us can really resist the pressures that external funding imposes on us (Shivji, 2004, p. 1).

Notwithstanding the democratic credentials of NGOs, their services are generally appreciated by the grassroots. Based on a case study on the role of NGOs in rural development conducted in Thrissur District of Kerala State, Bhaskar & Geethakutty (2001) noted that NGOs are accepted by the different sections of society as an effective machine for rural development. They further observed that:

This high acceptance of NGOs among the beneficiaries can surely be attributed to many of the special qualities of NGOs. Voluntary organizations have special qualities in their style of functioning such as flexibility in operation, sensitivity to changing needs, high level of motivation of the functionaries and innovations (Bhaskar & Geethakutty, 2001, p. 54).

This study is keen on interrogating issues related to the philosophy of EDF and how that philosophy dictates the nature of adult education offered, and the relationships that exist between EDF and its various stakeholders.

## **2.5.2 NGOs and adult education**

Nafukho et al (2005) notes that NGOs have become increasingly active in adult education work in Africa. NGOs have also been hailed globally for the use of bottom-up community development approaches and being close to the disadvantaged communities (Manji & O'Coil, 2002). The NGO sector in Uganda has over time tried to occupy the gap left by government and international bodies concerning the education of adults, not only in literacy and numeracy, but also in terms of life skills and civic awareness (Brock, McGee, Okech, & Ssuna, 2003; Muhumuza, 2005; Thomas, 1994). It should be noted that even though the majority of NGOs in Uganda are involved in adult education delivery, very few acknowledge this fact (Openjuru, 2004).

Failure by NGOs to acknowledge adult education as a core function makes documentation in respect of their work as adult educators difficult. However, a good number of NGOs operating in Uganda do offer adult education despite this not being clearly reflected in their core mission

statements. Where adult education principles/approaches are applied, they are usually expressed with different terminology, but not as adult education. The terminology ranges from empowerment to human development, training and many others (ADRA-Uganda, 2008; URDT, 2006; World-Vision, 2010).

In spite of the enormous work that NGOs do in relation to adult education, these efforts are fragmented and minimally documented. NGOs' approaches to development follow different patterns, philosophies and goals. Since NGOs are started by different people and with different objectives, it's little wonder that they have not had a common position on the relationship between adult education and community development. Whereas the mission statements of various NGOs may be silent on adult education per se (Openjuru, 2004), the majority offer adult education of some sort under a different name or categorization. The various names tend to be specific to the programmes they run, such as environmental education, agricultural extension, health education, civic education and the like. The categorization and terminology employed by EDF is part of the exploration of this study.

There remains a gap in the literature on the explicit role of NGOs in adult education for community development. There is very little that the literature offers in relation to the emergence and development of adult education within the context of NGOs. In addition, the historical trends of the development of adult education as part and parcel of community development have not been explored.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The literature reviewed in this chapter discussed the major concepts informing this study. The chapter brought to light adult education as a concept and its philosophical grounding, its development in time, how it has come to gain recognition as a separate field of practice and its place in the broader realm of development. The discussion was therefore an endeavour to lay the ground for exploring the perceptions and practices of adult education in the NGO world from the specific case of EDF.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

According to Boeije (2010, p. 21), ‘Theory refers to coherent frameworks that try to describe and explain aspects of social life’. This chapter is divided into three sections. Section one focuses on Mwalimu Julius Nyerere’s (1973) theory of education for liberation. Section two discusses Paulo Freire’s (1972) education theory of the oppressed while the third section discusses Youngman’s (2000) viewpoint of political economy of adult education.

Nyerere’s (1973) theory of education as rooted in his concept of African Socialism (Nyerere, 1968), together with Freire’s (1972) educational theory were used as frameworks for the study. The two theories belong to the radical perspectives in adult education (Major & Mulvihilland, 2009; Mulenga, 2001). These theories resonate well with the participatory approaches to community development that have taken centre stage in the NGO world and relate to the case under study of Emesco Development Foundation (EDF). Secondly, community development work is rooted in the radical tradition, inspired by a vision of a more fair, just and equal society (Ledwith, 2001). Radical adult education theorists view education as a prerequisite to fundamental and profound social change in economic and political spheres (Foley, 2001; Holst, 1999, 2009; Price, 2001).

The conceptual framework of political economy of adult education and development by Youngman (2000) was adopted later during data collection and analysis, as it was deemed fit to explain the genesis of adult education and its conceptualization in the work of EDF.

### 3.2 Nyerere's theory of education

The educational theory of Nyerere (1973) was used to explore the reasons behind the emergence, and development of adult education in the work of EDF. The theory was chosen because of its broadness in addressing the entire education system in post-colonial Africa.

What has come to be known as Nyerere's theory of education is a result of his numerous pronouncements on education as a whole, including adult education. Nyerere himself did not sit down to craft this and neither did he call it a philosophy, or even a theory. Most of his views were largely in the form of public speeches and pronouncements made as president. These have been compiled into books and journals. His consistent arguments, however, have been deemed fit to constitute a theory by many scholars (Hope, 2007; Major & Mulvihilland, 2009; Mulenga, 2001; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009). His views on education and on the governance of society have even earned him the title of a philosopher (Major & Mulvihilland, 2009).

This study saw fit to use this theory as a lense in understanding adult education in EDF. Major areas of focus in Nyerere's education theory, for this study, include purpose of adult education, adult education and social change, education for self-reliance, education for liberation, methods of education, the curriculum and adult education as life/lifelong learning. The concept of *ujamaa* was basically used to interrogate aspects of participation and cooperation in the work of EDF. It is important to note that Nyerere's education theory cannot be understood in isolation from his political thought, that is, *Ujamaa* (explained below) or African socialism (Thompson, 1985).

Nyerere's theory of education can as well be described as his thoughts on what would be a desirable kind of education for a liberated Africa. Nyerere (1967, p. 237) stated: 'Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals'. Nyerere viewed the education of the day as Eurocentric, which the former colonial masters were using to domesticate their former colonial subjects. According to Nyerere '... Western education was alienating Africans from their own values and thus reinforcing western values' (Major & Mulvihilland, 2009, p. 15). Hence, such education was not suitable to address the problems of Africa and to create necessary development.

### 3.2.1 Early influences

Nyerere trained as a teacher and even though he later joined politics, he always identified himself with the teaching profession. It is for this reason that he was referred to as '*Mwalimu*', a Kiswahili term for teacher. He therefore transferred his teaching skills from the classroom to the public domain, as a teacher for all Tanzanians irrespective of age (Chacha, 2002; Kassam, 1994). Nyerere also later married a teacher, Ms. Maria Gabriel Majige, an event that could have consolidated his love for teaching.

Nyerere also closely associated with George Padmore, the West Indian pan-Africanist, who had been Kwame Nkrumah's mentor while he studied and lived in Europe. It could therefore be said that his spirit of pan-Africanism was ignited by Padmore (Chacha, 2002). It could also be said that his stint in England brought him face to face with capitalism (quite different to African socio-economic relations), which made him hate the social relations therein.

Nyerere's worldview was also profoundly influenced by the church. In addition to having been raised in the Catholic faith, he himself developed into a strong believer, though he would occasionally challenge church positions he would feel unsatisfied with (Magesa, 2011; Mesaki & Malipula, 2011). As a result, he was more concerned about the well-being of his people in the full human sense, rather than merely economic growth (Hope, 2007). This could have perhaps influenced his view of development. As Hope (2007) notes: 'He did not measure development, as many people do, only in terms of impressive growth of GDP. He was deeply committed to an egalitarian society in which fundamental human needs of all people would be met' (Hope, 2007, p. 4). Currently, there is an ongoing effort by the Catholic Church to declare Nyerere a Saint (Mesaki & Malipula, 2011).

Nyerere, having been born and raised from a very small peasant tribe of the Zanaki, where people toiled on land to make a living, came to be associated and deeply concerned about the poor and socially downtrodden groups (Magesa, 2011). He was also a strong believer in African cultural heritage and never at any stage felt that being African, cannot translate to modernity. It

ought to be noted though, that, ‘Nyerere was neither an uncritical admirer of African traditions nor an uncritical enemy of modernity. We might say that *the* project of his life was to integrate Africa into the modern world and vice versa’ (Magesa, 2011, p. 9). His concern for the downtrodden is further seen from his early concern for women, when he authored a paper on the freedom of women in 1944 (Magesa, 2011).

It can also be argued that Nyerere was also influenced by his pre- and post-independence experience of Tanganyikan society. Much as it could not be outright described as apartheid or racism, there was polarization and injustices in the society, based on race. Mulenga (2001, p. 449) describes such experiences of Nyerere when he notes that ‘Tanganyika was a society in which the native Africans and immigrant Whites and Asians never lived as equals ... This unequal social structure was notoriously fortified and maintained by the British colonial administration’.

### **3.2.2 Key concepts in Nyerere’s educational theory**

#### **3.2.4.1. Adult education and lifelong learning**

Adult education is one of the key aspects of Nyerere’s education theory. Nyerere’s passion for adult education was influenced by his view that society can easily be changed through adults. Although Nyerere believed in the importance of children’s education, he, however, doubted its immediate application and impact in changing the society (Mulenga, 2001). Nyerere (1973, p. 134) noted thus: ‘I myself have pointed out that we cannot wait until our educated children are grown up before we get economic and social development’. Nyerere further understood adult education in relation to development and liberation. Therefore, according to Nyerere, the main purpose of adult education is to help people develop themselves and promote social change (Mulenga, 2001; Nyerere, 1982). He also viewed adult education as an all-round life process, necessary for a better life. He thus notes:

Further, adult education is not something which can deal with just "*agriculture*", or "*health*" or "*literacy*", or "*mechanical skill*", etc. All these separate branches of education are related to the total life a man is living, and to the man he is and will become (Nyerere, 1982, p.39).

Nyerere recognizes adult education as a profession, and is of the view that every society ought to have a group of individuals with special skills as educators of adults. He categorizes teachers of adults into generalists and specialists (Mulenga, 2001). The generalists are those involved with general knowledge such as politicians, community development workers and religious leaders. Nyerere notes that such people, based on how they use their positions to effect change, are never politically neutral. This resonates with Freire (1972), when he notes that adult education is not a politically neutral discipline. On the other hand, specialists are those with specialized skills in a development area such as agriculture or health. Nyerere adds that for the work of specialists to be effective, it ought to be interwoven like a cobweb, that is, one field linked to the other. He further contends that, much as specialists may possess skills in a particular discipline or specialty, say agriculture, they should also possess knowledge in other disciplines, including adult education.

Nyerere emphatically introduced the concept of lifelong learning as another aspect of adult education (Mulenga, 2001). Different from education for children, Nyerere alluded to John Dewey's view that the learning that spans the entire life of man [woman] is, indeed, adult education. Nyerere (1973, p. 141) stressed that: 'To live is to learn; and to learn is to try to live better'. This indeed supplements his earlier position when he notes that:

So if adult education is to contribute to development, it must be a part of life - integrated with life and inseparable from it. It is not something which can be put into a box and taken out for certain periods of the day or week - or certain periods of a life ... Further, it means that adult education encompasses the whole of life, and must build upon what already exists' (Nyerere, 1982, p. 39).

### **3.2.4.2. Education for self reliance**

According to Nyerere, the concept of education for self-reliance was meant to address the negative colonial legacy that education stood for. Nyerere believed that colonial education was only serving the interests of the former colonial masters, while disorienting Tanzanians. He argued that the colonial education system promoted a class of elites, who viewed themselves as white men in a black skin, that is, people who shunned manual labour and informal traditional knowledge, while at same time promoted bookish-formal education (Nasongo & Musungu, 2009). It is noteworthy that the 'self' in the concept, emphasized society rather than individuals. Nasongo and Musungu (2009, p. 113) further stress that; 'Nyerere's envisaged condition for "self-reliance" puts society at the apex of concern. Anything that could promote the common good was regarded as of ultimate value. He placed a high value on the co-operative instincts of human beings'. Hence, Education for Self-reliance (ESR) is the attainment of economic and cultural independence.

When one looks at the views of Nyerere on education for self-reliance and education for liberation from a narrow perspective, one may think that the two positions are contradictory, concerning the individual and society. Although the individual self is still held as important for contributions to the mass of society, Nyerere does not glorify individual benefit. Individual excellence is considered a gift to the bigger society, and what makes society credible are the special unique attributes of these individuals (Nasongo & Musungu, 2009).

### **3.2.4.3. Education for liberation**

Nasongo and Musungu (2009) re-echo Nyerere (1982), that liberation should be the primary purpose of education, that is, education is a tool capable of liberating an individual from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependence. According to Nyerere, 'Education has to liberate both the mind and the body of man [woman]. It has to make one more of a human being because he is aware of his potential as a human being and is in a positive, life enhancing relationship with himself, his neighbours and his environment' (Nasongo & Musungu, 2009, p. 114). Akin to Freire (1972), Nyerere holds that the products of liberatory education should be able to think and act independently, but also act as creators and not as submerged creatures who

are consumers. This then fulfils the main goal of education for self-reliance (Mulenga, 2001; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009).

Adult education, as a branch of education, plays a special role in the liberation of men and women in society. Nyerere linked adult education to development, but not to the mere fact of influencing social change, but also to help people to think and act independently. Nyerere (1982, p. 45) notes, ‘...and it could never be said that adult education is not worth doing! For it is the key to the development of free men and free societies’. Hence, adult education is a liberating process of man, to freedom and development.

Like Freire (1972) on banking education, discussed later, Nyerere notes that teaching which induces a slave mentality or sense of impotence, is no education at all, as it represents an attack on one’s mind. Therefore, education is a process of removing the constraints which inhibit an individual from exploiting his/her full potential. In as far as post-independent Tanzania and Africa were concerned, Nyerere expected a liberating education that would end Eurocentric dependence in terms of knowledge, skills and even ethical and aesthetic judgment (Nasongo & Musungu, 2009).

#### **3.2.4.4. Methods and techniques of adult education**

Nyerere (1982) uses the term ‘methods’ broadly, seemingly in reference to facilitation techniques of adult education or adult education pedagogy (Freire, 1972, 1998; Fritze, 2010; Seaman & Fellenz, 2002). Nyerere was of the view that methods of adult education ought to be flexible so as to reflect the situation, time, condition and resources available to learners. The methods should therefore be learner-centred, that is, should be able to help the learners to develop their own thinking capacity and address individual problems. In addition, the methods should encourage practice and hands-on processes, where learners can comfortably say: ‘Yes, we have done it, and can do it again’.

Nyerere advocated for a pedagogy that taps into the knowledge of learners, where the educator uses the principle of mutual sharing, reminiscent of Freire’s dialogue (Freire, 1972; Nyerere, 1973; 1982; Wink, 2000). Nyerere, like other earlier scholars such as John Dewey and Paulo

Freire, advocated for active participation of students in learning (Major & Mulvihilland, 2009). This means that the role of an adult educator should be limited to that of a guide and leader on a path that is travelled by all.

The issue of adult facilitation techniques and materials was also of concern to Nyerere. Cognisant of the fact that adult education is a tailor-made process and not something to model on universalistic principles, he agitated for flexibility and affordability of techniques and materials for adult education. According to Nyerere, the techniques ‘... must be of very low cost, and preferably, capable of being constructed out of local materials, at the place where the teaching will be done, and by the people who will teach and learn’ (Mulenga, 2001, p. 459).

Like Freire (1972), Nyerere was of the view that liberating pedagogy needs to be democratic, in the sense that it is driven by dialogue and problem-posing techniques. Nyerere argued that ‘...the teacher could neither afford to be ‘distant’ from the community nor be value neutral’ (Mulenga, 2001, p. 456). Nyerere held that such techniques allow the learners to draw from their experience, in order to enrich the learning process, but also to re-direct learning to their individual and societal needs.

### **3.2.4.5. Curriculum**

Nyerere (1967) castigates a curriculum set by those who have ‘excelled’ in formal education to be imposed on others. He notes that such curricula are sometimes collaborated on to match international standards or measures, to a certain academic level. To him, such curricula cannot address the learners’ local problems and needs. It should be stressed that while Nyerere clearly made a distinction between adult education and schooling of children, his views on education transcended these demarcations. On the curriculum, for example, ‘Nyerere suggested a curriculum that would enable the pupil to have an enquiring mind, an ability to learn from what others do and adapt to his/her needs’ (Mulenga, 2001, p. 456).

### **3.2.4.6. Adult education for social change and development**

The three purposes of adult education stated by Nyerere can be interpreted to mean that he saw adult education as a tool for development and social change. Nyerere (1973, p. 137) states that: ‘the first job of adult education will therefore be to make us reject bad houses, bad *jembe*, and preventable diseases ... to learn how to improve our lives ... to learn to produce more on our farms or in our factories and offices; ... to understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance’. He further argues that adult education should be able to promote change but also assist people to control change, both induced by them and enforced on them by others, and by nature. In other words, Nyerere viewed the role of adult education as a coping strategy of people.

Nyerere, like Sen (1999), was of the view that development can best be understood as a process of freedom. This is because he believed that development cannot be given by one man to another or by one society to another. Nyerere (1982, p. 37) notes: ‘So development is for Man, by Man, and of Man’. Therefore, development begins with freeing men and women from forces that inhibit their potential to think positively and seek solutions for their problems. Nyerere (1980, pp. 53-54) had earlier noted that: ‘Freedom is essential to development and not just a product of it. But freedom does not mean, and must not be allowed to mean, the freedom of the rich and the clever to exploit the poor and ignorant’. Therefore the role of adult education is to liberate people to accord them freedom, which is the apex of development.

According to Nyerere, human beings cannot be separated from society or from their environment. The development concept of Nyerere (1982), was therefore influenced by the positioning of the individual man/woman, in relation to his/her environment and society. This view reinforces his political philosophy of African socialism. Therefore, development is only good if it caters for the mass of the population, but also uses the environment sustainably.

### **3.2.4.7. African socialism (Ujamaa)**

As noted above, Nyerere’s educational theory was rooted in his views on African heritage and his desire to find a unique system that addresses Africa’s unique challenges. Therefore,

Nyerere's educational theory and African socialism are largely inseparable. Nyerere (1966) describes African socialism or *ujamaa* by noting that:

Ujamaa', then, or 'familyhood', describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man (Nyerere, 1966, p. 170).

Nyerere's philosophy of African socialism, or '*ujamaa*' (Nyerere, 1968), was used to explore aspects of cooperation, participation and social support ownership in the programmes of EDF. As Nyerere (1968, p.405) notes, "we can ensure that we build a society in which men co-operate together for their mutual benefit".

Nyerere rejects both capitalism and Western socialism as a means of development for post-independent Tanzania, and even the larger African continent. *Ujamaa*, in contrast to the two extremes, was to represent a third way, or a synthesis of what is best in the traditional African peasantry society, and the best of what African societies had acquired from colonialism (Fattou, 1985; Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003; Nyerere, 1966, 1968). To this end, Che-mponda (1984) argues that, 'Nyerere could be described as a truly non-aligned political philosopher oscillating between Western democracy and Eastern communism' (Che-mponda, 1984, p. 63). Nyerere's *ujamaa* hoped to revolutionize the peasantry means of production, based on social capital rooted in African values of equality and respect. The key concepts in African socialism that highly stand out as core to his education theory are participation and cooperation.

Pratt (1985) clearly underscores the three core principles of *ujamaa*, that is: cooperation, participation and unity. According to Nyerere (1967), cooperation and participation under the *ujamaa* philosophy was guided by the principles of human dignity, sharing of the resources produced by all, work by everyone and exploitation by none. However, what distinguishes Nyerere's African socialism and the leftist socialism is the fact that each individual has a duty to contribute to the basket of resources to be shared equally. According to African traditional norms, each can only contribute as and according to his capabilities. In other words, society has a

duty to provide for the weak such as the elderly and disabled. Nyerere (1980, pp. 53-54) stresses that: 'It is through co-operation that each of us develops his own potential and receives personal identity. And co-operation has its own requirements and makes its own demands upon us all'.

Likewise, cooperation placed obligations on participation. Since socialism was meant to benefit all – the weak and strong equally, everybody was required to participate towards the common good, and according to their potential. As Marsland (2006, p. 66) notes: 'The Tanzanian discourse of participation is rooted in African socialism and Nyerere's concept of self-reliance (*kujitegemea*), in which citizens are obliged to contribute their labour and resources in a community effort to "build the nation" - *kujenga taifa*'. It should be noted that participation and cooperation go hand in hand and were not only expected, but were mandatory (Nyerere, 1980, 1982).

Nyerere further believed that at the core of participation was unity and cooperation. Whereas unity is an expressed sense of togetherness, cooperation alludes to working together for a common goal. Nyerere stressed that the people of Tanzania ought to live together as a family and help each other. Therefore, '*Ujamaa* was to help restore the cooperative spirit that the African people had before the colonizers introduced the idea of individualism' (Major & Mulvihilland, 2009, p. 16).

It should be borne in mind that Nyerere's concept of African socialism is known more for its controversial nature than its 'presumed goal' and was contested by both capitalists and socialists: 'To the West *Ujamaa* was unabated "godless" communism (a view toward which the Catholic Church leaned). To the then eastern bloc it was not scientific or communist enough' (Magesa, 2011, p. 15). Therefore, the failure of Nyerere's *ujamaa* to anchor firmly on any of the strong economic doctrines of the day was to later lead to its demise.

### **3.2.5 Applications of Nyerere's education theory**

Nasongo and Musungu (2009), in a study titled 'The implications of Nyerere's theory of education to contemporary education in Kenya', used Nyerere's theory of education as a lens

through which to formulate worthwhile theories of education in the context of Kenya's 21st century realities. They focused on the two major concepts of Nyerere's education theory, that is, education for self-reliance and education for liberation. The study recommended that education in Kenya ought to embrace a multidimensional orientation that ensures the liberation of the individual, leading to the attainment of self-reliance (Nasongo & Musungu, 2009).

Nyerere's theory is still considered relevant on the global stage, and particularly in Africa. All countries, especially those that suffered colonialism, are still trying to identify an ideal education that suits their particular conditions. It is largely held that ideal education should help individuals to reflect on their conditions and act on them in order to overcome development challenges. Botswana is such an example, as Major and Mulvihilland (2009, p. 19) note: 'Nyerere's idea of education for self-reliance has been adopted by many countries in Africa. Botswana has widely adopted the idea that education should develop citizens who are self-reliant. One of the five national principles of Botswana is self-reliance'.

Uganda has, since its independence in 1962, gone through several education reviews in a bid to move towards an ideal education system for the country. Currently, there is an ongoing process to promulgate the Non-formal Adult Learning policy to cater for the learning needs of adults and out of school youth (Bananuka & Katahoire, 2008). Nyerere's education theory is therefore considered helpful to Uganda, as it moves to design an educational system based on a home-grown socio-economic philosophy.

### **3.2.6 Nyerere's education theory as a lens in a case study of EDF**

The education theory of Nyerere speaks to the formal education context. However, the theory further addresses itself to adult education in community development contexts. In the case of EDF, Nyerere's education theory will be used to interrogate a number of aspects as stated below.

- i. How does EDF's educational practices relate to the principles of adult education as advocated by Nyerere?
- ii. What aspects of EDF's education curriculum demonstrate Nyerere's ideals of a relevant curriculum?

- iii. Do power relationships between educators and learners in EDF demonstrate any ideals of Nyerere's criteria of an effective relationship?
- iv. How does the work of CDWs in EDF reflect Nyerere's concept of adult educators?
- v. To what extent does adult learning pedagogy in EDF reflect Nyerere's view of adult education methods?
- vi. How does adult education practice in EDF relate to the concept of lifelong learning as perceived by Nyerere?

### **3.2.7 Why Nyerere's education theory was considered relevant for a case study of EDF**

Nyerere's theory of education has greatly informed the lens through which we understand adult education as an integral component of community development. In line with Nyerere's theory, EDF's vision holds that the people of Kibaale District have the resources and the potential to free themselves from poverty and sustainably improve their livelihoods (EDF, 2010a, 2010b; EMESCO, 2010). As such, adult education and all forms of community sensitization programmes form the core of EDF programmes and activities. Nyerere equally maintained that '... poverty was not a real problem of the modern world because there was plenty of knowledge and resources to enable the overcoming of poverty' (Mesaki & Malipula, 2011, p. 96). Nyerere (1982) stressed that even though the work of community development workers is important, it is ultimately people who can develop themselves.

Nyerere's education theory was also considered helpful because of the notions of African values as embedded in his concept of '*African socialism*'. The education theory of Nyerere goes beyond the 4-walled classroom and even beyond the school to community development. The aspects of cooperation, participation and community ownership were seen as vital in the case of EDF. Therefore, Nyerere's education theory is considered key in the understanding of adult education practice in the community development work of EDF. Other than addressing the core concepts in the work of EDF, Nyerere speaks to the role of culture and African values as a basis for a tailor-made development strategy in any African context.

### 3.3 Paulo Freire's educational theory

Paulo Freire's educational theory (Freire, 1972), which is often referred to as 'popular education' in Latin America and 'critical pedagogy' in the Western world (Choules, 2007; Gerhardt, 1993), was employed in this study to explore the concepts of social change, empowerment and liberation in the work and programmes of EDF.

Popular education emerged in Latin America in the period from the 1960s to the 1970s, and Paulo Freire is its best known exponent to date (Kerka, 1997). Key to popular education is that adult education encourages learners to examine their lives critically and take action to change their social conditions. The goal of popular education is to develop people's capacity for social change through a collective problem-solving approach (Kerka, 1997). Gerhardt (1993) also observes:

Freire's educational thrust centres on the human potential for creativity and freedom in the midst of politico-economic and culturally oppressive structures. It aims at discovering and implementing liberating alternatives through social interaction and transformation via the 'conscientization' process (Gerhardt, 1993, p. 11).

Ledwith (2001, p. 181) summarizes critical pedagogy as:

... that form of education which emerges from critical compassion; a transcendence of the emotional and intellectual; the heart and mind learn to see and know in new ways. It requires liberation of the mind, the courage to act and the confidence to connect – autonomy, agency and alliance; and the beginning of this transformative project lies in simply extraordinarily experiencing the ordinary.

The critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire is redolent of hegemony and counter-hegemony, as put forward by Antonio Gramsci and Karl Marx (Wink, 2000). Karl Marx also talked of education as a tool of institutionalizing the ideals and values of the dominant class. Freire's education theory is sometimes categorized under progressive education because of its focus on the centrality of

learners experience and emphasis on practical learning methods (Price, 2001; Walter, 2009). It considers education as a prerequisite vehicle to fundamental and profound social change in economic and political spheres, through consciousness raising of the masses to their social problems (Foley, 2001; Holst, 2009; Price, 2001; Walter, 2009).

The concepts in Freire's educational theory that guided this study include: participation, conscientization, dialogue and praxis (Rule, 2004; Taber, Humble, & Norris, 2006; von-Kotze, 2005), as well as, power and empowerment (Hughes, 1996; Nkemazem, 2004). Freire's pedagogy of transformative change or liberation education is rooted in the concept of praxis (the synthesis of action and reflection) and located in educational sites of resistance such as youth work, adult education, community education and social work (Bowen, 2008; Cohn, 1988; Gerhardt, 1993; Glass, 2001; Hughes, 1996; Ledwith, 2001). These concepts were helpful in exploring the adult learning pedagogy and curriculum of EDF.

### **3.3.1 Key concepts in Freire's educational theory**

Freire's education theory, as it is broadly known (Choules, 2007), can be summarized as an educational message that challenged the long held beliefs about the role of education, the relationship between student and teacher and the separation between literacy and politics. His education theory joined and strengthened other dissenting voices against the whole notion of formal education such as Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, John Dewey, Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky and Henry Giroux, among other progressive and radical educators (Wink, 2000). Freire considered the educational system, which followed prescribed methods and syllabi, as domesticating and only serving the interests of the oppressor.

Freire discusses a broad range of issues, including conscientization and praxis, problem-posing education, dialogue, democratic education and others, as tenets of humanizing or liberating education. The central message in all of this is that Freire advocates for an education where the learner has a voice in determining what and how he or she should learn. As a result, his theory of education has been referred to as: critical pedagogy, revolutionary pedagogy, the Paulo Freire System or popular education, by various scholars (Blackburn, 2000; Choules, 2007; Gerhardt,

1993). The concepts adopted as lenses for understanding adult education and community development in EDF are discussed below.

### 3.3.1.1 Conscientization

*Conscientization* comes from a Portuguese word *conscientização*, meaning being conscious of self (Gerhardt, 1993). According to Freire, *conscientization* refers to the process where the powerless come into self critique of their condition with a view of changing it (Blackburn, 2000; Freire, 1972; Wink, 2000). It can also be considered the first step in the quest of the oppressed human search for greater humanization (Blackburn, 2000). The concept of *conscientization* can be seen from two levels, that is, the schools, or any learning environment, including community. Wink (2000) notes that:

Conscientization moves us from the passivity of “yeah-but-we-can’t-do-that” to the power of “we-gotta-do-the-best-we-can-where-we-can-where-we-are-with-what-we’ve-got”... In schools and communities, conscientization is knowing we know, and it is more (Wink, 2000, p. 37).

As far as a learning environment is concerned, conscientization refers to where learners try to make sense of the what, how and whys of the process of learning in which they are involved. The resultant effect would be what Freire calls humanizing or liberating education. At the level of the community, *conscientization* relates to a process where poor members of the community come to the realization of the conditions in which they live and even make sense that these conditions are not necessarily permanent.

Freire applied conscientization to his literacy method, where the illiterate poor did not stop at reading the word but read the world as well, meaning that literacy lessons cannot be separated from the social and political issues (Fritze, 2010). Nyirenda (1996, pp. 4-5) explains this as:

The basis of Freire's method is that education is seen as a part of the process of the revolutionary transformation of society. The method is linked to a total change in society

... It involves teaching adults how to read and write in relation to the awakening of their consciousness about their social reality.

It is noteworthy that Freire did not intend to use conscientization as an alternative education methodology. He had sought to use it as a process for individuals and groups to craft their own systems, which would suit their condition, to avoid it being another irrelevant and rigid system mechanically recited. Hence, as Gerhardt (1993, p. 9) notes, 'Freire was not happy about gradually becoming the 'guru' of an international community of followers who saw in his work the new evangelism of liberation and who did not try to reinvent his ideas in their own context'. Freire considered common educational practices to be dehumanizing (Cohn, 1988).

### **3.3.1.2 Praxis**

According to Freire (1972), praxis is a higher state of conscientization. Praxis takes place when one takes a step towards changing one's condition. Whereas conscientization is the process by which individuals become more aware of the sources of their oppression, praxis is the process of taking action and reflecting on it (Blackburn, 2000). Therefore, praxis is a process of putting theory, or what one believes, into action as well as reflecting on it.

Praxis, as a process, is also a liberating state, in such a way that the powerless move a step higher to seeking solutions to their current state. As Gerhardt (1993, p. 11) notes: 'Freire proposes a praxis approach to education in the sense of critically reflective action and critical reflection based on practice'. Blackburn (2000) considers praxis as the heart of Freirean pedagogy, because not only does it result from conscientization, it also feeds into it. Therefore, neither conscientization nor praxis can be bestowed by others, but by the powerless themselves in a process of self-discovery.

### **3.3.1.3 Banking education**

It can be argued that Freire's education theory was evoked by what he calls 'banking education', or the 'banking' concept of education. According to Freire, banking education is where

‘Education ... becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor’ (Freire, 1972, p. 46). This concept, which dominated education circles then and perhaps today, places the teacher in a privileged position in relation to the learner (Freire, 1972). The privileged position is built on the superiority of knowledge and power. The dangers of banking education is that it promotes rote learning and never challenges learners into critiquing reality (Freire, 1972).

Furthermore, banking education dis-empowers the learners and reduces education to a process of depositing ‘alien information’. Such information becomes less helpful because it does not appeal to the world of learners. Banking education, as Nyirenda (1996, p. 13) notes, ‘... kills curiosity, creativity and any investigative spirit in the learners and encourages the passive behaviour of the learners’. Freire castigates such types of education and advocates for a participatory process based on dialogue and problem posing techniques (Cohn, 1988).

#### **3.3.1.4 Problem posing education**

Problem posing education is what Freire advocates for instead of banking education. Freire (1972, p. 52) notes that, ‘Problem posing education, responding to the essence of consciousness-intentionality-rejects communiqués and embodies communication’. Ledwith (2001, p. 177) further adds that, ‘*Problematizing* or *problem-posing* helps the community worker to understand most clearly how to work with people in an equal and reciprocal way’. According to Freire (1972), problem-posing education enables people under domination to fight for their emancipation.

Problem-posing education, as advocated for by Freire, serves to challenge the learners into critical thinking, that is, it helps students to begin to see the world from their own perspective guided by the teacher. Freire (1972, p. 54) argues that, ‘Students, as they are increasingly faced with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge’. Problem posing education is also democratic learning in a way that learning becomes a dialogue rather than a monologue. Problem

posing further takes interest in the hidden curriculum, as learners are able to ask questions related to their lived experience (Wink, 2000).

### **3.3.1.5 Liberating education/pedagogy**

Liberating education or pedagogy is that type of education that espouses Freire's education theory or critical pedagogy (Blackburn, 2000; Freire, 1972, 1973, 1998; Giloux, 2010; Nyirenda, 1996). The purpose of a liberating pedagogy is to allow learners to pursue their own ideas and dreams, free from what Freire calls 'expert' teachers bent on decreeing one particular world view. According to Freire, education is not about knowledge per se, but about dialogue that generates thought, explanations and understanding (Tobbell, 2000). A liberating pedagogy should be devoid of pre-set curricula, which according to Freire, is an oppressive element of the powerful and dominant societal values (Freire, 1972; Wink, 2000). According to Freire (1972, p. 52), 'Authentic liberation – the process of humanization - is not another 'deposit' to be made in men [women]. Liberation is praxis: the action and reflection of men [women] upon their world in order to reform it'.

Freire castigates banking education methods, as they dehumanize the oppressed and powerless by treating them as objects and things. According to Freire, 'The power of the dominant ideology is always domesticating, and when we are touched by and deformed by it we become ambiguous and indecisive' (Freire, 1998, p. 6). Therefore liberatory education should adopt a humanizing pedagogy, one in which a revolutionary leader establishes permanent dialogue with the oppressed or poor communities (Freire, 1972). Such a dialogue is free of manipulation and prescription of where people ought to be or go.

Central to liberating pedagogy is that it can't be reduced to a universal tool with a 'one size fits all' principle. It is contextually located in people's culture, age, situation and experience (Fritze, 2010; Nyirenda, 1996). Therefore, liberating education cannot be duplicated for different situations. Freire himself emphasized that his method never sought to prescribe to different societies how this education should be or what it should look like.

### **3.3.1.6 Democratic learning**

According to Freire (1972), democratic learning is at the heart of critical pedagogy and is intertwined with dialogue and the concept of problem posing. Democratic learning, according to Freire, is about taking into account the subjectivity of the learner. Freire states, 'It is necessary and even urgent that the school become a space to gather and engender certain democratic dispositions, such as the disposition to listen to others - not as a favour but as a duty - and to respect them' (Freire, 1998, p. 66).

### **3.3.1.7 Dialogue**

Freire (1972) considers dialogue as a channel through which a liberating education takes place. The teacher, instead of depositing information in the learners, uses a two-way communication through a problem-posing approach, to provoke them into critical thinking (Freire, 1972, 1973; Fritze, 2010; Rule, 2004; von-Kotze, 2005). As Blackburn (2000, p. 9) notes, 'Dialogue', or what Freire alternatively called mutual conscientization, is thus not limited to the single axis educator-participant. Dialogue also takes place between participants and 'with the world'. It is premised on participatory, mutual and open forms of relating within a powerfully dynamic atmosphere (Ledwith, 2001). According to Freire, dialogue is a liberating tool that cannot be bequeathed but rather must involve the oppressed.

## **3.3.2 Application of Freire's education theory**

The past half century has seen a global move, in an effort to apply Freirean education theory in both education settings and community development interventions; for example, popular education was very instrumental in anti-apartheid programmes in South Africa (John, 2008; von-Kotze, 2005). The NGO movement has largely been located in emancipatory and transformative adult education linked to Freirean education theory. Freire's social change education, as Choules (2007) calls it, has become popular to educators wishing to challenge the social, economic, and political injustices that exist locally and globally. There have also been some endeavours by a number of University lecturers, particularly in South Africa, to streamline Freirean pedagogy in

teaching, to improve learning outcomes (von-Kotze, 2005). This is in agreement with Thomas (1994, p. 25) when he notes that: ‘The language of conscientization as well as its praxis has influenced a host of popular communications strategies in Africa, in apartheid-ridden South Africa as well as in a number of other countries in Africa’.

The application of Freire’s education theory can further be seen in REFLECT (*Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques*). REFLECT is a participatory approach to adult learning and social change that is linked to Freirean pedagogy. It has been used in countries such as El Salvador, Uganda, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana as a means of connecting literacy skills to the broader aspects of empowerment and livelihoods of the poor (Newman, 2008; Tagoe, 2008). REFLECT takes literacy classes to a higher level from the tradition of reading the mere word to also reading the world (Wink, 2000).

Ryan (2006), in a study conducted in Queensland, Australia, adopted Freirean critical pedagogy to assess the extent to which young people try to invest in principles of active participation and social justice, while at the same time being part of a generation of choice characterized by free lifestyles and consumerism. The study found out that young people showed evidence of having achieved socially critical outcomes as embedded in school programs, though with little evidence of transforming such outcomes into everyday practices.

Taber et al (2006) used their experience with a graduate institute, called a Freirean Approach to Family Life Education, in Jamaica to discuss what it means to educate adults about family life from an emancipatory perspective. The Institute draws on Freire's work and the work of others who have been influenced by his pedagogy. They summarize the outcomes as, ‘... our own insight was sharpened by the opportunities to dialogue with our students as co-learners, and as educators’ intent on imparting an emancipatory consciousness within our classrooms, we were inspired by their example. Our experience with the cultural divergence was one of the most central lessons we brought away from the institute’ (Taber et al., 2006, p. 57).

In another study, John (2008), focusing on the Human Rights, Democracy and Development (HRDD) project in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, sought to document and analyze practices, learning and identity development within the project. As part of the theoretical

framework, the study employed Freire's critical pedagogy, focusing on concepts of dialogue, conscientization, praxis, participation and action. The study, which adopted a case study design within a critical paradigm, highlighted the importance of paying attention to the lives of learners and educators in educational projects. The study stressed that it is important to view the project within the lives of learners and educators rather than just viewing learners and educators in the life of the project. The study further stressed the importance of context and history as primary shapers of learning and action (John, 2008).

### **3.3.3 Freire's education theory as a lens in a case study of EDF**

Freirean education theory brings forth critical insights, which could be considered vital in understanding the case of Emesco Development Foundation (EDF). Freire's education theory is therefore used as a lens to explore the following aspects in the work of EDF.

- i. Are there evidences/indications suggesting that educational programmes in EDF are liberating or transforming?
- ii. What aspects of EDF's educational curriculum demonstrate Freire's democratic ideals?
- iii. Are there traces/efforts made to instil values of unity and cooperation in EDF's programs?
- iv. Does the educational pedagogy in EDF invoke the process of conscientization?
- v. Is there an environment in EDF that allow for praxis to take place in its educational and community development programmes?
- vi. To what extent does EDF apply the principles of problem posing and dialogue in their educational campaigns?
- vii. Are there similarities between EDF's concept of CDWs and Freire's notion of revolutionary leadership?
- viii. How does EDF deal with power relations in their work and educational situations?
- ix. In what ways do the educational programmes in EDF reflect the local and national context?

### **3.3.4 Why Freire's education theory was considered relevant for a case study of EDF**

Freirean education theory is broad enough to explore aspects in the case study of EDF. Although critical pedagogy is considered more an educational theory, it equally addresses pertinent issues of community development, such as the concepts of community development workers, stakeholder roles and issues of power dynamics. On the part of education, the theory tackles education broadly, but also adult education in particular. Most programmes of EDF have a strong education component in one way or another. This makes Freirean pedagogy relevant for the case of EDF. The education theory of Freire is also helpful in interrogating issues of curriculum development and content, materials production and training environments in the work of EDF.

### **3.3.5 Relationships between the theories of Freire and Nyerere**

Nyerere and Freire were contemporaries or lived and wrote at about the same period in time. It is not clearly stated in any literature as to whether one could have influenced the other. What is clear, though, is that the two met when Freire worked as a consultant for the Department of Education at the World Council of Churches in Geneva between 1975 and 1978 (Bartlett, 2008; Cohn, 1988).

Both Nyerere and Freire agree on the importance of context as far as success or failure of any education program or community interventions are concerned (Freire, 1972; Nyerere, 1982; Thomas, 1994). Freire, for example, did not want to prescribe his literacy method as a universal solution. Equally, Nyerere was against colonial educational systems being imposed on Africans (Nyerere, 1982). In other words, as adult educators, we cannot use imported prototypes of adult education for different contexts.

Nyerere is in agreement with Freire that adult education is not a neutral activity (Bartlett, 2008). Nyerere (1982, p. 41) notes: 'Adult education is thus a highly political activity. Politicians are sometimes more aware of this fact than educators, and therefore they do not always welcome real adult education'. Freire equally maintained that as people engage in a liberating dialogue, they

begin to question the source of their problems and the process indeed becomes political (Freire, 1972; Fritze, 2010; Nyirenda, 1996; Thomas, 1994).

The educational theories of Freire and Nyerere tend to border on socialism or Marxist ideology. Both philosophers seem to agree that human problems were first and foremost rooted in injustices in human society. The concept of ‘oppressor’ and the ‘oppressed’ is given a lot of prominence in both their work. It ought to be noted, though, that such extremes can only make sense if looked at from the bigger picture, to include: nature, self, culture, history, geographical positioning, and the like. As a means to counter the injustices and disequilibrium in society, there is too much use of political jargon, such as: revolutionary, oppression, liberation, conquest, struggle, and the like, in both theories. This indeed makes both theories suitable for looking at education and community development from the critical paradigm stance, which this study tries to do.

It should be noted that the two education theories supplement each other, in the sense that they both answer a big global puzzle that is, education for what? (Motala & Letsatsi, 2011). Nyerere and Freire tackle the question broadly, taking note of the formal schooling system and non-formal and informal education in community settings. The starting point, according to Nyerere and Freire, is that education is initially a liberating process. Other benefits, such as employment, career growth and a better life, come as a result of liberation.

The other attribute of the frameworks of Nyerere and Freire, is that they build a linkage between education of all forms and the development paradigm. Their call to education as a means of social justice is now being re-echoed by great economists such as Sen (1999). No better framework than that of Nyerere and Freire could therefore have been used to analyze adult education in the development work of EDF.

In a nutshell, the two education theories of Nyerere and Freire are considered vital as lenses for the case of EDF, as they are helpful in interrogating aspects of power dynamics, adult learning curricula, learning contexts and issues of participation and cooperation. The two theories complement each other, in the sense that they tackle similar issues from different perspectives.

Whereas the Freirean education pedagogy has gained global acclaim, Nyerere's philosophy speaks louder for the African context.

### **3.4 Youngman's framework of political economy of adult education**

#### **3.4.1 Background to the framework**

Youngman's framework of political economy of adult education (Youngman, 2000) was adopted in this study during the later stages of data collection and analysis, as it was found useful in explaining the genesis and current understanding and practice of adult education in EDF. Youngman (2000) adopts a political economy approach, as a conceptual framework for analyzing adult education and its programmes, particularly in countries of the South. Youngman argues that the nature and context of adult education in a globalized economy are influenced by forces beyond the individual learner and society, and are rather rooted in the wider global socioeconomic forces. Youngman (2000) draws his political economy approach from the Marxist social theory of society and development.

Marxist social theory holds that economic organization in any society is the key to understanding the various dimensions of social reality, and that social life in any society is influenced by the mode of production. The theory is positioned in a historical perspective to explain social economic relations as characterized by slavery, feudalism and capitalism (Babikwa, 2004; Youngman, 2000). At the heart of it all, social change is a result of class struggle between the haves and the have not's. Therefore, Youngman (2000) contends that Marxist social theory is broad enough to explain particular activities in society, such as adult education.

The application of political economy helps to situate adult education in the broader realm of development at both micro and macro levels of analysis (Youngman, 2000). As Youngman (2000, p. 9) notes, 'one of the strengths of Marxist social theory is its comprehensive scope and transdisciplinary nature ... this makes it a powerful tool for comprehending the complexities of adult education'. He further notes that political economy has largely emerged as a radical movement, under a socialist approach, as a means of agitating for rights of the underprivileged such as the working class and women.

The theory is considered valuable because it takes cognisance of the fact that the capitalistic mode of production has dominated the global stage for some time now, and therefore dictates socioeconomic development. It is therefore assumed that capitalism has impacted on adult education practices in the South through many forms, including imperialism. It therefore follows that, to fully understand adult education in the South, one should look at it through the lens of political economy. Sumner (2008) argues that adult education reflects the tensions inherent in all forms of education.

It is apt to note also, that human society is structured in classes and these classes are a source of various inequalities, conflicts and interests. Present day social relations transcend relations of class into various forms of inequality such as gender, ethnicity and race (Collins, 1989; Scatamburlo-D'Annibale & McLaren, 2003; Youngman, 2000). The social relations provide a good ground for understanding adult education practices based on their specific interests. The framework is also helpful in analyzing the role of stakeholders in adult education, such as the state, CSOs, cultural institutions and donors.

### **3.4.2 Applications of Youngman's framework**

Babikwa (2004) agrees with Youngman (2000) while reflecting on the state and nature of adult education in Uganda. Babikwa notes that the present Ugandan economy is a confused mix of capitalist and pre-capitalist structures, relations and mindsets. Therefore, adult education practices in Uganda are also a mix of private programmes driven by neoliberal thinking, while NGOs such as EDF also provide free programmes driven and paid for by the Western donor community.

Babikwa, however, notes that adult education in Uganda is largely driven by a '*technist*' approach, which is largely an aspect of the capitalistic ideology, '*modernization*'. Adult education is seen as a means for transforming community members who lack appropriate knowledge and skills to enable them to do the 'right thing' to improve their lives. It is no effort to link the state of peasants with the political dimension of social problems. Hence, such adult

education lacks an empowering agenda, as it falls short of engaging participants in critical reflection of the root causes of their problems. It thus only serves to perpetuate the existing socioeconomic and political order. Sumner (2008) is therefore in agreement with Babikwa (2004), when she notes that:

From a political-economy perspective, it is important to ask whose interests are being served when adult education becomes a technocratic, market-driven, individualistic sector of the service industry that is either tied to the cash register or marginalized altogether; certainly it is not the interests of the broad majority of people. (Sumner, 2008, p. 37).

Babikwa (2004) further notes that the view that education is a state apparatus is also true in the Ugandan adult education and training programmes. While the Ugandan society is practically pre-capitalist, in reality, capitalistic values and ideology reign high. Socio-economic problems are *de-politised* and reduced to technical matters to be addressed by technical knowledge and skills. This view is therefore attributed to a neo-classical hierarchical view of knowledge and knowing, where the researcher, educator or development worker is seen as endowed with the right knowledge and capacity to conceptualize issues on behalf of learners or community members. Therefore, this assumption is manifested in many adult education programmes in Uganda.

It is further noted, that the pursuit of capitalist ambitions with partial or total disregard of the socioeconomic and ideological aspirations in Uganda has continuously undermined adult education of its role as an emancipatory tool, capable of empowerment and transformation of society. It is of interest to this study to interrogate the purpose and form of adult education in EDF, that is, whether it is driven by technical, practical or critical emancipation. Another area of interest is whether class struggles in society are a factor in the nature of adult education in EDF

### **3.4.3 Youngman's framework as a lens in a case study of EDF**

Youngman's framework of political economy of adult education prompts a number of questions which could be considered of interest in relation to the work of Emesco Development Foundation:

- To what extent is the understanding and practice of adult education in EDF a reflection of national and global economic trends?
- Does the understanding and practice of adult education in EDF reflect forms of imperialism?
- How does Youngman's framework of political economy of adult education help us to understand EDF's conception and practice of adult education?
- How is EDF's concept or philosophy of CDWs understood by Youngman's framework of political economy of adult education?

### **3.4.4 Why Youngman's framework of political economy of adult education was considered relevant for a case study of EDF.**

The framework is helpful in exploring adult education policy from the organizational level to the global stage. EDF relies heavily on donor funding, particularly from the Western world. Therefore, adult education, as a component of their mission and programmes, could be influenced in one way or another by donor ideology. The framework was also used to help interrogate aspects of imperialism, the role of the state, culture and gender relations, ethnicity and politics of civil society (Hall, 1996).

## **3.5 Conclusion**

The theoretical framework presented in this chapter made an effort to describe the case of EDF. The education theories of Nyerere and Freire describe the case, taking into account the power relations playing out in the case study. The two theories also helped to explain how EDF is struggling to cope with the philosophy of social justice that has caught up with the NGO movement. Nyerere's concept of African socialism helped to trace the influence of local cultural values in the work of EDF. Youngman's (2000) framework of political economy for adult

education and development helped to explain the contradiction facing EDF, in trying to pursue a social justice cause in community development agendas, amidst global tensions.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 Preamble

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology employed in the case study of EDF. The first section discusses the major research paradigms in view of their ontological and epistemological positioning and concludes by locating the study within the critical theory paradigm. The second section gives an overview of case study research design, providing a justification for its choice in this study. The section also highlights concerns of quality associated with case study research design. The chapter also elaborates on the study process, data collection methods, data management and analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion on issues of researcher positionality, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

This study is a qualitative investigation employing a case study design within a critical theory paradigm. Case studies can be both qualitative and quantitative, but qualitative methods were preferred in this study as they were deemed helpful in the generation of intensive and detailed examination of the case (Bryman, 2008). The case study methodology was chosen on the basis of its ability to allow for in-depth and holistic accounts *and analysis of phenomena within their context*, taking note of events, relationships and experiences (Bryman, 2008; Denscombe, 2007; Rule & John, 2011; Visconti, 2010).

The selection of EDF as a case was based on it being a typical instance (Denscombe, 2007), and therefore its characteristics are largely shared by other NGOs engaged in community development work in Uganda (Werker & Ahmed, 2008). Although there is no intention in this study to generalize findings to other cases, lessons can be drawn from this case study by other NGOs engaged in related activities. Specific reasons for the choice of EDF were based on my

ability to speak the local languages, having prior contacts with them and their reputation in community development work in the last decade.

As typical in case study methodology, this study was bounded in terms of time, coverage, participants and focus. It only covered the first ten years of EDF's existence. It is also bounded in terms of coverage, whereby only 3 communities were selected to participate from Buyanja County. Participating communities were selected from Buyanja County because this is where EDF originally started. The study was also focus-bounded, and therefore limited itself largely to the educational component in relation to community development, and it therefore did not cover other projects of EDF such as the Micro-finance and the Health Centre. The two projects have since been shed off from the mainstream activities of EDF because they focus mainly on service delivery on a user-pay basis. They are currently run as separate entities under separate boards and management.

#### **4.1.1 Study area, population, sample strategy and sampling**

This study was conducted in Buyanja county, Kibaale district, in mid-western Uganda (see Chapter 1). The unit of analysis was Emesco Development Foundation (EDF), an indigenous NGO currently operating in two of the three counties of Kibaale: Buyanja and Buyaga. As is typical in case studies, this study was bound in terms of geographical area, activity and time (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Rule & John, 2011; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009). Three communities of Kiduukule, Busesa B and Rukindo were selected for purposes of in-depth analysis of the work of community development workers.

This is an instrumental case study, which adopted a qualitative research approach with a central focus on the role of AE in Community Development (CD), using EDF as the unit of analysis. The main goal of case studies is not statistical generalization but to gain insights into a phenomenon and make analytical generalizations to the broader theory (Yin, 2009).

The study population constituted all the stakeholders of EDF and purposive sampling was employed to select participants. Sampling was therefore guided by the strategic importance of different actors in EDF and the criticality of information they possess, rather than sample size

(Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Fouche, 2002; Niuewenhuis, 2007; Rule & John, 2011). Although different actors in EDF were identified beforehand, more were later included as the study progressed, due to their perceived value (Boeije, 2010). However, gender was always considered through stratified purposive sampling.

Purposive sampling decisions are not only restricted to the selection of participants, but also involve the settings, incidents, events and activities to be included for data collection (Niuewenhuis, 2007). Sampling in this study included the selection of communities, areas and activities of the organization for observation and the time period of data collection.

#### **4.1.2 Data sources and participants in the study**

Although most data generated was qualitative in nature, some relevant quantitative data is included such as population figures and budgets. Data sources included the key stakeholders in EDF, shown in Table 2 below. Other data sources included documents and observations. The following constitute the categories sampled for this study:

Eight permanent staff was interviewed as these stand at the centre of EDF business. These included the executive director, programmes director and six staff members selected from the three department/core foci of EDF, that is, agriculture, health and water and sanitation.

The inclusion of the executive director was necessitated by the crucial role he has played in the past and present. He founded this organization with his wife in 1998, but formally registered EDF in 2000 (see Chapter 1). He has therefore seen the emergence and growth of the organization and has also had a great impact on its culture, mission and direction. As the current Executive director, he continues to play a leading role in its structures, staff recruitment and planning. In addition to observing him in action, he provided two interviews, separated by a period of four months. He also made significant contributions during my presentation of preliminary findings.

The second interviewee was the programmes director who doubles as the deputy executive director and head of the agriculture department. His inclusion was necessitated by the fact that he virtually manages all field activities, is in charge of all staff, but also develops and manages organizational budgets. He also happens to be one of the longest serving staff members, having joined EDF in 2003.

In addition to the executive director and his deputy, six members of staff were also selected and interviewed. These included the head of the health and water departments. Others were 2 staff members from the agricultural department and 2 staff members from the health department. Stratified-purposive sampling was used to select one male and one female from each of these departments. No selection was needed with the water department as it has only one member.

The last group of interviewees was that of four professionals, usually hired out by EDF to facilitate specialized topics during the training of CDWs. They are known as 'external facilitators' in EDF. These included one senior health educator, one senior community development officer and two nurses. Selection of these was based on the frequency and length of time in collaboration with EDF. I had observed them a number of times while training CDWs and therefore knew them well.

The other source of data was Community Development Workers (CDWs). This group was also another key major focus of the study. The study was interested in how CDWs, in their various roles as Community Resource Persons (CRPs), Community Health Workers (CHWs) and Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) perceive their roles in the community in relation to adult education. The main method of data collection here was photovoice, in addition to observation. However, TBAs and CHWs are equally members of Village Health Committees (VHCs), while CRPs are members of Village Development Committees (VDCs). They had, therefore, participated earlier in focus group discussions (FGDs), as members of those committees accordingly (See Chapter 8).

VHCs constituted another group of interest to this study (See Chapter 1). Each of the three communities has a Village Health Committee. Each committee is composed of nine members

and is chaired by the Community Health Worker within that community. This committee is in charge of health affairs in their community. I therefore conducted three FGDs, one from each of the three communities sampled. A TBA is also a member of this committee.

Each community also has a village development committee (VDC) constituted of nine members as well. However, only Kiduukule had a VDC, since the other communities did not have an agricultural component in them. I therefore held only one FGD for VDC members in the community of Kiduukule.

Lastly, I organized three FGDs for community members; one from each community. Selection for these was based on gender and participation in EDF programmes (see table below).

**Table 2: Sample, data sources, data collection period and methods**

<b>Information Source &amp; data collection period)</b>	<b>Oct/Nov' 2010</b>	<b>Dec'2010 – Feb' 2011</b>	<b>March-May</b>	<b>June/July' 2011</b>	<b>Aug' 2011</b>
8 EDF permanent staff	Orientation/ Observation/ Document analysis	Observation/Interview	Data collection break/data transcription	Observation	Information check & debriefing/ presentation of preliminary findings
4 External Resource persons		Observation/ Interview		Observation	
3 Groups of CDWs (21 participants)		Observation/FGDs		Photovoice Observation	
1 Group of VDC (8 participants)		Observation/FGDs		Observation	
3 Groups of VHCs (22 participants )		Observation/ FGDs		Observation	
3 Groups with Community members (24 participants)		Observation/ FGDs		Observation	
Organizational culture		Documents/ Observation		Observation	

**Note:** A daily journal was also kept throughout the entire fieldwork period (see data collection methods below)

## 4.2 Research paradigms

Researchers have, over time, distinguished between ways of knowing or ways of searching for truth. This constitutes what is known as epistemological considerations (Bryman, 2008). In other

words, the nature and form of reality is defined differently. The different stances of knowing have come to be known as research paradigms (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). The term ‘paradigm’ describes a set of ideas or a worldview used by researchers to generate knowledge. They range from scientific or positivist, to interpretive or constructivist, to the critical paradigm (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). Paradigms guide the nature of researchers’ inquiry along three dimensions, that is, ontology, epistemology and methodology (Blanche, 1999).

Ontology relates to the nature and form of reality that is out there for conceptualization, that is, what knowledge or reality exists and what can be known about it. Epistemology relates to the relationship between what can be known and the knower or researcher. The scientific (positivist) paradigm, for example, holds that, since knowledge already exists somewhere, the researcher must take a detached position in the process of coming to know. Lastly, methodology deals with the procedure by which knowledge can be generated or uncovered (Blanche, 1999; Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Guba, 1990, 1994; Khazanchi & Munkvold, 2002; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b).

Another important aspect in the process of inquiry is axiology, which is the nature of values and their role in knowledge construction (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). A number of researchers such as Guba (1990), Guba and Lincoln (1994) and Usher, Bryant and Johnston (1997) have identified major paradigms that have informed research processes over time. I now discuss these paradigms to inform my choice of the paradigm guiding this study.

#### **4.2.1 Positivism and Postpositivism**

Positivism is traced to early scholars in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly Auguste Comte, as an attempt to apply the methods of the natural sciences to social phenomena. According to Kim (2003, p. 10), ‘Comte’s conceptualization of positivism was based on scientific objectivity and observation through the five senses rather than subjective beliefs’. The positivist stance, which largely dominated the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, is rooted in the belief that there exist natural and physical laws determining all occurrences, including human behavior. It was held that reality is out there and the work of the researcher would just be to discover this reality by employing research techniques that would make it possible to uncover it (Fossey et al., 2002; Guba, 1990,

1994; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Khazanchi & Munkvold, 2002; Kim, 2003; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Voce, 2004). Cohen et al., (2007, p. 26) note that, 'positivism strives for objectivity, measurability, dependability, controllability, patterning, the construction of laws and rules of behavior, and the ascription of causality'.

Positivism has been criticized for treating research participants as interchangeable parts or scientific objects, thereby ignoring individual conceptions and values (Kim, 2003). Rubin and Rubin (2005) note that the over reliance on numerical figures to derive the meaning of situations falls short of capturing deeper attributes behind those figures. They further argue that:

Because they assume that truth can and should be measured with statistical precision, positivists routinely reduce complex information to numbers and ignore that which is difficult to quantify; because they seek general rules, they often ignore subtleties or unusual cases (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Postpositivism is an improved version of positivism. Having realized the weaknesses of positivism, its proponents wished to limit them by addressing a few concerns, while still maintaining that the scientific path is the right way to uncovering true knowledge (Guba, 1990). Ontologically, postpositivism holds that, although a real world driven by real natural causes exists, it is impossible for humans to truly perceive it due to their imperfections and frailties.

Epistemologically, postpositivism recognizes the fact that it is impossible for the researcher to detach himself/herself from the research process. Methodologically, as a means of confronting the limitations of human objectivity, postpositivism recommends the use of multiple methods in data collection and triangulation as a means of checking the inconsistencies. John (2008) notes that the shift from positivism to postpositivism, though remaining rooted in the scientific method of prediction and control, opens up room for qualitative research as it acknowledges that reality cannot be fully and perfectly apprehended (Guba, 1990).

## 4.2.2 Interpretive paradigm

The interpretive paradigm emerged more as a critique to positivism as a means of studying the social world. Cohen et al. (2007) note that, whereas observed phenomena are important in positivism and postpositivism, it is the meanings and interpretations that are paramount in the interpretive paradigm. It was observed that the study of the social world requires a different approach that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as opposed to the natural order.

Therefore the major shift of interpretivism from positivism and postpositivism has been in the deeper interpretation of human action. Interpretivism aligns itself with hermeneutics and phenomenology. Hermeneutics is a concept that has an old usage in theology but has gradually been adopted by social scientists as a theory and method of interpretation of human actions. On the other hand, phenomenology is a philosophical perspective that holds that human behaviour can best be understood from a particular person's point of view (Bryman, 2008; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Usher et al., 1997). Bryman (2008) further adds that:

... it is the job of the social scientist to gain access to people's 'common-sense thinking' and hence to interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view. It is this particular feature that social scientists claiming allegiance to phenomenology have typically emphasized (Bryman, 2008, p. 16).

Ontologically, the interpretive paradigm holds that the world is complex and dynamic and best interpreted by people in their interactions with each other. Therefore reality is subjective and can only be grasped imperfectly. Epistemologically, it is held that knowledge or reality is constructed according to how people make meaning in their lives. Therefore observer intersubjectivity is very important. It calls for research methodologies which are interactional, interpretive and of a qualitative nature (Blanche, 1999; Fossey et al., 2002; Khazanchi & Munkvold, 2002; Thomas, 1989; Voce, 2004). However, Nieuwenhuis (2007) faults the interpretive paradigm for its subjectivity and failure to generalize findings beyond the situations being studied.

### **4.2.3 Constructivism paradigm**

Constructivism emerges as a near ally of the interpretive paradigm though largely in ontological terms. The shift of constructivism from interpretivism is that the power positions in society are relative and transitional but also a construct of the knower. It presents a total shift from the objectivism held by positivists and postpositivists. Reality is instead a social construct of the knower. Therefore, social phenomena and meaning are continuously being shaped by social actors. The researcher's view is his or her own construction of the world view rather than a definitive reality (Bryman, 2008; Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Constructivism is more interested in the research participant's view of the world through specific positions, than in averages and recurrent opinions. However, when personal views are of a shared group, then they are part of their culture and constitute an interest to constructionists (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Rubin and Rubin (2005, p. 27) further note that: 'In this sense, multiple and even conflicting versions of the same event or object can be true at the same time'.

Ontologically, constructivism believes in relativism, since knowledge is a social construct of the knower. Epistemologically, the researcher must take a subjective position as the only way to unlock positions held by individuals, including the inquirer. The methodological approach is dialectical as a means of harmonizing the sophisticated positions (Blanche, 1999; Guba, 1990, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

### **4.2.4 Critical theory paradigm**

Critical theory is heavily influenced by the early work of Habermas and to some extent his predecessors in the Frankfurt school, notably Adorno, Marcuse, Horkheimer and Fromm (Cohen et al., 2007). Rubin and Rubin (2005) are in agreement with Guba (1990), that critical theory is a conglomeration of research orientations such as neo-Marxism, materialism, feminism, Freireism, participatory inquiry, emancipatory, queer, postmodern and critical race theories, which emphasize *standpoint* theory. *Standpoint* theory is sometimes referred to as 'ideologically oriented inquiry', because it emphasizes whose standpoint or point of view one takes.

As Fossey (2002, p. 720) notes: 'Its aim is to engage key stakeholders as participants in the design and conduct of the research, diminishing the distinction between the 'researcher' and the 'researched'. The purpose of critical inquiry is best put by Cohen et al., (2007), when they note that:

Here the expressed intention is deliberately political – the emancipation of individuals and groups in an egalitarian society ... its intention is not merely to give an account of society and behavior but to realize a society that is based on equality and democracy for all its members. Its purpose is not merely to understand situations and phenomena but to change them. In particular it seeks to emancipate the disempowered, to redress inequality and to promote individual freedoms within a democratic society (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 26).

Ontologically, reality in the critical paradigm is not absolute but shaped by human values, perspectives and conditions in which they live. There is also epistemological subjectivity because inquiry is value-laden. Methodologically, critical theorists approach research from a dialogical point of view, seeking to eliminate false consciousness that attempts to rally participants around a common view (Guba, 1990, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Usher et al., 1997).

Critical theory has not escaped criticism. Usher et al., (1997) observe that critical theory overemphasizes rationality and in so doing marginalizes the 'irrational', that is, the contingent, affective and poetic dimensions of life. Its grounding in basic needs is considered essentialist and invariant. Equally so, its basic tenet of emancipation that is held as universal, is considered an overstatement.

Notwithstanding its limitations, this study was conducted within a critical theory paradigm (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Guba, 1990, 1994; Heron & Reason, 1997; Leonardo, 2004; Plack, 2005; Stinson, 2009). The work of EDF, being focused on principles of empowerment together with this study's goal of tapping into local knowledge and capabilities, coupled with the use of

theoretical frameworks rooted in radical adult education, necessitated the choice of the critical theory paradigm.

Critical theory as a research paradigm is not necessarily about challenging the existing practices of the system, but of seeking to understand what makes the system be the way it is, and challenging that, whilst remaining conscious that one's own sense of justice and equality are themselves open to question (Tripp, 1992). Usher et al., (1997, p. 189), also support the choice of critical theory as a paradigm for this study, when they note that:

It is not difficult to see why Critical Theory and its approach to research has resonated with adult educators. Its discourse of basic social needs, of distortions and social consciousness, of critical dialogue, and its foregrounding of praxis, provide an appealing foundation of theory and practice for radical adult educators committed to social action. Its aim of emancipation and empowerment provides a purposive goal for educational activity.

Freire (1972) also notes that as the participants in the inquiry begin to develop more informed insights, emancipatory action is facilitated to alleviate oppression, recreate the world, and develop a more egalitarian and democratic society. This study not only intended to uncover the understanding and practice of adult education through the case of EDF, but also to engage all stakeholders into critical reflection of their context, using adult education as an empowering and liberating process. Therefore, the ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology in this study relate to the critical theory paradigm (Voce, 2004).

## **4.3 Case study methodology**

### **4.3.1 What is a case study?**

Yin (2009, p. 18), defines case study as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’. Yin distinguishes case study research from

other designs because in case study, context is not controlled, as is the case with experimental and survey research designs. Rule and John's (2011, p. 4) definition seems to broaden the definition of the case study from the limitations of the empirical stance advanced by Yin. They define case study as a 'systematic and in-depth investigation of a *particular instance in its context* in order to generate knowledge'.

One of the major distinguishing features of case study is its limited focus. Noor (2008) and Qi (2009) agree with Stake (2005) when stressing that the major purpose of case study is not to represent the world, but a case or unit of analysis. Qi (2009) adds that case study is concerned with a rich and vivid description of events in a chronological narrative with a focus on individual actors and groups while analyzing their perceptions.

#### **4.3.2 Types of case studies**

Case studies are categorized according to focus, number of cases involved or the purpose of the study. Stake (2005) categorizes case studies into intrinsic, instrumental and multiple or collective, while Yin (2009) categorizes them as explanatory or causal, descriptive and exploratory. He also categorizes them according to single and multiple, depending on the number of cases involved (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Tight, 2010; Yin, 2009). Bassey (1999), on the other hand, categorizes them according to the ultimate goal, that is, theory-seeking or theory-testing, story-telling or picture-drawing and evaluative case studies.

- i. Explanatory case studies are those used to explain a causal link in real life interventions, while exploratory case studies help to explain situations where interventions being investigated have no clear outcomes (Yin, 2009). On the other hand, descriptive case studies aim to describe phenomena in their real life context (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2009).
- ii. According to Stake (2005), an intrinsic case study is one undertaken because of its particularity and what it represents, such as the intrinsic interest of the researcher.

- iii. Multiple or collective case study is where a number of cases are jointly studied together to explain a phenomena. It can also be seen as a collection of instrumental cases studies (Stake, 2005; Tight, 2010).
- iv. An instrumental case study is where a researcher selects and investigates the case to provide insight into a particular issue. Here, the case merely serves the purpose of facilitating the researcher's knowledge about a particular social issue, while elaborating a theory or general principle (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Cohen et al., 2007; Fouche, 2002; Niuewenhuis, 2007; Stake, 2005). Stake (2005, p. 445) further adds: 'I use the term *instrumental case study* if a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization'.

Bassey (1999) notes that theory-seeking and theory-testing are case studies that focus more on issues of a general nature. The case aspect of these is typical of something in general, where focus is on the issue rather than the case. This is what Stake calls instrumental and Yin calls exploratory case studies. However, when exploratory case studies are used in theory-testing, then Yin calls them explanatory case studies. Theory-seeking and theory-testing case studies are credited for supporting fuzzy generalization (see limitations of case study). Generalizations or propositions are considered '*fuzzy*' because they predict a possibility of related occurrence but carry some degree of uncertainty (Bassey, 1999).

This study adopted the instrumental case study design. The major aim of the study was to gain understanding of the role of adult education in a broader community development agenda. Even though the relationship between adult education and community development has been widely studied (see Chapter 2), little is known about how this relationship emerges. The case of EDF sought to understand how this relationship emerges from a contextual setting of a rural based indigenous Ugandan NGO.

### **4.3.3 Making a case for case study research**

Case study research design is highly desirable in a number of instances, such as when behaviour of actors cannot be manipulated, when there is a thin line between phenomena and context, and

most importantly, when the major focus of study is on how and why questions (Bassey, 1999; Baxter & Jack, 2008; Rule & John, 2011; Yin, 2009). Vissak (2010), Qi (2009), Rowley (2002) and Flyvbjerg (2004) also add that case studies are considered helpful in developing new metaphors and schools of thought.

Woodside and Wilson (2003) argue that the principal objective of case study research is to seek for a deeper understanding of actors, interactions, sentiments and behaviors in a specific process and time. Their view is related to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), supported by Qi (2009) that, the purpose of case study is the provision of a chronological narrative of events, the blending of a description of events with their analysis, the focusing on individual actors to understand their perception of events, but also the integral involvement of the researcher in the case. This makes case study findings strong on reality and therefore appealing to action practitioners. Rule and John (2011) vividly identify purposes which are a basis for case study research, they state that:

First, they [case studies] can generate understanding of and insight into a particular instance by providing a thick, rich description of the case and illuminating its relations to its broader contexts. Second, they can be used to explore a general problem or issue within a limited and focused setting. Third, they can be used to generate theoretical insights, either in the form of grounded theory that arises from the case study itself or in developing and testing existing theory with reference to the case. Fourth, case studies might also shed light on other, similar cases, thus providing a level of generalization or transferability (Rule & John, 2011, p. 7).

Rule and John (2011) also agree with Vissak (2010), Yin (2009) and Rowley (2002) that the strength of case study research is in dealing with inquiries focusing on how and why questions, while at the same time creating thick and precise accounts. This is certainly not the case with studies that focus on statistical correlations.

#### **4.3.4 Why case study was considered ideal for a study of adult education in EDF?**

This study sought to gain insight into the understanding and practice of adult education by actors in EDF, whose broader mission is community development. Flyvbjerg (2004) argues that the choice of a research design should clearly depend on the problem under study and its circumstances. Case study methodology was chosen for this study because it allows for in-depth holistic accounts and analysis of phenomena within their context, taking note of events, relationships and experiences (Denscombe, 2007; Visconti, 2010). The case of EDF was therefore deemed fit for this purpose (Andrade, 2009; Bassey, 1999; Casey & Houghton, 2010; Held, 2009; McGloin, 2008; Qi, 2009; Rowley, 2002; Stake, 2005; Vissak, 2010; Yin, 2009).

As a typical instance of most NGOs in Uganda, the selection of EDF as a case study was suitable (Denscombe, 2007). According to Flyvbjerg (2004), a *critical case* is one considered to be of strategic importance in relation to the general problem. EDF shares characteristics with most NGOs engaged in CD work in Uganda (EDF, 2010a, 2010b; EMESCO, 2010; Werker & Ahmed, 2008). This implies that the findings of this study have great potential for fuzzy generalizations regarding related NGOs, particularly in Uganda (Bassey, 1999). Other factors considered for the choice of EDF were based on my ability to speak the local dialects, prior contacts and their reputation in CD work in the last decade.

As it later turned out, other factors emerged which ultimately made EDF more suitable than anticipated. These included their open policy on information sharing, their participatory leadership approach and a willingness to learn from me during the process. I was, for example, accorded full access to all meetings, workshops, documents and social gatherings. This tied in well with the critical theory paradigm, which not only seeks to understand situations but to change them (Cohen et al., 2007).

### **4.3.5 Unit of analysis**

The unit of analysis in this study was Emesco Development Foundation (EDF), with a focus on how its different actors understand and practice adult education in their broader community development agenda. Rule and John (2011) concur with Baxter and Jack (2008), that a unit of analysis is the actual case under study. It is the unit being investigated, whether as an individual, an organization, a programme, process, situation or event.

As typical in case study methodology, this study is bound in terms of time, place and coverage, activity, context, participants and focus (Bassegy, 1999; Cohen et al., 2007; Rule & John, 2011; Stake, 2005; Tight, 2010; Yin, 2009). It only covers eleven years of EDF's existence, from 2001 to 2011. It is also bound in terms of coverage, as only three communities were selected to participate from Buyanja County. Participating communities were selected from this area because that is where EDF originally started and was fully involved in by 2011. The study is also focus-bound and therefore limits itself largely to the educational and community development components in EDF's programmes.

As a result, the study did not cover other projects of EDF such as the micro-finance and the health centre. These two projects have since been shed from the mainstream activities of EDF because they focus mainly on service delivery on a user-pay basis. They are currently run as separate entities under separate boards and management.

### **4.3.6 Limitations of case study methodology**

Case studies have been criticised by some as lack of scientific rigour and reliability and that they do not address the issues of generalizability (Noor, 2008, p. 1603).

Weaknesses cited in case studies relate to the trustworthiness of data and biased findings due to the intensity of immersion by the researcher in the study. Case study, as a research design, has traditionally been viewed as lacking rigor and objectivity when compared with other social research methods (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Casey & Houghton, 2010; Niuewenhuis, 2007; Rule &

John, 2011; Yin, 2009). Other cited limitations include producing voluminous amounts of data which take too long to analyse (Yin, 2009). Vissak (2010) also adds that the problem of voluminous data from long interviews and multiple methods can lead to overly complex theory or no theory at all.

However, Rowley (2002, p. 20) notes that ‘the method of generalisation for case studies is not statistical generalisation, but analytical generalisation in which a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study’. Cohen, et al. (2007) also add that generalization takes various forms, that is, from a single instance to the class of instances that it represents, from features of the single case to a multiplicity of classes with the same features and from the single features of part of the case to the whole of that case. In agreement, Vissak (2010) asserts that generalization is possible, even with a single case study, depending on the nature of that particular case and how it was selected. As a means of mitigating the limitations associated with case studies in particular and qualitative studies in general, Vissak (2010, p. 380) notes:

Using multiple methods of data collection can also improve the quality of the research as it allows triangulation, reduces the respondent bias, provides additional information, increases support for the researcher’s conclusions, and may lead to new questions that can be answered in later research.

A number of measures were taken to address these worries. These included the use of multiple methods of data collection to allow for triangulation and crystallization. Other measures included subjecting the draft case description to the informants for correcting inaccuracies, getting additional information and obtaining their agreement that the story is correct. A journal diary was also kept to record all field notes on a step-by-step basis, which served to supplement other sources.

It should be noted that in spite of the noted limitations of case study research, it still remains a vital approach for understanding phenomena and generating knowledge. As noted in Woodside and Wilson (2003) and Flyvbjerg (2004), the strength of case study design still remains the

biggest weakness of large sample study designs, that is, depth versus breadth. Therefore good research interventions should have a balance between case studies and large samples, just as quantitative and qualitative approaches strengthen each other.

#### **4.4 Research process**

As a way of gaining entry into the study area, I went through a number of protocols (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). These protocols were basically aimed at fulfilling legal requirements, ensuring ethical standards, building rapport with research participants and preparing the ground for the quality of data for it to be in line with the critical paradigm (Guba, 1990; Heron & Reason, 1997; Prosper, 1995).

My first step was to secure permission from the Executive Director of EDF to do research on EDF and this was granted in April 2010. I then proceeded to apply for clearance from the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST), a body mandated to oversee research standards and ethics in Uganda. They also granted me permission to carry out my research in the designated areas of Kibaale District. In addition, UNCST forwarded my request for clearance to the office of the president. This is also a research requirement in Uganda, not only as a security measure but also for the introduction to the local government authorities. This clearance was also granted and forwarded to the District Resident Commissioner, who is a local representative to the president but also in charge of security at the district level. He also gave me another letter introducing me to lower local council officials in the areas where I was going to do fieldwork. All these requirements were also a necessity for the approval by the University's ethical clearance, which was also later granted to me (see appendix 2).

On reporting to EDF in October 2010, the Executive Director introduced me to all the staff, who in turn introduced me to their field contacts. I took the months of October and November 2010 to orient myself with the working procedures and culture of EDF. I also moved to communities in the company of EDF staff as we engaged people on different activities such as community mobilization and community awareness. The different meetings I attended were with staff, development partners and other stakeholders, where I introduced my identity as a bona fide (or legitimate) researcher with EDF.

#### 4.4.1 Entrance to research communities

Chilisa and Preece (2005) advise that entrance to the community should be preceded by taking enough time to familiarize oneself with the study setting and taking note of cultural codes that govern day-to-day interactions. This activity followed my two months of observation at EDF offices and field visits with staff.

#### 4.4.2 Sample communities

Three communities were selected with the assistance of EDF staff. These communities were selected on the following basis:

- i. All being located in Buyanja County – where EDF has served for more than ten years
- ii. One community of Kidukule was included as it is considered their model village, based on the progress made through its engagement with EDF. Another Community was selected as it was considered least improved despite its involvement with EDF. The third community was included based on its location in the Town Council or semi-urban base. The purpose was to benefit from their diversity given the fact they were participating in similar programs, yet with different environments and perceived outcomes.
- iii. Each of the communities is based in a different sub-county

**Table: 3 sample communities**

<b>Community Name</b>	<b>Location/Sub-County</b>	<b>Reason for inclusion</b>
Kidukule	Bwamiramira	EDF model village
Busesa B	Matale	Typical rural-based
Lukindo	Kibaale Town Council	Sub-urban based

During the first two months of my stay with EDF, I attended several training workshops with community development workers, that is, Community Health Workers (CHWs), Community Resource Persons (CRPs) and Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs). In these meetings, I was a

participant observer. The facilitators as well as the participants knew clearly who I was and could consult me where they felt I was a resource. I was treated just like any other participant, in terms of having a name tag, sharing meals and joining them during group work. Some facilitators would, however, always want to introduce me as a 'big man' from Makerere University or someone pursuing PhD studies in South Africa, something I would struggle to play down all the time, while stressing my true position in the workshops.

Balancing and narrowing the power relations in most of these meetings was, however, a daunting task. First, my association with EDF portrayed me as a 'big man', as participants would occasionally refer to me as *musawo* or *musomesa* (Doctor/health worker or teacher/educator). This indicated to me that there were asymmetrical power relations between the staff of EDF and community members. Secondly, whenever I introduced myself as a researcher from a university in South Africa, it would still portray me as a highly privileged and educated person. I can therefore say that however much I tried to be close to my research participants, the power relations never became even.

I received very good cooperation, throughout my fieldwork exercise, from stakeholders, that is, EDF staff, external facilitators, CDWs and community members. At every meeting, the Executive Director and other staff would introduce me. However, my position was not always automatically understood by some stakeholders. It was easy to see that some community members and CDWs tended to relate to me as an EDF staff member, for example, thanking me for the work I did for them. The misrepresentation would sometimes emanate from the introduction by EDF staff such as '*onu musajja mukoto munno*', translated to mean 'this is a big man'. I would, however, always try to correct such misconceptions about my identity.

I did all the data collection in two phases, that is, from November 2010 to February 2011 and from July to October 2011. The break in data collection enabled me to reflect on the process, identify gaps in data collection and to write some background chapters. I was also able to cross-check some data with my sources regarding missing information. For instance, I met the Executive Director and selected interviewees to clarify a number of issues.

A hired professional at a fee did data transcription. His services were necessitated by his reputation in data transcription, good knowledge of English and local dialects, but also because of the big volumes of data involved. I, however, went back into the recordings to cross-check the quality of transcription and adjusted where necessary. During data analysis, I also re-played the recordings to get a sense of tone, hesitations, laughter and silence during interviews and FGDs.

Chilisa and Preece (2005) note that; member checks constitute the most important criterion in establishing credibility. One month after my fieldwork and when all data had been transcribed, I got an opportunity to present my preliminary findings to EDF staff and key stakeholders. This was a very useful interaction as I gained more data from them concerning their view of my findings. Quite a number of their comments were later included in the final report.

## **4.5 Methods of data collection and instrumentation**

The case study's unique strength is in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study (Yin, 2009). Several methods of data collection were therefore employed to tap into various perspectives but also to allow for triangulation and crystallization (Niuewenhuis, 2007; Rule & John, 2011). The methods employed in this study included documentation and archival analysis, observations, interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and photovoice.

Methods of data collection were designed in such a way that they gave voice to the participants, in line with the critical theory paradigm. Data collection also took place during a fairly prolonged period in order to allow for the cross-checking of the information generated before meanings could be deduced (Guba, 1990, 1994; Heron & Reason, 1997; Voce, 2004; Wardlow, 1989).

### **4.5.1 Documentation and Archival records analysis**

Rule and John (Rule & John, 2011) stress that taking a deeper view of documents in early stages of research is helpful, as it prompts important questions about the case which could be pursued

via interviews or observations. Some of the documents collected and analyzed included strategic plans, field reports, baseline surveys, training manuals, newspaper articles, websites of development partners and reports to development partners (see Appendix 1).

Document access and analysis was mainly done in the first three months of fieldwork and continued until the end of fieldwork. This was done after securing permission from the executive director, who communicated to all the staff. These documents were in both soft and hard copies.

The purpose of document analysis was to understand the mission, objectives and programmes of EDF, but also trace the growth in understanding of adult education. Documents were also used to uncover issues relating to who participates, how and why. Review of documents was also meant to give light on the curriculum and pedagogy in EDF.

The weaknesses cited with the use of documentary analysis include difficulty of access to documents and data, inconclusive information, dealing with ethical issues on confidentiality but also the fact that views collected may not be representative of the entire population being studied (Basse, 1999; Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Denscombe, 2007; Yin, 2009). In order to deal with some of the noted challenges, information from documents would be supplemented with interviews and informal discussions.

#### **4.5.2 Observations**

Two forms of observations were adopted for this study, that is, observer-participant and participant-observer (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Observer-participant is where the researcher observes from an independent position to make sense of the social dynamics of a situation. On the other hand, participant-observer is where the researcher becomes a participant in a situation being observed, to the extent that his/her involvement may alter its setting. My variation of observation depended upon the change of the settings being observed. In most training sessions and community mobilization campaigns, I used participant-observation while at the office I played out as an observer-participant.

Observation method is credited for its ability to unearth what people do, what people know and what they create and use (Boeije, 2010). Observations are considered useful for their ability to allow for the use of all the senses to perceive and understand experiences of interest to the researcher, and helps to gain insight into what people do beyond what they say (Bassey, 1999; Chilisa & Preece, 2005; De-Coninck, 2006; Denscombe, 2007; Niuewenhuis, 2007; Yin, 2009). Observations took place mainly during the following settings:

- Orientation (at organizational and community level)
- Training workshops for CDWs
- Organizational staff meetings
- Meetings with staff and development partners or donors
- Community visits with staff and donors
- Organizational celebrations
- Meetings with stakeholders such as other NGOs and government

One weakness cited about observation is the fact that the researcher's presence may sometimes influence what is being observed. Also, it is possible that researchers might be tempted to observe only what interests them. Issues concerning the confidentiality and privacy of participants also require careful attention (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Niuewenhuis, 2007). In my research, these issues were dealt with by my spending substantial time within the community and making every effort to build rapport with the participants. I also endeavored to make my presence and position known before hand. This is in line with Cohen et al. (2007) who state that:

Because case study observations take place over an extended period of time, researchers can develop more intimate and informal relationships with those they are observing, generally in more natural environments (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 260).

Observations mainly focused on organizational culture and educational processes at two levels, namely, CDWs training sessions and community meetings. Observations were also used to understand the organizational learning culture and philosophy, training environments (physical,

social and psychological), training pedagogy, trainer's relationship with learners and power dynamics. An observation checklist (see Appendix 9) was used to guide all observations.

Throughout the period of fieldwork, I kept a daily journal to capture emerging aspects such as physical actions and facial expressions and emerging insights. In addition, a voice recorder was also used to capture audio proceedings during training/adult learning sessions with the permission of the trainer and participants. The recorder was also used with interviews, FGDs and photovoice sessions. Participation and recordings would always be done with full permission of participants by each signing a consent letter written in their preferred language (see Appendices 7 & 8).

Niuewenhuis (2007), Oso and Onen (2008) and Robson (2002) agree that participant-observation may influence the quality of the data collected. As the research progressed, the staff, who had known my research focus, would be seen trying to act out scenes during training in order to impress me. This was, however, unproblematic within my critical research paradigm, which stresses that research should not be done for its own sake but also to improve the situation and participants (Wardlow, 1998). I would engage with them during and after the training to stress the ideal way of relating with adult learners. Due to my prolonged stay of 8 months with them, they eventually became freer with me and seemed not to care about my presence anymore (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

### **4.5.3 In-depth interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were adopted to allow for flexibility during data collection and for creating space for new insights, deeper probing and clarification (Niuewenhuis, 2007; Rule & John, 2011). These interviews were done in the third month of my fieldwork. A total of 12 interviews were conducted involving the following participants: the Executive Director, Programmes Director, three Programme managers, three staff members of EDF and 4 External Resource persons.

**Table 4: Sample of participants**

<b>Participant pseudonym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Department</b>	<b>Length of participation</b>
Kwaga	42	Male	Executive Director		12 years
Paulo	37	Male	Programmes Director/Head, Agriculture Dept.	Agriculture	8 years
Kiiza	54	Male	Staff/Head, Health Dept.	Health	10 years
Bangi	31	Male	CDF	Health	5 years
Naka	29	Female	ACDF	Health	5 years
Kabai	32	Female	CDF	Agriculture	6 years
Gonza	33	Male	CDF	Agriculture	5 years
Junju	42	Male	Staff/Head, Water & Sanitation Department	Water and Sanitation	3 years
Ramla	34	Female	External facilitator/District Senior Community Development officer	Kibaale District	2 years
Bintu	56	Male	External facilitator/District Health Educator	”	8 years
Tendo	30	Female	External facilitator/Nurse	”	6 years
Enid	28	Female	External facilitator/Nurse	Emesco Health Centre	5 years

Weaknesses associated with interviews include the issue that informants may wish to give information presumed desirable to the investigator. Interviews are also faulted for discrepancies between what people say they did, can do, will do and actually did (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Oso & Onen, 2008). These concerns were dealt with by information checks and the use of other data collection techniques for purposes of triangulation and crystallization (Niuewenhuis, 2007). For each interview category, an interview schedule was used to guide the process and a voice recorder was always at hand to capture the audio interaction (see Appendix 9). The table below gives the particulars of the respondents who participated in interviews.

#### **4.5.4 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

A total of 3 FGDs were carried out during the fieldwork. FGDs were used to understand views of community members on EDF regarding, partnerships, the curriculum and pedagogy used during education programmes (see Appendix 9). The value of FGDs lie in the ability to promote interaction and dialogue amongst participants which ultimately results in consensus and democratic disagreements (Niuewenhuis, 2007; Oso & Onen, 2008; Rule & John, 2011).

One of the challenges encountered with FGD method relate to the diversity in ethnicity of people. Although all participants could understand Lunyakitara, speaking it is not as fluent since people have joined these communities at different times. Secondly, people expected payments for participation based on a culture that has been introduced by both government and NGOs. The language problem was however addressed by my wide knowledge of numerous western Uganda dialects. I was also able to provide a soft drink to all those who participated but also assured participants that this was not a commercial project.

#### **4.5.5 Photovoice**

Photovoice method was used in the study as a means of giving CDWs an opportunity to tell their story and have their voices heard through photographic evidence (Bananuka, & John, 2014; De-Coninck, 2006; Kramer et., 2013; Palibroda et al., 2009; Taylor, 2002). It was also chosen because it suits the critical theory paradigm adopted for this study (Plack, 2005). It should be noted that ‘taking photographs and telling stories as they relate to the photographs, are empowering’ (Palibroda et al., 2009, p. 8).

As a research method, Photovoice is traced to Professor Caroline Wang in the early 1990’s and has since gained popularity, especially in participatory action research ( Kramer, Schwartz, Cheadle, & Rauzon, 2013; Palibroda, Krieg, Murdock, & Havelock, 2009; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). Photovoice is sometimes referred to as auto-photography (Noland, 2006; Rule & John, 2011). Its principles are built on the fundamental tenets inherent in documentary photography, feminist research theory, and the Freirian empowerment approach (Burles, &

Thomas, 2012; Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004). It is a participatory technique that involves facilitating research participants to take and analyze pictures describing their world and practices (De-Coninck, 2006; Rule & John, 2011; Stegenga, & Burks, 2013; Taylor, 2002). As Duffy (2010, p. 790) explains, ‘the cameras encourage recording of important issues and leads to discussion and reflection on the meaning of the images’.

Data collection by photovoice was specifically used with CDWs because they constitute a focal group in the work of EDF, and as an emerging group of ‘novice adult educators’ were a central interest of the study. CDWs are also a rather lowly placed group of leadership in EDF, based on their educational status and socio-economic standing in society. Photovoice was therefore used to uncover the hidden meanings beyond verbal expression in relation to their work and how they perceive it (Rule & John, 2011; Stegenga, & Burks, 2013). The central focus of photovoice was to elicit meanings of how, through images, these CDWs understand their roles in relation to adult education. It was also to act as a triangulation technique on data collection together with other methods.

Of the 9 CDWs from the 3 sampled communities, only 7 managed to participate in the photovoice exercise. The other two could not due to personal engagements. However, the seventh participant subsequently withdrew after one meeting for unspecified reasons and is therefore excluded in the final tally below. Only 6 participants managed to return the cameras, whose photos were developed for the final discussion. Data collection by photovoice took place in the second phase of data collection in the sixth month of my fieldwork.

**Table: 5: Table showing CDWs/participants in photovoice activity**

<b>Participant pseudonym</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Highest level of education</b>	<b>Role in EDF</b>	<b>Community</b>
Teruth	TER	F	61	Primary 4	TBA	Kiduukule
Nsemba	NSE	F	32	Primary 7	CHW	Kiduukule
Iruku	IRU	M	30	Certificate	CRP	Kiduukule
Balifaijo	BAL	M	36	Senior 4	CRP	Kiduukule
Noreda	NOR	F	52	Senior 2	CHW	Busesa B
Poskali	POS	M	68	Primary 7	CHW	Lukindo

In the first meeting, each of the 7 participants was given a disposable camera to carry for one week to take pictures which best describe their work and experiences as CDWs in their respective categories (see Chapter 1). They were sensitized and trained on the importance of this method and how to use the cameras. I conducted the training myself based on my experience in photography since my secondary school days. It also emerged that one of the participants had great experience in commercial photography and assisted during the training. However, during the training, CDWs were also a big resource to one another through the discussions that ensued (Palibroda et al., 2009).

At that point in time, CDWs changed roles from research participants to co-researchers (Strack, Lovelace, Jordan, & Holmes, 2010; Wiersma, 2011). In order to ensure ethical standards, participants were once again asked to sign a consent form in relation to the photovoice exercise and were also given a copy of the researcher's introductory letter to the communities from the Resident District Commissioner. They were also reminded to always ask for permission before taking people's photographs (Bananuka, & John, 2014; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001) (see Appendix 9).

After one week, cameras were collected and taken for the developing and printing of the pictures. It later emerged that three of the cameras had had technical faults and pictures could not be developed. New cameras of a different type were secured for the three people whose photography had failed. This indeed prolonged the exercise. A meeting was later convened to discuss the photographs.

In an approach suggested by Kramer et al., (2010), each participant was then tasked to select 5-7 of the most suitable photos for the study based on the guidelines given earlier. However, not all participants could raise the required number or meet the specified guidelines. In total, 50 photos were selected and marked by the photographer/research participants. This meant that each photo then had an identification code. In the meeting, each participant was given a chance to lead the group in discussing the photographs they had taken (Kramer et al., 2013). The discussion followed what Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) called SHOWeD:

These questions were set around the mnemonic “SHOWeD”: What do you See here? What is really Happening? How does this relate to Our lives? Why does this problem or strength exist? What can we Do about it? (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001, p. 562).

However, the discussion maintained flexibility and spontaneity giving individuals more freedom to say why the photos were significant to them and their work in EDF (Palibroda et al., 2009). In line with Paribroda (2009) and Duffy (2010), other participants were allowed to contribute ideas, with my guidance. Later, each participant, with the help of group members, was asked to suggest a title for each photo selected.

Photovoice, as a data collection technique, was in a number of ways very enriching to the study and the participants. Firstly, participants got excited from the start to the end as it involved the use of cameras and taking family photos and exciting scenes of their choice. Some even said it was their first time taking pictures using cameras. The method brought the research participants closer to me as the principal investigator. They moved a step beyond participants to becoming co-researchers, as they had to acquaint themselves with issues such as research ethics, data reporting and analysis. The method also seemed to empower the research participants and they debated with the authority and finality concerning certain opinions and positions. Not only could they agree and disagree among themselves, but also with the principal investigator as well. The discussions that emerged were participatory, engaging, interesting and empowering.

However, the method was not short of challenges. It was very difficult to acquire cheap disposable cameras. When I finally found them, some turned out to be faulty. Secondly, although the training of photo taking had seemed well understood, the exercise was not all successful. It also emerged that some members had not mastered the photo taking skill. Lastly and most challengingly, were the arduous ethical requirements involved with photovoice (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). It later emerged that some participants had not followed the ethical standards in full.

## 4.6 Data analysis

Data analysis started as soon as the data collection process began (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; De-Vos, 2002; Nieuwenhuis, 2007a; Robson, 2002) and spread throughout the whole process of data collection. This involved taking note of emerging issues, patterns and themes. Rule and John (2011) stress that it is unhelpful to make a rigid separation between processes of data preparation and data analysis. The analysis, in the course of data collection, helped to generate the initial broader view of emerging issues that were used in the generation of data codes and themes (McLeod & Cooper, 2011).

Denscombe (2007) identifies five stages of data analysis: data preparation, familiarity with the data, data interpretation, data verification and data representation. This study adopted these stages, though allowing for interactivity with the data, which enabled me to go back and forth through stages to make meaning before drawing conclusions (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

Data analysis involved several cycles of both deductive and inductive processes. Deductively, codes were pre-assigned based on literature and theoretical frameworks leading to the generation of some themes. Inductively, flexibility was allowed in order to accommodate emerging themes through open-coding, during data collection and at the end, using NVivo software (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; De-Vos, 2002; Rule & John, 2011). The resulting information was therefore a blend of pre-generated themes and emerging categories and themes from the data.

With specific reference to photovoice, data analysis started with participant/photographer discussions of the photos through the group process. The participants took part in the analysis, as each one of them had to lead the group in uncovering meanings associated with each photograph. However, all group members would later join in to supplement the individual view until a consensus could be reached. As Palibroda, et al., (2009) notes:

In photovoice, data analysis involves skillfully applied techniques intended to promote discussion among the group members. Each photographer has the opportunity to present photographs to the group. Participants offer ideas and insight, while the facilitator uses

open-ended questions to elicit discussion of the photographs (Palibroda et al., 2009, p. 54).

The last phase in the discussion and analysis involved the suggestion of titles and themes for the photos (Kramer et al., 2010). Through a group dialogue led by myself, participants proposed four categories or themes under which the photos could be grouped. These included *enkurakurana* (social progress/development), *enkwatanisa nk'emikorere yaitu* (cooperation), *eby'okwegesa* (educational), *hamwe ne'ebizibu byaitu* (challenges). Each participant, with the assistance of the group then proceeded to class his/her photos under the identified themes. This led to the development of new codes, which reflected the participant/photographer, number of photo and the theme where it belonged. For example: 'Coop-Nor-2' implied photograph number 2 taken by Noreda indicating cooperation in the community.

**Figure 4: Pricipal Investigator sitting in middle during photovoice discussion and Analysis**



#### **4.6.1 Ensuring quality in the study**

In order to ensure quality, multiple data sources were used for purposes of triangulation and crystallization before conclusions could be made (Andrade, 2009; Rule & John, 2011). All data was also subjected to a laddering process to build a chain of connectivity (Andrade, 2009; Golafshani, 2003; Rugg & Petre, 2004; Rule & John, 2011; Yin, 2009). After data transcription

and first stage analysis, findings were discussed with the key informants in a dissemination workshop. All their inputs were yet again integrated and earlier positions adjusted in the final reporting. During data analysis, effort was also made to address rival explanations especially in relation to the journal diary that was kept alongside the main data collection methods.

Yin (2009), in close agreement with Nieuwenhuis (2007), argues that validity and reliability in qualitative research refer to credibility and trustworthiness, that is, the extent to which data measures to trustworthiness, credibility, conformability and dependability. Plack (2005) stresses that credibility is more appropriate than the concept of internal validity and anticipatory accommodation is more appropriate than the concept of external validity. Anticipatory accommodation refers to the reshaping of research findings from a given context to fit the gradations of the new context. In order to generalize any findings within the critical theory paradigm, one must be quite informed about the similarities and differences within a given context.

Quality and consistency were further enhanced by adhering to the study protocol and keeping an audit trail where a record of activities was kept throughout the study as a means of checks and balances during data analysis (Golafshani, 2003). Credibility was pursued through prolonged engagement, persistent observation, crystallization, peer debriefing, and member-checks. Credibility involves generating confidence in the truth value of the findings of qualitative research (Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011).

#### **4.6.2 Researcher positioning and ethical considerations**

I went into this research as an outsider as far as EDF and Kibaale district are concerned. I had never worked with EDF or ever lived in the district of Kibaale before. My interest in the work of EDF followed the contacts I had with some of their staff. I had also heard about EDF's reputation in community development work from our students at Makerere University, who had had their field placement with them [EDF]. However, as a human being, the moment I initiated contacts with EDF and later settled there for the period of my research, I was able to build a

number of friendships both within EDF and in the entire district. Descombe (2007), however, warns:

The researcher's identity, values and beliefs play a role in the production and analysis of qualitative data and therefore researchers should be on their guard to distance themselves from their normal, everyday beliefs and to suspend judgements on social issues for the duration of their research (Denscombe, 2007, p. 300).

I made every effort to maintain my distance as a researcher without unduly using my privileged position and presence in informal settings to acquire data without permission or knowledge of the participants (Rule & John, 2011). However, since this study adopted a critical theory paradigm, my values and position cannot be totally isolated, because the nature of the inquiry is completely value laden (Guba, 1990, 1994; Plack, 2005; Voce, 2004).

### **4.6.3 Ethical measures, confidentiality and informed consent**

Ethical measures regarding this study were multi-layered and each stage required a certain standard of approach. These began right from the proposal stage through to the writing process and dissemination (see research process above). A number of ethical measures were undertaken as follows:

Entrance to the research sites required fulfilling a number of research protocols. This included securing approval from EDF, the National Council for Science and Technology, the President's office, the office of the Resident District Commissioner and the University of KwaZulu-Natal's ethical clearance committee. All these approvals were necessary, first of all, to prove that I had complied with all the expected ethical standards, but also to ensure that my research would not compromise the integrity of research participants.

Prior to any engagement with a participant(s) in this study, I explained the purpose of the study and sought informed consent for participation. The consent was both verbal and written through affirmation with a signature on the form in the language most familiar to the participant (see attached Appendices 7 and 8). In the case of pictures taken, participants and community

members would be briefed beforehand about the possibility of the picture being published and they then gave permission for this.

All participants had also been informed beforehand that any information provided would be considered confidential and their identities would be kept anonymous. Participants were further informed that the disclosure of their names was optional and would still be held anonymous in the publication of study findings. All photographs taken were consented to by those involved with permission to publish them in a manner that does not tarnish their image and that of their families (see appendices 7, 8 &9).

#### **4.6.4 Limitations and challenges of the study**

The fieldwork was very expensive (Prosper, 1995). The initial budget was affected by inflation in Uganda at the time. In addition to meet what was earlier budgeted for, new financial demands emerged along the way such as lunch and transport expenses for photovoice participants. The price of cameras also changed in the process. I therefore had to source alternative funding as the study progressed.

Since this study adopted a case study research design, it is not possible to generalize the findings. It should be noted however that case studies are not meant for statistical generalizations and this study is no exception (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Rule & John, 2011; Yin, 2009).

Kibaale is one of the remotest districts in Uganda with very poor infrastructure and communication networks. The commonest means of transport is motorcycles locally known as '*bodabodas*'. Other than being expensive for hire, they are very risky as they usually lack head helmets for passengers and riders also lack proper skills. The areas are also bushy, posing a danger of wild animals. I survived snake attacks three times. This was once, while conducting a FGD, then on a motorcycle returning from the field and once when entering my small room at night.

Ethical procedures were also seen as a bit strange and considered to be an inconvenience by research participants. It was always a tedious process to explain to research participants why they

had to sign a consent form. Agreeing to turn up for the interview or FGD was to them a sign of consent. I would have to go an extra mile to explain why this was a requirement. To some, it would appear to make the whole process too formal and with a lot of legalities. It would even appear more challenging to those who could not write or sign for themselves. This consumed too much time during data collection, although it was still considered a worthwhile procedure.

My positionality in this study quite often came into challenge (Rule & John, 2011). I began my fieldwork with documentary analysis and observations largely at the offices of EDF or by moving with staff in the field. Some CDWs and community members later came to associate me with EDF staff. As a challenge, I would always be given unnecessary respect by community members, which pointed to the power dynamics in the relationship between the EDF staff, myself and community members. Apart from being considered a staff member of EDF, anybody moving with EDF or from Karuguuza (their headquarters) is considered a “big person”. However, apart from first impressions, I always endeavoured to explain my true identity as a researcher to community members and other stakeholders.

Fieldwork and data collection became tedious but also exciting. I was sometimes too absorbed in organizational business such as meetings, sensitization workshops and trainings. It became difficult at some point to draw lines when and where to stop. The organization and its staff expected me to join them in virtually every activity by even assigning me roles. It really took a lot of courage to regulate myself and eventually end the fieldwork exercise.

#### **4.6.5 Conclusion**

This chapter discusses the case study research design that was adopted for this study with an endeavour to justify its choice. It goes further to give a detailed discussion of the paradigmatic debates, as ways of knowing, ranging from scientific perspectives to non-scientific perspectives. A special emphasis is placed on the critical paradigm as the suitable lens for this study. Further discussion focuses on case study design and on data sources and methods employed for data collection. The chapter ends with issues relating to researcher positioning, ethical considerations

and research quality. The limitations of the study are also discussed. The next chapter focuses on the study contexts and forces at play in EDF.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 EDF, ITS CONTEXTS AND FORCES AT PLAY**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

One notable feature of case study research is the attention given to the contextual location of the phenomenon (Rule & John, 2011). This chapter takes a deeper look at EDF as an organization and the context in which it sits. The chapter also endeavours to provide a thick description of EDF by focusing on the historical trends, environments and factors that have influenced these trends. Furthermore, the chapter explores image and values which EDF stands for. This chapter thus provides a background for forthcoming chapters, which explore understandings and practices of adult education and development in EDF.

#### **5.2 The story of EDF**

##### **5.2.1 Historical trends of EDF**

EDF was started in 2000 as a development organization as an offshoot of Emesco social enterprises that had been conceived in 1998 (see Chapter 1). It was founded by two local members of the community as a means of helping to lift the people out of poverty. The initial thinking was that there was need for a social enterprise in the form of start-up capital for poor communities in Kibaale to turn around their conditions. However, along the way the founders noted that the missing link or what people actually lacked was not resources but knowledge (see Chapter 6). Therefore EDF had to repackage itself to focus on “empowering people to sustain themselves” with the available local resources (EDF, 2010a).

EDF currently serves about 250,000 people in Kibaale District. EDF has trained over 680 CDWs who work as extension agents in their fields of specialization as TBAs, CHWs and CRPs

(Kugonza, 2010). EDF had by 2010 trained about 12,000 farmers and equipped them with tools and modern farming skills.

As noted above, EDF's focus and approach to development has been changing since its inception. This has been as a result people's needs, funding sources and capacity, national and international agendas, learning from experience and benchmarking against best practices of similar organizations on the national and international scene.

In spite of the changed focus, the enterprise aspect still remains but now works as a means of supporting farmers in terms of providing them with markets for their produce but also generating some income to ensure the smooth running of the organization. Currently EDF runs two project enterprises, that is, a honey processing project and a maize milling plant. EDF buys produce from farmers for processing to add value and cut back on losses resulting from the lack of a market.

Besides the main development arm of EDF, there has also been the establishment of EDF micro-finance and 2 Emesco Health Centres in Karuguuza and Bubango. The health centres operate as independent entities for the wellbeing of the people of Kibaale (see Chapter one). As a means of supporting the farmers with marketing their farm produce, EDF also runs two income-generating projects of honey-processing and maize milling at Karuguuza.

The table below profiles the historical development of EDF from its inception. The purpose of the table is to show the changes EDF has undergone, that is, the emergence of partnerships, innovations and programmes.

**Table 6: A chronology of Emesco Development Foundation**

Date	Event
1998	EDF conceived by two local citizens as a social enterprise
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EDF registered as a not-for profit development organization</li> <li>• Joined Uganda NGO forum</li> <li>• EDF structure and operations characterized by:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Young organization with programmes but not with comprehensive management structure</li> <li>○ Few and small stand-alone programmes</li> <li>○ Few professional and technical staff</li> <li>○ No strategic plan in place</li> <li>○ Few funders &amp; financiers</li> <li>○ The founders were part of the Board</li> <li>○ Small and crowded office in a commercial building with noisy environment (Karuguuza Town)</li> <li>○ Few policies</li> <li>○ Few logistical means like motorcycles, computers, internet, furniture, vehicles etc.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
2002	EDF gained partnership with Aidlink, Ireland, in areas of health, water and sanitation, education and agriculture.
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Management structure was constituted with a professional board and a full time Executive Director in place</li> <li>• Founders separated from management board</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First strategic planning process initiated to harmonize and refocus the future of the organization</li> <li>• Foundation acquired new offices and moved out of rented small office in Karuguuza town into a conducive working environment</li> </ul>
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conducted a baseline study of the socio-economic situation of rural households in Buyanja county</li> <li>• Joined National Organic Agricultural Movement of Uganda (NOGAMU)</li> <li>• Joined Association of Microfinance Institutions of Uganda (AMFIU)</li> </ul>
2005	Joined Sustainable Agriculture Trainers Network (SATNET)
2006	EDF Micro-finance Programme spun-off from the main EDF and started operating as a different entity under a separate board
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EDF extended its service to the county of Buyaga County and opened up a field office at Nyamarunda with a team of 5 staff members</li> <li>• Ventured into agro-processing and value-addition initiatives. With support from Bees abroad, honey processing started to ensure sustainability of the project</li> </ul>
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EDF moved to increase its outreach strategy by launching the radio campaign with Kibaale – Kagadi community radio (KKCR) as forum to reach out to a bigger population including those not yet practically served</li> <li>• EDF receives \$105,000 (about sh200m) from the McKnight Foundation towards sustainable agriculture development in Kibaale.</li> <li>• Annual budget of EDF reached 1 billion Uganda shillings (approximately USD 400,000.00).</li> <li>• Training manual for Community Health Workers is launched</li> <li>• Joined Kibaale District Civil Society Organizations’ Network (KCSON) and Joined Uganda Water and Sanitation NGO Network (UWASNET)</li> </ul>
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Joined Global Water Partnership (GWP) and the Regional Schools and Colleges Permaculture (Re-SCOPE)</li> <li>• The launch of the second phase bee-keeping with support from Bees Abroad, UK</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More funding received by EDF to support a range of activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ With support of Aidlink, EDF moved to Buyaga county (Health, agric. &amp; water)</li> <li>○ The Women Sustainable Agric programme for Mugarama S/county funded by The McKnight Foundation.</li> <li>○ The Integrated Agric Dev programme funded by Gorta in Mugarama S/county</li> <li>○ The launch of 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of bee-keeping with support from Bess Abroad, UK. Ruteete Apiary programme started</li> <li>○ Electric Aid and The Tudor Trust supported the Agro-processing complex.</li> <li>○ The school water and sanitation programme for Buyanja supported by Aidlink in needy primary schools.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baseline study report on the community health situation in 20 selected communities of Matale and Kyebando sub-counties in Buyanja county</li> <li>• SIMAVI, Germany supported the extension of ICHP to cover areas of Kyebando, Matale and Nyamaarwa sub-counties</li> <li>• The 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary celebrations for EDF that saw many stakeholders meet to take stock of the achievements so far registered and pledge more commitment to the betterment of life in Kibaale and beyond</li> </ul>
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gorta agreed to support integrated conservation and development projects (ICDP) Buyanja programme (under water, health &amp; agric.).</li> <li>• 2 Aid from Germany started supporting the construction of shallow wells in needy communities, of Buyanja County</li> <li>• Farma mundi supported the medical camp programme in Itomero, Wantema and Nyamugusa which are hard to reach areas of Kibaale District</li> </ul>

2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 staff enrol and complete a Training of Trainers course with Community Based Health Care Association of Uganda, Kampala</li> </ul>
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## **5.2.2 The philosophy underlying the work of EDF**

### **5.2.2.1 Consultation with the community**

EDF uses a consultative approach with communities before entry and throughout the time of engagement. The approach and entry of EDF into the communities goes in phases. In addition to seeking approval from the local leadership and other major stakeholders, they also invite all community members for sensitization and mobilization meetings. In such meetings, EDF urges every family to join. Sensitization meetings are usually daylong where community members share in learning, eating and planning together. After repeated calls for all community members to join, those not interested are left out and EDF proceeds with the willing members. However, further options are left for them to join along the way. It was noted that more people keep joining as they notice the benefits enjoyed by those who do join. Sensitization and training meetings usually take place in people's homes.

### **5.2.2.2 Cooperation and participation**

EDF believes and promotes the spirit of sharing and local participation. This is done to encourage cooperation and discourage dependency. EDF supplies farm equipment which is normally shared among group members. Some selected farmers are also given animals and seedlings for planting on a rotational basis. When a farmer, for example, receives a goat or pig, he/she is supposed to give one to another farmer once it has produced for the first time. Farmers are also encouraged to form working groups as a means of easing extension services. Knowledge sharing and supporting the weak are core values among community groups.

### 5.2.2.3 Group work

Although the concept of group work has been promoted by EDF, it is not totally new or solely attributed to EDF in these communities. People have practiced this in the past, it is embedded within their culture and it was also earlier promoted by other NGOs and government. There are many self-help groups within the community ranging from Savings and Credit Co-operatives (SACCOS) to burial-support groups, which do not necessarily originate from EDF. Another reason why group work finds favour in the work of EDF is perhaps due to the fact that people, being poor, cannot afford hired services for construction and other specialized services. They therefore rely on multiple knowledge systems held by various people in the community to accomplish those tasks. Whenever the group congregates, each household requests for assistance in any given project of their choice. This is advantageous in a sense that work can be completed in a shorter time for people to engage in other chores like agriculture.

### 5.2.2.4 Local materials and affordable technology

EDF emphasizes the use of affordable technology from locally sourced materials. This philosophy is linked to the desire to ensure sustainability of programmes. EDF came to this position having noticed that poverty and ill-health among the people of Kibaale were not due to a lack of resources but rather the knowledge to put the available resources to good use. From agriculture to health programmes, people are encouraged to pursue better livelihoods using the available local materials as seen in the houses below. Other than iron sheets on one house, the rest of the materials are locally sourced without paying money.

**Figure 5: Sample houses made from local materials**



**Iron-sheet roofed house**



**Grass-thatched house**

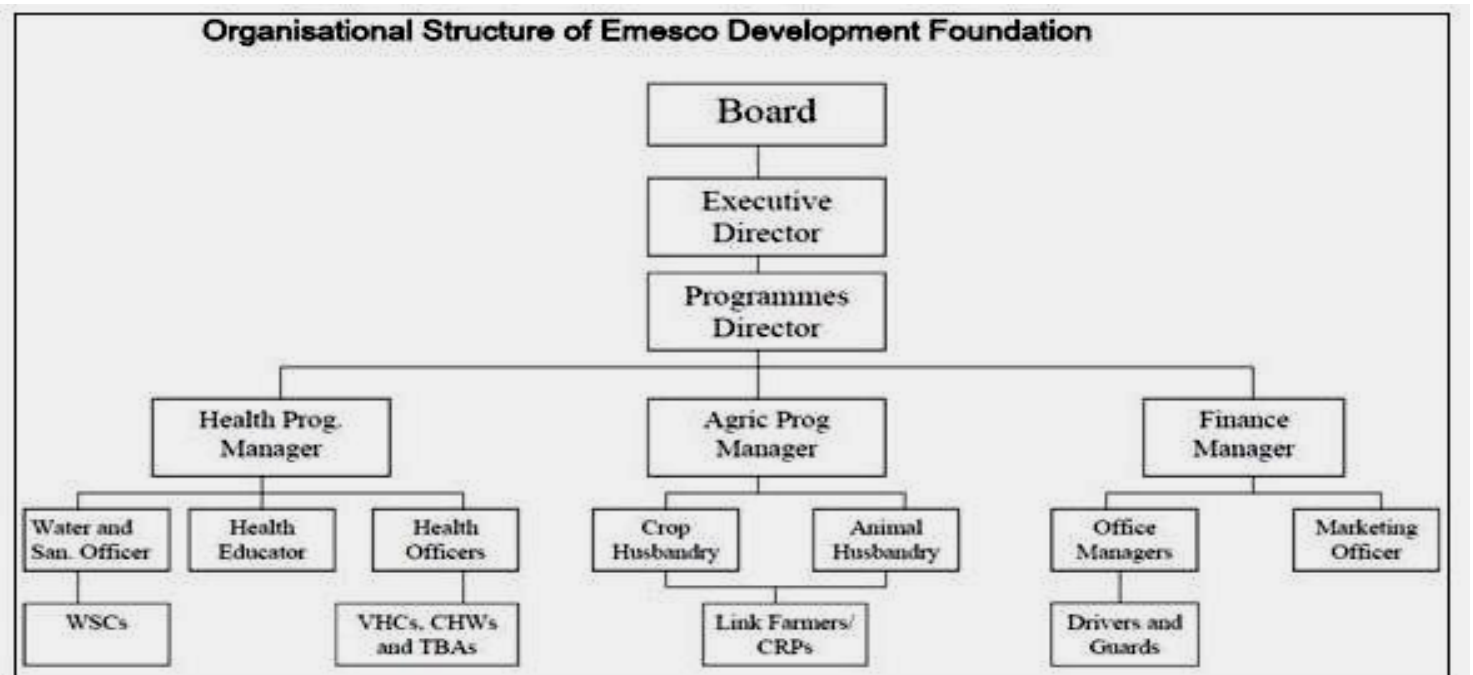
Another concept underlying the work of EDF is integrated community development. They believe that in order to cause tangible change in the community, all factors that impact on the poor must be tackled at the same time. These basically include ill health, low agricultural output as a result of poor farming methods, environmental degradation and lack of access to clean water. EDF pursues this thinking as a means of ensuring social progress through a multi-faceted approach. EDF identifies donors whose development interests meet specific needs existent in the communities. Concentrating on just one aspect, such as the environment, would leave a big gap in development needs in all the communities served by EDF.

In all the aspects discussed above, there is a noted difference in what is said and what is actually in practice. These philosophies are documented in strategic planning documents, annual magazines, and memoranda of understanding and even catch words in the minds of stakeholders. However, the reality sometimes presents a different story as EDF struggles to fulfil these philosophies and mandates. EDF has had to compromise part of these philosophies in order to fit within the local and international contexts. The conflicts that arise from local and international contradictions call for compromises for the survival of EDF. These conflicts, contradictions and compromises are discussed extensively in chapter 9.

### **5.3 Stakeholders of EDF**

The main stakeholders in EDF include a 5-member governing board, development partners, senior management team, permanent staff, external resource persons/facilitators, community development workers (CDWS), various committees at village level, community members, local and central governments and civil society organizations both at local and national level. The figure below shows the organization structure of EDF. The organization structure does not capture other stakeholders such as development partners, government and the community. However, all stakeholders and their relationships are explained later.

**Figure 6: Organizational structure of EDF**



**Source: EDF strategic plan 2010 -2012**

EDF is lead by a 5-member board of Directors, which came into force as a result of the shift in focus of EDF from a social enterprise to a development organization. The board of EDF is a multi-professional team reflecting the integrated nature of their development focus. The board sits at least twice a year to give policy directions and receive reports from management on progress made on ongoing programmes and projects. The board chairperson is more frequently and deeply involved as he has to occasionally execute certain decisions on behalf of the board. Some of these include signing memoranda of understanding with development partners and launching a number of EDF programmes in the communities.

### **5.3.1 Senior management**

The executive director, who is assisted by the programmes director, heads EDF. The executive director oversees all the day-to-day running of the organisation and in most cases follows up all the communication with development partners, government, communities and other stakeholders. He has been in charge since the official registration in 2000. The executive director

is deputized by the programmes director, who doubles as the head of the agriculture programme. The deputy director oversees all the fieldwork activities in the organization and is responsible for the logistical support to staff in their work. Other members of the senior management team include the head of the health programme and the finance manager. This team is responsible for translating policy decisions into action at organisational level. A brief account of two members of this senior management team is given below as a means of throwing more light on the functioning and work of EDF.

### **5.3.1.1 Kwaga as a key figure in EDF**

The history, success, vision and philosophy of EDF cannot be separated from one man, that is, Kwaga (pseudonym). He is one of the founding members and the current executive director. He conceived the initial idea of EDF together with his wife before EDF transformed into the current organization. As one of the few university graduates from this remote and rather historically disadvantaged district (see Chapter 1), he felt that there was need for an intervention to change the lifestyles of the people. A graduate of social work and social administration, Kwaga had had prior experience working with another development organisation. He has since acquired a number of certificates, both national and international, in development work.

One of Kwaga's strong points is the fact that he commands respect in Kibaale district, as one of their own, who shunned work for better pay in urban centres and preferred to work with them to forge a better future. He is also grounded in the culture of the people and serves as an advisor to their traditional king of Bunyoro kingdom (see Chapter 1). Kwaga has used his position and personality to blend EDF with the communities, the local cultural institution as well as the local and central governments. Through his personal efforts, EDF works well with other CSOs in the district. A case in point is the Kibaale Kagadi Community Radio (KKCR), which EDF often uses to reach its partner communities and yet is owned and managed by a sister NGO in the district.

In the current day-to-day running of EDF, Kwaga's name comes up in everything. Although he says he has no formal training in adult education, apart from skills acquired in workshops and seminars, more often you hear most staff confessing that they learnt adult education facilitation skills and approaches to community development work from Kwaga. In describing his expertise in adult education and mentorship of staff, Kwaga notes:

I most often tend to refer to myself as a self-made facilitator and why because ... I have found myself motivated to get into these areas to ... and until you try something and you may not really know that you could be one of the best. But I have been praised by so many people, people who have managed to attend my training sessions and all that I say about facilitation, adult learning skills and all this ... but I think also through practice you get to know ... (Kwaga, 2011).

As a result of this, Kwaga's name is like a brand name for EDF in Kibaale. At just 42 years old, Kwaga is largely known by everyone in Kibaale district, which currently has a population of about 700,000 people including those not yet served by EDF. He boasts a number of accolades and recognition for development work from various individuals and institutions. As a personality, Kwaga blends a mixture of creativity and innovativeness, and plays the role of power broker, mentor, crisis manager and above all is a gifted community development worker. In addition, he is always up-to-date with local needs but also stands out as a good mobilizer. He has also managed to groom a team of dedicated staff who largely spread the development 'gospel' of EDF in Kibaale. He is equally well versed with national and global trends such as the national development plan and MDGs.

### **5.3.1.2 Sendi as a key figure in EDF**

EDF boasts of yet another important personality and this is Sendi (pseudonym).

Sendi is the current head of the health programme. Sendi joined EDF in 2004 and has since been in charge of the health and sanitation programme. At 51 years old, he is a graduate of public health at diploma level and has a six-month certificate in adult

education facilitation skills. Colleagues normally refer to him as a pan-African facilitator. Sendi, who is commonly referred to as ‘doctor’ by the community development workers and community members, has a strong passion for his work and the community he serves. He has reached virtually every home in the communities served by EDF. His other strength is that before joining EDF, he had worked for World Vision, a child development agency in the same area.

Sendi is both a respected and loved gentleman in Kibaale district because of the impact people say he has on their lives. When his motorcycle sounds near a home, it causes a mixture of fear and excitement for residents. Fear happens when they know something is not right with their health standards. The excitement is because their friend and health advisor has arrived and would answer any question they have. In a FGD with community members in Kidukuule, a number of comments about Sendi emerged, as follows:

They [EDF staff] used to treat us well, like ‘Doctor’ Sendi used to come to our homes and ask us why we had not constructed dry racks, why we had not renovated our houses, so as to prevent the mosquitoes from entering and this would reduce disease incidences in a family.

Another person added:

Sendi reached most of the households and he could monitor to see whether one has done what was asked of him or her.

Another member of a village development committee commented:

Another thing is that ‘Doctor’ Sendi is never a lazy man, when he finds you constructing cooking stoves, he also joins the group to work without any complaints. Even when you are constructing pit latrines he joins as well and that motivates the other people to do the same thing.

Although Sendi works and heads the health department, he usually gets consulted by other staff from agriculture on community intervention skills. When asked about his approach and relationship to the community, Sendi notes:

... let me say this, I always encourage the staff that when you are going to the community you have to ensure that you fit in that community; adopt to the way they are behaving, even the way they are dressed, participation in activities all that helps us to become nearer to the people. If you really expect to get results you have to try and get people on your side and you cannot do that if there is a gap of them fearing you, they won't be free with you (Sendi, 2011).

### **5.3.2 General staffing**

EDF employs a total of 28 permanent staff recruited for the on-going projects. Recruitment is based on the specific disciplines in line with programme foci: agriculture, health, water and sanitation. However, EDF recognizes the fact that one of their core roles is education and therefore endeavours to nurture new staff in issues of training and pedagogical skills.

There is occasional shifting of staff titles in respect of organizational focus. Whereas, staff members in the agriculture department are sometimes referred to as field extension coordinators, and those in health as health educators and health officers, a new title of community development facilitator (CDF) is being introduced for all staff. It is argued that the new titles are meant to ensure that all staff members are all-round in terms of responsibilities when dealing with communities. This is being adopted as a means of cost cutting so that when a staff member is out in the field he/she should be able to offer advice on water and sanitation, agriculture or health-related issues.

In addition to full time staff, EDF often engages a team of professionals on a part-time basis who come in to render support most especially in the training of CDWs. These are mostly local government officials working with the district of Kibaale. These professionals, usually referred to as resource persons or external facilitators, come in to give expertise in areas where EDF can't

provide it. External facilitators are also credited with strengthening the links with the local government and the sharing of ideas.

### **5.3.3 Community-based leadership**

In a bid to ensure closer monitoring, feedback and efficient service delivery, EDF has grass-root structures in place. EDF is represented by a cadre of volunteer staff, nominated by community members themselves and trained by EDF to serve as extension agents. These agents are broadly known as community development workers (CDWs). CDWs fall into three categories, that is, community health workers (CHWs), community resource persons in charge of agriculture and traditional birth attendants in charge of antenatal, delivery and postnatal care of mothers (see Chapter 8).

In addition, CDWs are supported by committees, made up of committed exemplary leaders to oversee EDF work in relation to health issues, agricultural work and water development. These committees include: village development committees (VDCs), village health committees (VHCs) and water source committees (WSCs).

A team of professionals with varied professional training runs EDF. There exists a cordial working relationship built on mutual respect irrespective of seniority. EDF prefer to be called a learning organisation (EDF, 2010), and this can be observed in their work and meetings. Consultation is not only done between senior and junior colleagues but sometimes across the same level. People can be seen seeking for information and guidance without fear of being rebuked or displaying their ignorance.

## **5.4 Partnerships**

In this section, I highlight the various partners of EDF beyond what is captured in the organization structure described above. In the chapters that follow, the partnerships of EDF are described as power dynamics or forces, as asymmetrical power relations characterize their relationships. The partners of EDF have come together driven by unique interests but with a

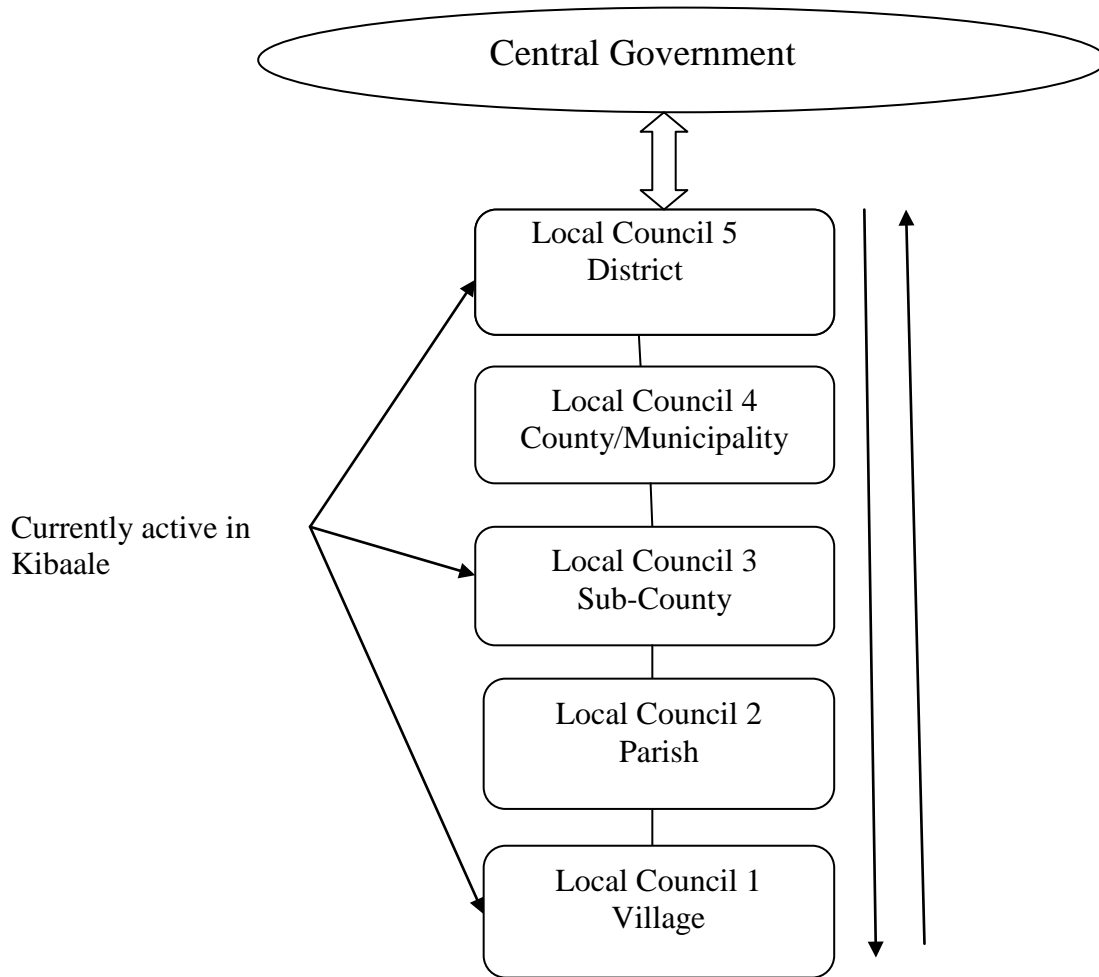
common agenda. It is for this reason that the role EDF has in this partnership is described as that of a '*music conductor*' which serves to harmonize the different voices/interests (see Chapter 9).

#### **5.4.1 Local and central government**

One of the key partners or forces in the work of EDF is government. EDF works closely with the Local Council (LC) officials and structures; for example, EDF is represented in the district planning committee. This is intended to harmonise service delivery by the different players in the district. According to EDF, the close working relationship with government also helps them to work with people's representatives thereby increasing their acceptability within the district and communities.

Uganda runs a decentralized system of government, where power is shared between the central government and the local government. Therefore, most administrative structures at the district level, like Kibaale, are under the local government leadership. Decentralization in Uganda is both political and financial, meaning that local government has political structures with decision-making powers but also creates budgets and executes them according to local needs (Muriisa, 2008). The local governmental (LC) structure works from village level (LC 1) to the district level (LC 5) as shown below:

**Figure 7: Relationship between central government and Local Council structure in Uganda**



The collaboration also involves the sharing of plans and expertise. EDF, for example, employs a number of district technical staff as external training facilitators in the areas of health, agriculture and community development. This relationship can be called symbiotic in the sense that the two institutions support each other in planning, service delivery and also technical expertise. The cordial relationship has created a harmonious working environment but also increased benefits to the community.

The other level of collaboration is LC 3, that is, the Sub-County level. EDF work has been growing county by county. As noted from the diagram above, the LC 2 and LC 4 are not functional. LC 4 is functional in municipalities and yet there is none in Kibaale. Therefore,

before EDF enters any Sub-County/LC 3 area, they seek the approval of the local leaders at that level. They normally engage them in stakeholder meetings where EDF lays out its plan and targeted activities. In return they receive feedback from the local authorities, which have to be incorporated in the project plan. These leaders remain within the implementation committee throughout the life of that project. Leaders at this level then forward EDF to LC 1 officials for more consultations and the launch of the project.

The local council 1 (LC 1) based at village level is the lowest but perhaps the most crucial local government unit, which works hand-in-hand with EDF. This council like other higher councils is composed of 9 elected officials. The work of EDF and government sometimes get conflated as some LC 1 officials also get elected to work as CDWs with EDF. It all depends on the willingness and approval of the community. The Chairperson of LC 1 is an ex-officio on all EDF village committees, that is, the village development committee, the village health committee and the water source committee (WSC). This serves as a security measure but also as a confirmation of the people's mandate in the work of EDF. It is also in the government's interest to keep an eye on the work of NGOs and CSOs.

Although EDF is based at the local level and therefore works closely with the district local government, there are some instances where there is collaboration with the central government. During the 10-year celebrations of EDF, the president, who was the guest of honour, donated a tractor to ease their work in supporting farmers towards modernization of agriculture, which is part of the national agenda. Therefore, the efforts of EDF are recognized beyond the district by national leadership.

#### **5.4.2 Development partners/donors as key stakeholders with EDF**

Donors or development partners are another important force in the work of EDF. Notable among the development partners of EDF are Aidlink of Ireland, Gorta of Ireland, LandsAid of Germany, McKnight Foundation from the USA, Bees Abroad of the UK, SIMAVI from The Netherlands, The Tudortrust of the UK, The Sisters of St. Joseph of Orange Fund from the USA, Swissland of Switzerland, ElectricAid of Ireland, Manos Unidas of Spain, The Combined Services Third World Fund of Ireland and The Irish League of Credit Union of Ireland (EDF, 2010). The term

“development partners” in EDF is used to refer to donors who finance their vast development projects. They are all Western based, that is, from Europe and North America.

As noted above, EDF pursues an integrated development approach like most NGOs in Uganda (Barr et al., 2004). They therefore develop wide-ranging proposals, which target various challenges in the communities. These range from health prevention and cure, agriculture promotion and marketing, provision of clean water and environmental protection. In isolated instances, some successful proposals have been written aimed at supporting infrastructural development, mainly for schools in poor communities. According to Kwaga, development cannot be compartmentalized but rather must be holistic.

According to EDF, a number of factors account for the success and continued partnership with their donors and their ability to win new ones. In its strategic plan (2010-2012), EDF hopes to maintain and acquire new development partnerships based on the strict adherence to and respect for agreements and memoranda, transparency and efficiency in use of funds and timely accountability. EDF also takes pride in its record of executing projects to the satisfaction of donors and beneficiary communities: ‘We don’t hide the identity of our development partners from our sister organisations here in Kibaale; the list and their addresses are all out there for everyone to see. Our continued funding is based on our track record of serving the community’ (Kwaga, 2011). This is indeed confirmed by Aidlink, one of the valued development partners of EDF as they note on their website:

This year, one of our partner organisations in Uganda, EMESCO Development Foundation, trained 76 traditional birth attendants. They were equipped with medical supplies, delivery kits and bicycles and constructed delivery units. In 2011 these traditional birth attendants safely delivered 2,250 healthy babies ... The Integrated Community Development Programme (ICDP) for Buyaga County run by EMESCO represents one of the poorest districts of Uganda. With regards to child and maternity welfare, incidence of infant and maternal mortality is very high. Millennium Development Goal 5 aims to Improve Maternal Health and has two targets: To reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio and achieve, by 2015,

universal access to reproductive health. Progress towards this goal in Uganda has been 'slow'. Every day in Uganda an estimated 16 women die in childbirth. There is recognised need for skilled birth attendants, particularly in rural Uganda (Aidlink, 2012, p. online).

It can be noted from this statement that effective execution of projects and aligning proposals to global focus, such as MDGs, reigns high as one of the considerations in the continued funding of EDF. Quite a number of charitable agencies in the north such as Aidlink draw their resources partly from their governments. Therefore, the funding of NGOs in the south ought to be in line with bilateral obligations and commitments of those governments to international agendas and declarations. On the issue of continued relations, Aidlink notes that: 'Aidlink's relationship with its seven key partners were built up over long periods of concentrated work on specific issues focused on working towards eliminating poverty' (Aidlink, 2010, p. 6).

Therefore, the breadth of EDF's vision and its track record in development work has helped in building partnerships and continued funding from a wide range of development partners. Examples include The McKnight Foundation which focuses on assisting NGOs and public agencies to improve the quality of life of people in need (The-McNight-Foundation, 2012). On the other hand, SIMAVI from the Netherlands, which also supports the health programme in EDF, has its focus on preventive health care of the marginalized population. This is in particular reference to 1) water, sanitation and hygiene; 2) sexual and reproductive health and rights and; 3) prevention of the common diseases (Simavi, 2009). This, too, is in line with EDF areas of interests; a sign of perfect match.

### **5.4.3 The community as a key stakeholder with EDF**

In order to understand EDF in terms of its history, growth, vision and philosophy, one needs to have a glimpse of the nature of the community in which EDF is located and strives to work with. Before I provide some highlights of two communities in which EDF works, I will first give a general overview of the nature of a typical community in Kibaale. According to EDF, a community is a village of sizeable households. A community may be the exact replica of the

government structure of what constitutes a village or LC 1. In some cases EDF divides the LC 1 into two communities depending on the size or even combines two LCs to form one 'EDF community'. The beginning point is that EDF works closely with the government local council(s) in mapping these communities. Therefore, an average community tends to have about 30 households. EDF's 2010/2012 strategic plan gives a glimpse of the general social condition of the communities in Kibaale:

The core problem being addressed in the area of operation (Kibaale District) by development actors, including Government is poverty. The number of people living below the poverty line is above 50%. There is also massive food insecurity as well as poor access to clean and safer water and appropriate sanitation facilities both at household and community level, including educational institutions (EDF, 2010b, p. 12).

Communities in Kibaale district are largely composed of small farmer households. The high-level poverty index (over 50% below the poverty line) is partly attributed to historical factors in this area (EDF, 2010a). Most of the people are squatters on the land they live in. This land belongs to absentee Baganda landlords who acquired it as a reward from the British administrators for joining hands with them to fight King Kabalega of Bunyoro. There is also a high population growth due to immigrants from other overpopulated districts of Uganda, Rwanda and war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Kibaale partly shares a boarder with DRC. Therefore both the indigenous people and immigrants are struggling to find a bearing and to establish themselves in this area.

The prime objective of EDF when it decides to go into a community is to cause change through their principle mandate which is to 'enhance the social and economic empowerment of the rural poor, the disadvantaged and the marginalized, the majority of whom are women, so that they can improve their livelihood situation and dignity' (EDF, 2010a, p. 5). Accordingly, EDF (2010a, p. 5) strives to realize their mission through:

- Working with local communities to identify their needs and design appropriate interventions for meeting them

- Sourcing for funding from the donor community and other appropriate sources for supporting and implementing community development projects and programmes that have potential for improving the poor's livelihood situation
- Empowering and building capacities of the poor so that they can operate, manage and control their own projects
- Acting as a voice for the cause of the poor and enabling/empowering the poor to be their own advocates
- Collaborating and networking with the local and central government, NGOs, donors and other stakeholders on issues of realizing development for the rural poor and facilitating integral development EDF (EDF, 2010a, p. 5).

In conclusion, the links and partnerships of various stakeholders in EDF have been a result of opportunity and convenience. Over time there seems to have developed a realization that all the stakeholders discussed above have a critical role to play in the betterment of the people of Kibaale. This has led to various groups and categories of stakeholders coming on board at different times, as noted above. One can therefore say that one of the strengths of EDF, in the identification and mobilization of funds, lies in their ability to write proposals that fit well with the national and international development agenda.

Currently EDF is the largest NGO/CSO in Kibaale district and competes favourably with government in service delivery to local communities. This fact is not only recognized by local communities but by the government as well. In many instances, local people tend to confuse the work of EDF with government. It is not uncommon to hear local people submitting proposals and requests to EDF for the construction of schools and health centres, and indeed EDF has sometimes intervened in such projects.

## 5.5 Culture and mode of life in Kibaale

### 5.5.1 Overview of life and culture in Kibaale District

Kibaale District is one of the five districts that make up Bunyoro Kingdom, the others being Hoima, Buliisa, Masindi and Kiryandongo. The people of Kibaale attach a lot of importance to their culture as embedded within their belief systems and values. Some of these beliefs and values have, however, been moderated by the advent of Christianity and Islam in addition to forces of Western modernization and globalization. Migration has also been another notable factor in shaping the current cultural beliefs among the people of Kibaale. As noted in chapter 1, there is a cultural mix in Kibaale, the district in which EDF operates, owing to the influx of immigrants and the historical factors in Bunyoro Kingdom. However, the culture of Banyoro still remains dominant.

As a result of the historical occupation of Bunyoro by Buganda kingdom, the Baganda culture is also highly visible and can be seen through the dress code and power relations between men and women. There is also a wide usage of names from Buganda among the people of Kibaale. It is said that the tradition of using names from Buganda started during the colonial period as the Banyoro tried to disguise their true identity, but also win favours from Baganda chiefs. The Banyoro, just as the neighbouring Batooro, have a special culture of pet names called '*empaako*' which is given to all Banyoro including visitors that stay for a long time. These names include: *Atwoki, Abwoli, Amooti, Akiki, Adyeri, Ateenyi, Araali* and others.

Kibaale District has come to be associated with tribal and land conflicts. These conflicts are rooted in the history of the area which had an ugly colonial past, where parts of Bunyoro Kingdom, particularly Kibaale were given to Baganda absentee landlords for having assisted the British in the colonization and subjugation of the latter (Asiimwe & Nolan, 2001; Kuhanen, 2000; Rugadya, 2009). The indigenous Banyoro were reduced to tenants on their own land. This problem has persisted for almost a century and is usually seen as the cause of the land conflict in Kibaale District, as Kibaale Development District Planning Unit (KDPU) explains below.

Among the major problems facing the District are the land conflicts resulting from the colonial period when the current District counties were rewarded to the Baganda chiefs by the British under the 1900 Buganda Agreement towards their support to the colonisation of Bunyoro Kingdom. This meant that ownership of land shifted hands to Baganda chiefs from the original owners (Banyoro) leaving them as squatters on their own land. A fact which attracted many people (settlers) to come and settle in these vacant pieces of land after the Baganda chiefs had been chased away. It is no wonder to date, the settlers and the indigenous people in the District are always engaged in a number of land conflicts which greatly affects the development of the area (KDPU, 2004, p. 23).

This domination has allegedly had a long-standing impact on the people of Bunyoro and Kibaale in particular. The impact, according to locals, is said to be responsible for the fear of foreigners, low esteem, even concerning their language, names and culture, as evidenced through the current political and social tension in Kibaale District.

It ought to be noted, however, that there is usually peace and cooperation among the local peasant population. Conflicts usually arise during national and local elections, when it is said that the divisions are created and used by politicians to their advantage, based on tribal sympathy (Rulekere, 2006). EDF partly derives its popularity from its non-segregationist policy among the various ethnic, religious and socio-economic divides. A few aspects of culture in Kibaale are discussed below.

#### **5.5.1.1 Gender relations**

Family structure in Kibaale is largely patriarchal. The man is assumed to be the head of the family, and normally controls the family resources. Superiority of the male sex is evident though not codified. Women are expected to be subservient to men; for example, a woman is expected to kneel when greeting a man, as failure to do so is seen as a sign of disrespect. Although polygamy is acceptable in Kibaale, it is now greatly reducing, perhaps due to Christianity and the growth of market economy that is putting pressure on family resources.

This gender perspective is rooted both in people's culture and religion. The community structure and context in EDF is no exception to the society in which it is located. As much as many people note that EDF has managed to engage both men and women in their work, it is evident that women's participation still largely depends on the goodwill of their husbands. Women still have to seek approval from their husbands before they can engage in community and development activities.

### **5.5.1.2 Religious belief systems**

People are highly religious, with the Roman Catholic faith constituting the majority. Others are Anglicans, Muslims, Pentecostal Christians, *Abobusobozi* followers and traditionalists. People's behaviour and ethical standards are highly influenced by their religious faith. As a result of strong religious belief and indigenous value systems, people are largely calm, generous to strangers and respectful to authority.

### **5.5.1.3 Language of communication**

The major language used in Kibaale is broadly known as *Runyakitara*, and is a combination of several dialects spoken in western Uganda, commonly referred to as the 4 Rs, that is, *Runyankole/ Rukiga/ Runyoro/ Rutooro*. Other minor ones include Rufumbira, Runyarwanda and Luganda. Runyoro is the dominant dialect, but any of the 4 Rs is used, as they largely share a common vocabulary with mere differences in intonation. Luganda is also used, especially in trading centres; this is because of the historical influence of the Baganda in the area, who worked as proxy administrators for the British colonial government. The Baganda have also dominated the business sector in Uganda, as they were the first indigenous people to get in touch with Arab and Asian traders.

#### **5.5.1.4 Age and indigenous knowledge**

People attach great importance to age as a source of knowledge. This could also point to the value of indigenous knowledge in this society. In meetings and group gatherings, one can notice the continuous reference to older participants for guidance; hence, a common saying in Kibaale, that '*obukuru magezi*' meaning 'age is knowledge'. In spite of embracing Western/modern knowledge systems, indigenous knowledge is highly valued in Kibaale, and EDF is clearly cognisant of this as will be explained later in chapters that follow.

### **5.6 Conclusion**

This chapter served the purpose of providing a thick description of EDF, as typical with all case studies. The chapter discussed the context of EDF, highlighting the local and global forces at play. The interplay of these forces is discussed extensively in chapter 9.

When analysing the contextual setting of EDF, one can say that as an organization it is strategically located and continues to locate itself at the centre of need and supply. At one end is a community in need, while at the other is the donor community driven by certain forces to support development efforts in the developing world. EDF's position can be likened to that of a middleman or perhaps a broker. In terms of need, EDF emerges in response to the dire conditions in which people of Kibaale live, characterized by poverty, low agricultural output, ill health as a result of preventable diseases, lack of clean water and environmental destruction.

These conditions of need prevailing in Kibaale are exacerbated by the fact that government has no capacity to dispense the much needed guidance and services. This is probably a result of limited resources or is perhaps due to lack of prioritization by government and its weak development structures (Barr et al., 2004). Government inadequacy is seen from the fact that EDF concentrates on the provision of basic community needs which would otherwise be the responsibility of government, such as building schools, health centres, agriculture development, health promotion, safe water and environmental protection.

At the other end is the global context within which donors/development partners are located. This can as well be described as the supply side in relation to the needs of poor communities served by EDF. EDF as a 'middleman', just like most NGOs from the South, recognises the global conventions and commitments such as MDGs and EFA. Such global commitments, in addition to setting aside funds to support poor governments, also drive governments from the North and other international development agencies to seek for Southern partners to act as conduits of support to poor communities directly, without going through government structures.

It is in such a scenario, of gaps between the rich from the North and the poor from the South, that EDF locates itself to provide a link. It closes this gap by carrying out baseline surveys that document the level and degree of need as a basis for fundable proposals, which fit within the guidelines of donor agencies.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **6.0 UNDERSTANDINGS OF ADULT EDUCATION WITHIN EDF**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses one of the core foci of the study, that is, EDF's understandings of the role of adult education in community development work. The specific focus was on how such understandings have evolved and developed, factors that have influenced EDF's understanding of adult education and the perceptions of stakeholder communities regarding EDF interventions. The chapter's objective is to make a contribution to the literature and scholarship on how adult education emerges in community development contexts through the lens of EDF. The chapter concludes with the implications of the findings for adult education as a discipline and profession. The chapter also provides a background to chapter 7, which explores adult education practices in EDF.

The discussion and analyses, which follow the findings in this chapter, are guided by the literature presented in chapter 2, concerning the evolvement of adult education in different societies over time. Later discussion is also informed by the educational theories of Julius Nyerere and Paulo Freire presented in chapter 3. Nyerere (1973) makes a case for the purpose of adult education in a transformation process.

#### **6.2 Origins and philosophical genesis of adult education in EDF**

The evolution of adult education in EDF cannot be isolated from the history, contexts and stakeholder influences on the organization. The evolution and deeper of understanding of adult education can be attributed to the shifting targets, goals and events that have shaped EDF over time. The shift in focus from the idea of a social enterprise to a development organization, discussed in chapter 5, necessitated new ways of thinking.

Initially, when the idea of EDF was conceived in 1998, the vision was to build a social enterprise in the form of micro-finance as a means of helping poor people break away from endemic poverty (see Chapter 1 and 5). The thinking then was that poverty was also responsible for other problems such as poor health conditions and low agricultural output. EDF therefore sought to mobilize funding that would be passed over to the people at very low interest rates to start up small businesses, but also to boost agricultural development. In this section, I have classified the influences to the evolution and growth of adult education in EDF under 3 categories, that is, 'education as a missing link', professional influence and donor/global influence. These three categories are discussed below.

### **6.2.1 Education as the 'missing link'**

Since 2000, numerous changes have taken place in EDF in terms of programmes, vision, staffing and expansion in terms of partner communities and development partners. These changes have also impacted on the thinking and practice of education within EDF's programmes. Currently education and training stands out as a major component of EDF's projects and activities within the communities.

Having been in operation for just 2 years, the architects of EDF realized that people needed more than money to overturn their socio-economic conditions. This led to the shift in the focus of their development strategy. In 2000, EDF then registered as a development organization with a different focus, putting education in various forms at the centre of its agenda. The position of adult education in the new approach can be seen from the following interview extract with one of the founding directors who currently serves on the management team:

... actually what we found as a missing link is knowledge, it's not resources that can spur development. The question was how best could the people use the available resources to positively change their way of life? In this way we had to provide the knowledge [used to refer to adult education, *ibid*] and actually what we consider to be the biggest input in

terms of our spending is training ... I think for us, adult education is a tool for achieving our community development goals (Kwaga).

In an interview, another member of senior management noted:

In the beginning, we would go to the community and would really be giving lectures to community members about what needs to be done, what we see the community is like, what we feel the community needs to do or improve and things like that. We would be looking at the resources ... but we came to realize that the resources are within the community: land, human resources, their knowledge and ideas (Paulo).

The interview extracts above highlight mainly two important orientations to adult education in the life of EDF. The first orientation relates to expert or professional knowledge and the second one relates to tapping into indigenous knowledge in a bid to transform the livelihoods of the communities in Kibaale. Essential to moving their agenda of community development forward, EDF felt that adult education had to take centre stage. It is from this view that stakeholders began to look at knowledge/information or adult education as the missing link. The different adult education [knowledge] orientations have power elements to them. I will therefore engage with the implications of knowledge orientations later in the chapter but also more extensively in chapter 9.

In a related development, EDF moved to expand the much needed education to the grassroots. Initially, there was over-reliance on the core staff at the head office to deliver all the educational and extension services to the communities. This expansion led to the conception of community development workers (CDWs) as grassroots educators to contribute towards filling the knowledge deficit (see Chapter 8).

The inception of the concept of CDWs also marked a shift from an expert led (top-down) transformation strategy to one that is community-centred (bottom-up) and participatory. These volunteer community members/CDWs were taken on board, not only to act as a link between EDF and the local communities, but also to tap into indigenous knowledge from local partner

communities. It can therefore be said that the inception of CDWs was an important step in EDF's understanding and growth of adult education (see Chapter 8). In so doing, EDF moved to embrace dialogue as a form of adult education, and community development as a strategy to engage people in addressing their own problems.

This concept of adult education as the 'missing link' in EDF is perhaps also linked to the modernization development concept discussed in chapter 2. The concept involves a diagnosis of people's problems from an outsider point of view. Nyerere (1980) however, castigates a development approach driven by experts who claim to prescribe universal solutions. I will engage with this view later in the chapter as I discuss the concept of adult education for transformation in EDF.

### **6.2.2 Influence of 'professional' adult educators**

The idea of adult education in EDF has also been linked to the inclusion of its staff and partners with formal and non-formal training. Although EDF does not stress adult education as a necessary condition for recruitment, some members of staff with knowledge and formal training in adult education facilitation skills have since joined EDF. These employees and partners have since brought to the surface the importance of adult education as a critical skill in community development work. They have gone on to lobby the organization to support all staff to go for training in adult education.

In spite of the fact that EDF had recruited these staff members based on their qualifications in skills other than adult education, the additional skills in adult education were later recognized. Earlier training in adult education gave such staff leverage in the work of EDF and the entire organization came to appreciate their skills and tried to build on them in the form of mentorships to the rest of the staff. In an interview, some staff with formal training in adult education facilitation skills noted:

EDF considered me because I was already a qualified pan-African facilitator because in CBHCAU [Community Based Health Care Association of Uganda], you had to be a

trained adult education facilitator. There are only two qualified pan-African facilitators here [Kibaale] and I am one of them (Bintu).

That one [streamlining adult education skills] has not happened yet. For me, I have been pressing for all staff especially in my department to go for training in adult education skills right from the beginning ... it's only recently when I succeeded and we had to send some people to attend a Training of Trainers (ToT) course (Sendi)

Bintu (quoted above), a graduate in public health working as an external facilitator with EDF, notes that his recruitment into EDF was based on his special skills in adult education facilitation. Bintu's view seems to contradict the opinion of the majority of senior management who argue that adult education skills are not a basic requirement to work with EDF. On the other hand, Sendi who in spite of being a member of senior management, seems to imply that his other colleagues do not clearly appreciate the need and urgency for all staff to acquire skills in adult education facilitation.

It should be noted that both Bintu and Sendi seem to believe that credible knowledge and skills in adult education, can only be acquired through formal training. Incidentally both Bintu and Kwaga are reported to be the main mentors of colleagues in adult education facilitation. Sendi and Bintu, however, seem not convinced that such mentorship or informal learning has helped colleagues to acquire the right level of skills to handle adult learners in the community. This therefore poses a question as to what constitutes credible knowledge and skills in adult education. The credibility of knowledge based on source or form of delivery method is also associated with power relations. The various levels and the implications of power relations in EDF are discussed in chapter 9.

### **6.2.3 Influence of development partners on EDF's understandings of adult education**

One issue that is hardly mentioned by various actors in EDF, in relation to the understanding of adult education within the organisation, is the influence of their development partners. A review of various documents in EDF indicates that almost all EDF development partners are very supportive of the educational component in their programmes and budgets.

It can also be argued that the support for adult education could as well be linked to modernization development thinking, which attributes poverty and backwardness to ignorance and lack of skills (Joshi, 2005; Youngman, 2000; Zapf, 2004). Investment in various forms of education as a sustainability strategy have been catchwords for most funded development projects from the North (Barr et al., 2004; Hall, 2000; Hearn 2007). Therefore, the overt and covert ideological influence of the donor community in shaping the understanding of adult education in EDF cannot be underestimated.

Donor influence emerges as part of EDF's endeavour to *fit-in* within their broader contexts. EDF's structure and character can be defined by its desire to survive in the local and global environment. This notion of 'fitting in', which emerged as a significant finding in this study to account for EDF's response to its contexts, is discussed extensively in chapter 9. Babikwa (2004) describes the Ugandan society as a confused mix of capitalist and pre-capitalist structures, relations and mindsets. Similarly, EDF operates in an environment that is at an ideological crossroads. The major ideological forces in EDF originate from the local community, government, donor community and international institutional frameworks. These forces or power dynamics are discussed extensively in chapter 9.

### **6.3 Adult education through institutional and policy frameworks in EDF**

This section attempts to highlight understandings of adult education in EDF based on institutional and policy frameworks. The understandings of adult education in EDF are expressed rather indirectly in terms such as empowerment, training, giving knowledge, education,

sensitization and enlightening (EDF, 2010a, 2010b; EMESCO, 2010). However, looking at these concepts from a critical theory perspective, one could argue that these terms may represent a paternalistic view of adult education and development which is shunned by radical adult educators such as Nyerere (1973; 1982) and Freire (1972, 1973, 1985 and 2004). I now discuss these structural and policy positions of EDF, which reveal adult education philosophy in relation to staff recruitment and training, budgeting and the aspects of a learning organisation.

### **6.3.1 Adult education and staff recruitment in EDF**

In spite of the fact that EDF describes their major function as educational, recruitment of staff is based primarily on professional competence in the areas of EDF's development focus. This means that a graduate of adult education would stand minimal chance for recruitment in EDF if he/she lacks the training in the specific above mentioned development areas of EDF. In an interview, one member of senior management noted:

During recruitment, we mostly consider the relevant skills to the work of the organisation, that is, Agriculture, Health, Water and Environment. However along the way we do what I would call mentoring to equip them with adult education skills among others by senior staff. We feel that senior staff members have the capacity to mentor the new ones (Paulo).

The thinking among senior management in EDF is that, although adult education is a core function of the organization, such skills can be acquired through on-the-job training or mentoring. However, the challenge that arises in this respect is that mentoring itself is not systematic or organized. In an interview, a member of senior management noted:

We are now trying to build our team to move away from the traditional extension workers and that's why we are now talking of community development facilitators (CDFs) for all staff. If you have to achieve holistic development and not to fatigue community members, you need to have a team of staff that is all-round and able to get down to the people. Development is not in bits, it is interrelated and it involves so many

things, so really you need somebody who has wide knowledge to be able to ... give knowledge that is quite tied to the most vital sectors as far as community life is concerned (Kwaga).

The question arising from this approach of EDF is whether adult education is a stand-alone discipline or a service to other disciplines. The other question is whether the training of adult educators should focus on producing all-round professionals or discipline specialists with adult education as a complementary skill. This will be discussed further, later in this chapter.

EDF is therefore currently encouraging staff to move beyond their specialized fields in agriculture, water or health to acquire more knowledge in other fields, including adult education. As a result, a new title of CDF has been adopted for all staff of EDF irrespective of their professional background and the department to which they are deployed. This argument in EDF aligns well with Nyerere (1982), when he notes that an adult educator should be an all-round person, knowledgeable in issues of community development such as agriculture, literacy, health or mechanical skills. According to EDF, adult education can be acquired as an additional skill to other professions. However, some members of staff and senior management disagree on the organizational focus and prioritization of adult education in EDF, as one staff member notes:

Actually that thing [positioning of adult education] is very tricky because almost in all departments the main work is to teach people [adults] and you find that what educators have learnt from say nursing or veterinary school is what they come with to teach. Therefore, for sure we have a gap, you can find that however much they say they know, you find there are lots of loopholes in their teaching because they do not have the necessary skills to handle adult learners (Sendi).

According to Sendi, EDF ought to be doing more towards reorientation and equipping of all staff with adult education facilitation skills. Sendi believes that the core business of EDF is adult education and therefore every staff member needs more than the professional skills in agriculture or health to be able to reach the communities. However, Sendi's view seems to downplay the skills acquired through informal learning modes. Sendi's opinion also seems to highlight the

contestation of knowledge acquisition between formal and informal sources. This contestation is discussed further in chapter 9 in relation to power dynamics.

### **6.3.2 Efforts to build adult education facilitation skills in EDF**

There was a noted appreciation of adult education skills among staff and senior management in EDF. This could perhaps be attributed to pressure from staff with professional training in adult education. As discussed earlier, the shift of focus by EDF from a social enterprise to a development organization created a need for special attention on adult education. This is evident in the numerous endeavours by EDF to build staff capacity in adult education facilitation skills.

In 2011, four members of staff were supported by the organization to attend a one-month TOT course in the capital city, Kampala (see Chapter 5). The course, which is run by the community based health care association of Uganda (CBHCAU), equips health professionals in adult learning facilitation skills. In an interview, one member of staff provides the background that led to this development:

As an organization, we still have not been able to organize adult education facilitation skills for all the staff. I have been pressing for this training because of the importance of such skills right from the beginning. I could say that somehow I have succeeded because recently the organization was able to send some staff to attend a training of trainers course. You must have heard members of senior management saying that ‘I was on their neck’ (Sendi).

This indeed points to the earlier noted influence of professional adult educators on the understandings of adult education in EDF. The table below shows the professional background of educators/staff in EDF and the delivery mode through which they have acquired adult education skills.

**Table 7: Staff [educators] of EDF showing their prior training in adult education**

<b>Participant pseudonym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Time spent with EDF</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Major Profession</b>	<b>AE Delivery mode</b>
Kwaga	42	M	12 years	Senior management	Social work	Non-formal
Paulo	37	M	8 years	Senior management	Agriculture	Formal
Sendi	54	M	10 years	Senior management	Public health	Formal/non-formal
Moses	31	M	5 years	*CDF	Adult education	Formal
Naka	29	F	5 years	*ACDF	Secretarial	Non-formal
Kabai	32	F	6 years	CDF	Agriculture	Formal
Gonza	33	M	5 years	CDF	Agriculture	Non-formal
Junju	42	M	3 years	CDF	Water engineering	Informal
Ramla	34	F	2 years	External facilitator	Social work	Informal
Bintu	56	M	8 years	External facilitator	Public health	Formal/non-formal
Tendo	30	F	6 years	External facilitator	Nursing	Formal
Enid	28	F	5 years	External facilitator	Nursing	Formal

*\*CDF: Community Development Facilitator*

*\*ACDF: Assistant Community Development Facilitator*

The last column shows the mode of adult education training the different staff members of EDF have received in addition to their professional competence. Although the table only shows Junju and Ramla to have acquired adult education facilitation skills through the informal method, all the staff are presumed to have received some knowledge informally. Other than one staff member with a bachelor's degree in adult education, it was reported that formal skills were acquired as part of the professional training. Those who reported having received some course or module on facilitating adult learners included nurses, agricultural officers and public health professionals. In an interview, one member of staff asserted that:

In that course [diploma in agriculture] we had some course units where they trained us on how to deal with adults in the community, how to handle the community, how to mobilise them ... (Keti).

The majority of staff reported to have received some skills in adult education non-formally in the form of short courses and workshops. Some staff members also reported to have acquired adult education facilitation skills informally through observing colleagues.

### 6.3.3 Budgeting and funding of adult education in EDF

The reported focus on education and training [adult education] by EDF can also be gauged through budget allocations. When one looks at project proposals, memoranda of understanding and other organizational documents such as strategic plans (EDF, 2010b), one notices that education related activities constitute a sizable share of budgets, as reflected below.

**Table 8: EDF three-year budget showing percentages spent on education-related activities 2010 – 2012**

Sector	Implements and equipment	Educational related activities	Educational related activities (%)	Total UGX
Agriculture & environmental development	2,883,650,000	299,050,000	9.4	3,182,700,000
Primary health care	1,987,300,000	777,000,000	28	2,764,300,000
Water and sanitation	1,918,600,000	99,600,000	4.9	2,018,200,000
Institutional overhead	352,600,000	-----	0	352,600,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,142,150,000</b>	<b>1,175,650,000</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8,317,800,000</b>

*Source: EDF Strategic plan 2010-2012*

The figures in the table above were extracted from the broader budget of EDF. The table shows expenditure on education-related activities as a percentage of the entire EDF budget for 3 years, from 2010 to 2012. Activities categorized as educational include sensitization and awareness workshops, training in all forms, development of educational materials such as Information Education and Communication (IEC) materials and exposure visits.

According to the table above, education related activities in EDF constitute approximately 14% of the budget. However, during an interview with senior management, there was an impression that the biggest share of the budget goes to education related activities. Therefore, one can conclude that the perceived significant role of education in EDF is exaggerated or perhaps participants were aware of the focus of this study and had tried to project larger estimates.

#### **6.3.4 EDF as a learning organization**

EDF currently considers itself to be a learning organization, and this stands out as one of their core values (EDF, 2010b). Although the concept of a learning organization was traditionally associated with managerial practices (Cors, 2003; Garvin et al., 2008), its virtues have helped to promote the value attached to education in general and adult education in particular, within EDF. The concept of a learning organization is increasingly taking centre stage in lifelong learning in the form of learning communities and learning cities (see Chapter 1). This extract from EDF's strategic plan for 2010 - 2012 speaks of the importance that EDF attaches to the learning organization philosophy:

Learning organization: EDF takes learning as part of its key growth strategies. EDF will endeavour to learn from its mistakes, successes, constraints and challenges while it takes on best practices from other organizations (EDF, 2010b, p. 21).

Learning through practice and the work environment as a principle of the learning organization can be noted from the interview with one of the staff members of EDF:

... for us we are open to new knowledge ... so if you [principal investigator] see us messing [up], try to advise us. That is a request I can give and where there are some short courses ... try to guide us. We are indeed appreciative that you came to join us so that you learn from us as we also learn from you (Meddie).

Aspects of a learning organization in EDF can also be seen during staff meetings, meal times and other social gatherings involving staff and other stakeholders. EDF staff members are seen mixing and debating freely, irrespective of the hierarchy of positions. There is also a culture at EDF where parties are organized for both incoming and outgoing members of staff. During these events, staff members take the opportunity to interact among themselves and selected stakeholders in the community. This attitude is extended to community development workers and members of the community as well. As Vella (2002) notes, such meetings and social gatherings provide opportunities for both senior and junior staff to learn from each other in a non-threatening environment.

### **6.3.5 Emerging issues on the institutional and policy frameworks on adult education in EDF**

The institutional and policy frameworks in EDF open up new insights for the understanding of adult education. These insights relate to the profession and practice of adult education, community development work and the training of adult educators. These insights, emerging from the institutional and policy of frameworks of adult education in EDF, are discussed below.

#### **6.3.5.1 Adult education as a service discipline to other professional disciplines**

It emerges, from the case of EDF, that adult education is seen more as a service to other disciplines than as an independent discipline. In other words it a necessary component of other disciplines required in community development work such as, agriculture, health, environmental studies, water development and perhaps entrepreneurial skills development. In an interview, one member of senior management noted:

We have been able to train agriculturalists into CDWs, veterinary professionals into CDWs and so on. Therefore you don't really need to have adult education skills ... but of course it [adult education] would be an added advantage at the time when a new staff member joins us. That means even the mentoring process will start a step higher than usual but we believe ... we are now talking about community development facilitators

because if you have to achieve holistic development and not to fatigue community members, you need to have all-round staff who are getting down to the people (Kwaga).

Even though senior management takes cognizance of the fact that EDF's work is largely educational, the major skills sought after are those that directly relate to the development focus such as in agriculture and health. Senior management in EDF contend that their major interest is to help people improve their lives by focusing on core development areas such as health, agriculture and the environment. Senior management believes that it is easier for them to retrain professionals in agriculture, health and water development, as adult educators. It is not enough to just be an adult educator without having a specific specialization in development work. This thinking explains why EDF hardly considers adult education as a prerequisite for recruitment.

#### **6.3.5.2 Community development work as adult education**

According to the discussion above, the work of EDF can be described as adult education. It was noted that although staff recruitment is based on specific disciplines relevant to the core development focus of EDF, the major job specification is more about adult education. It is perhaps for this reason that community members often refer to the staff of EDF as *abasomesa ba EDF* or EDF educators. This view in EDF resonates with the literature, which holds that community development work is adult education (see chapters 1 and 2).

#### **6.3.5.3 A shift from specialist adult educators to generalist educators**

The literature talks of ideal adult educators as those who are multi-skilled and knowledgeable in many spheres of life (Nyerere, 1973, 1982; Freire, 1972, 2004; Seaman & Fellenz, 2002; Youngman, 2000; Vella, 2002). Nyerere (1982) notes that adult educators ought to be multi-disciplinary professionals, when he states:

The most appropriate adult teachers are often those who are also engaged in another job, who are practitioners of what they will be teaching. But it is necessary to have some

people whose full-time work is teaching adults, or organizing the different kinds of adult education. (Nyerere, 1982, p. 44).

According to Nyerere, society is best served by two types of adult educators, that is, generalists and specialists. Nyerere describes generalists as those educators that give general guidance on issues of a general nature such as hygiene and best practices in agriculture. He describes specialists as those adult educators with special skills to lead communities through demonstrations of how to improve their lives. In terms of how the two groups of adult educators relate to each other, Nyerere notes:

But none of these branches can be self-contained; their work must be coordinated and linked. The work of the agricultural specialist must be linked with that of the nutritionist and that of the people who train villagers to be more effective in selling or buying; and he may himself find the need to call upon - or lead the villagers towards - the person who can teach literacy. Adult Education in fact must be like a spider's web, the different strands of which knit together, each strengthening the other, and each connected to the others to make a coherent whole ... If the people's felt need is improved health, the health specialist must lead them into an awareness of the need for improved agricultural techniques as he teaches the elements of preventive medicine, or helps them to lay the foundations of curative health service. And the health specialist must have organizational links with the agriculture teacher, so that this new interest can be met as it is aroused, and so on. (Nyerere, 1982, pp. 41-42).

Equally Freire (2004) stresses the importance of adult educators having multiple skills that help to touch the various needs of learners, by noting that:

And let it not be said that, if I am a biology teacher, I must not “go off into other considerations“ – that I must only teach biology, as if the phenomenon of life could be understood apart from its historic-social, cultural, and political framework. As life, just life, could be lived in the same way ... If I am a biology teacher, obviously I must teach biology, but in doing so, I must not cut it off from other frameworks of the whole (Freire, 2004, p. 65).

What then does the categorization of adult educators mean to EDF? What skills are valued and why? Educators in EDF can be described as both generalist and specialist. The initial focus of EDF was to boost people's standards through health improvement and improved incomes through agriculture. Therefore the recruitment of specialists in health and agriculture was to meet those targets. However, along the way EDF came to realize that people's problems cannot be isolated or treated in bits. In an interview, one member of senior management noted:

If you [PI] have been monitoring quite well, we [EDF] are trying now to build our team [staff/educators] to move away from the traditional extension workers and we are talking about community development facilitators because if you have to achieve holistic development and not to fatigue community members, you need to have all round staff who are getting down to the people. Development is not in bits, it is interrelated and it involves so many things, so really you need somebody who has wide knowledge to be able to ... can address agricultural issues not so deeply but at least the basics that is issues of water, income generation, issues of gender, environment (Kwaga).

The thinking expressed above has led to the ongoing retraining and re-orienting of staff to assume multiple skills as generalist educators called CDFs. The two factors necessitating this shift are responding to local needs and conditions and also benchmarking against best practices nationally and internationally. It was noted that other organizations, such as World Vision, use the title of CDF for field officer, to reflect the multi-tasking such a position entails. The influence of national and international policy frameworks in EDF's understanding of adult education is discussed extensively in chapter 9.

#### **6.4 Stakeholders' perspectives regarding adult education in EDF**

As noted above, the study sought to understand how adult education emerges in community development settings based on the single case of EDF, with a specific focus on why adult education emerges, how it is perceived and the nature of the adult education that emerges. The literature review elicited a number of factors influencing adult education in various societies over

time, and these included societal needs, transfer of skills by the older generation to the young, as well as meeting the needs of life challenges and demands (see chapters 1 and 2).

Findings from this study, as presented above, point to specific events and processes that have shaped the growth, understanding and practice of adult education in EDF. These included shifting the focus and strategy from a business enterprise to a development organization, the desire for sustainability and coping with circumstances at hand. The discussion that follows below tries to answer the question: ‘Adult education for what and for whom in EDF?’. I present and discuss some of the perceived purposes or roles of adult education offered by different actors in EDF. I have grouped the purposes of adult education in EDF under three themes: a key to better life, a sustainability strategy and a coping mechanism.

#### **6.4.1 Adult education as a ‘key’**

Most stakeholders in EDF describe adult education as a ‘key’ for modernity and transformation. A key is an apparatus or device used to open the door and to provide access. In the case of EDF, the symbol of a key is used to refer to adult education as a means for accessing ‘opportunities’. This means that if development is a goal or process, then adult education aids this process and the achievement of a goal. Other terms or phrases related to the key, used by various actors to describe adult education, included tool, gap, missing link, intervention, medium and major input to development. During interviews, some educators noted:

There is virtually no work that we do where we don’t have [adult] education as a main component. To us, adult education is a *key* [emphasis added] for our community development agenda because it helps us to deliver the messages to the farmers and communities (Kwaga).

At EDF we attach a lot of importance to [adult] education because ... we believe education is power. So the target beneficiaries of our programmes are in need of [adult] education to help them transform or get transformed, and that is why we attach a lot of importance to the activities that relate to community education (Paulo).

According to Kwaga and Paulo quoted above, EDF has moved to position adult education in various forms and at various levels as the most crucial intervention in their work. The implied meaning in the interview extracts is that EDF uses adult education to move people from a state of ignorance to a state of awareness or transformation, as Paulo puts it. In the following photovoice discussion with community development workers (CDWs), similar sentiments are raised with reference to the two houses below:

**Figure 8: Photovoice pictures depicting transformation in the communities**



**House 6**

**House 7**

**Source:** Photograph taken by Iruku; a CDW and photovoice participant

**Iruku (Male CRP):** I will explain photographs 6 and 7 together, because they show an example of a bad house and good one respectively. I took the photograph of the good house because I wanted to show what I can call social transformation or change from one condition to another. If you compare 6 and 7, you definitely see a change ... if for example, we were to assume that they belong to one person, then you can say that he has indeed changed...

**PI (Principal Investigator):** But to what do you attribute the change or difference in the houses?

**Balifaijo (Male CRP):** It's largely due to [adult] education, and this largely applies to all of us. We were living in Number 6, but when EDF came, the majority of us have moved to number 7. They have showed us the challenges and opportunities related to the two kinds of houses. Indeed you will find that in house number 6, there are things such as rats, lice, fleas et cetera ... and there is no way, you can chase them out.

PI: Let me understand this, can't the owner of house number 6 say that the owner of number 7 is rich and that's why his house is good?

**Iruku (Male CRP):** One can think like that only if he is from a different place, however when they are in the same village, they know that it has nothing to do with money but just enlightenment...

**Nsemba (Female CHW):** ...like in the case of owner of house number 7, there is nowhere you can say he [patriarchal society] put money. It is just his energy and commitment...

**Poskali (Male CHW):** ... just free local materials

The above conversation with CDWs concurs with opinions raised by management and staff of EDF, that knowledge and not resources was the crucial factor needed to kick-start a drive for better livelihoods. According to stakeholders in EDF, a better house is not necessarily one made of expensive materials, but is one that ensures the safety of its occupants and their general hygiene. Such a house ought to have a firm roof, be well ventilated, have smoothed walls and floors as well as mosquito nets for all its occupants. In addition, the homestead should have a kitchen with an improved wood stove, dry rack, latrine and bathroom.

The questions arising in relation to 'adult education being the key' are: Which door does it open? Which room does this door lead to and what is the difference between the outside and inside? The interview extracts and photovoice discussion above indicate that the door stands between ignorance and enlightenment. The implied meaning is that the local people are poor and unhealthy due to ignorance or lack of knowledge. Educators and senior management in EDF believe that there are adequate resources at people's disposal; but due to lack of knowledge or the "key", they have not utilised those resources properly to solve their problems. CDWs who serve as educators at the grassroots but also live in the communities alluded to the fact that their transformation has been as a result of adult education spearheaded by EDF.

In order to better understand the idea of transformation as propagated by EDF, I visited the two communities of Kidukuule and Bigaga, currently served by EDF. EDF has been in Kidukuule since 2004, but launched their health programme in Bigaga for the first time in 2011. The two

communities present completely different perspectives in terms of attitudes towards development and perceptions towards EDF. My experiences with the two communities are presented below in form of observation notes:

#### **6.4.1.1 A Vignette of Kidukuule community**

Kidukuule community is located about 7km from Karuguuza, the second biggest urban centre in Kibaale District and where the headquarters of EDF are located. I first visited Kidukuule in the company of Sendi, a member of senior management in EDF who introduced me to the community. Kidukuule is considered a model village of EDF. Most visitors to EDF, such as development partners, government officials and students on field study visits are always taken to this village/community to show-case the success story of EDF. EDF first launched its programmes in Kidukuule in 2004. Kidukuule is located in present day Bubango Sub-County, which was recently carved off from Bwamiramira Sub-County.

On our arrival by motorcycle, we were greeted by community members who had gathered to receive us with a lot of excitement. Chairs were quickly arranged for us with a table for our bags. Mr. Sendi went ahead to announce that we had come to introduce myself [Principal Investigator] to the community (see Chapter 4). I noticed during our short meeting that people listened attentively, a sign of respect and trust in the work of EDF. The same treatment followed my subsequent visits.

After our short meeting, Sendi took me around some homes in the company of the small village team we had met. Wherever we passed, people expressed excitement about our unannounced visit, while others ran around their gardens to pick fruits and food items for us. As we moved around, I noticed that, notwithstanding a few isolated cases, people's homes looked good, being well ventilated, with smoothed walls and painted. This was in addition to the well-kept compounds with latrines, kitchens, dry racks and bathrooms. The majority of homes appeared to resemble each other by the format and colour of painting.

I later came to discover that they follow the standards set by EDF. Another common feature of these homes are the phrases marked on houses in praise of EDF such as: '*Long live Emesco*'. Houses are painted in two colours, grey and orange. I was made to understand that the common colours are a result of locally extracted paints from their village. The grey colour is actually a mixture of ashes and some soil-type while orange is a product of a stone-type extracted from a nearby rock. EDF encourages the community to use locally available materials to improve their lives.

I also noticed that nearly every household kept a few animals such as goats, pigs and chickens. In addition, most families have well tended gardens with bananas, maize, beans and a variety of fruits. In spite of the cleanliness and well tended gardens, one can still notice that this remains a relatively poor community but one which has learnt to live well. The people looked happy and were full of praise of EDF for all the positive changes they were experiencing. There was no sign of a beggar-mentality commonly associated with people in need. Instead they were willing to give us from what they had.

Throughout the tour and on our way back, Sendi, would occasionally stop the motorcycle to greet community members or continuously wave at them. On another visit I made by myself, a Community Resource Person, who acted as my guide that day, prepared a special lunch for me at his home. I could only interpret this gesture of hospitality as originating from my association with EDF, which is held dear in the Kidukuule community.

This first tour of Kidukuule and my subsequent visits led me to appreciate that this community has gone a long way to addressing issues of low family incomes and poor health conditions. Through FGDs and interactions at a personal level, people in Kidukuule attribute the success story of their community to EDF. This is not to downplay the role of government and other players, such as sister organizations, that have been working in Kibaale even before EDF.

The tour of Kidukuule gave me a picture of what EDF means to these people as part of community life in Kibaale. However, I was to be exposed to another example of village life in Kibaale in Bigaga village/community from Kyebando Sub-County, Buyanja County.

#### **6.4.1.2 A vignette of Bigaga Community**

Bigaga is one of the communities that has just been added to the existing communities in partnership with EDF. Bigaga community is also known locally as *Kinyarwanda* since the majority of the inhabitants are of Rwandese origin. The community is located about 30km from Karuguuza, the headquarters of EDF. It is located in what used to be a forest reserve, which has recently been invaded by landless people, mainly immigrants from Kabale district in western Uganda and Rwanda.

Poverty levels are seemingly very high, much higher than the district average. The only visible economic activity is the growing of corn, which doubles as the staple food crop and a source of some income. Forests have sadly been cut down in search of cultivable land. This community is so isolated to the extent that there are no known government services for them except for local council official structures. The only primary school in the area was reported to be church supported with only four classes. The road connection to this area is *burungi bwa nsi* (a community road).

I visited this community in the company of EDF staff when they went to launch a medical camp supported by a charity in Spain. This medical camp, which was being operated as a mobile clinic, was meant to extend medical services to selected disadvantaged communities, which hardly have access to government health services such as Bigaga. The health services being extended were both preventive and curative.

During this visit, I observed but also participated in the distribution of medical supplies such as mosquito nets, soap, toothpaste, tooth brushes and towels. People were made to stand in lines in the priority order of pregnant mothers, school children, the elderly, women and men. The curative section of the camp had a fully fledged medical clinic equipped with a laboratory,

capable to diagnose, prescribe and dispense drugs. They could also do referrals to those found with major ailments.

I noted that some people could not distinguish between the services offered by EDF and the government. As we were packing leftover items to take back to the organization, one middle-aged gentleman commented: *'Babituhe byoona, barikugarurayo ebyaki. Kuni bintu byaitu bya government'*, meaning 'let them give us everything, why are they taking them back? After all it's our money, its government facilities'. In the middle of distributing these items, it rained very heavily but people couldn't leave the lines lest they miss out on these items. An estimate of all items per person could be put at about 30,000 Uganda shillings, which is the equivalent of approximately 100 South African Rands or 12 United States dollars.

The visit to Bigaga helped me, not only to understand the other extreme of Kibaale in terms of social services, but to also compare Bigaga with communities such as Kidukuule where EDF had operated for some time. The number of requests from the community made to the executive director of EDF could be compared to ones that would be put to a government official. The requests were for things like schools, hospitals, water and roads.

In Kidukuule, where EDF has worked with communities for about seven years, you notice substantial socio-economic transformation in terms of household incomes, agricultural production, quality of health standards and people's sense of empowerment shown in their self confidence and pride in themselves. Kidukuule are at a level of giving back freely to EDF instead of asking for handouts from them. During the celebration of EDF's 10 years of existence, many community members including Kidukuule contributed many things such as money, goats, chickens and all sorts of food items.

In comparison, in Bigaga where EDF is just starting their work, the situation is very different. There are virtually no health and agricultural services. People openly express an attitude of dependence on outsiders, an implication that they are yet to discover the potential in themselves.

People were fighting in the lines to receive free supplies. Some would even hide the supplies and then rejoin the lines in order to acquire as much as possible.

My firsthand interaction with the communities of Kidukuule and Bigaga, which are about 40 kilometres apart, provided me some basis to compare two communities that were partnered with EDF by the length of the partnerships. Both communities have government structures and therefore one assumes that they get equal attention from government. However, there is quite a big difference in the quality of life between these communities. All stakeholders of EDF, that is, management, staff and community members in Kidukuule, attribute the socioeconomic transformation to the education interventions. This is of course notwithstanding other support in giving seedlings, animals and drug kits for the health programmes.

The reason I have included these vignettes of the two communities is to assess whether partnership with EDF makes a difference in their transformation. As noted above, stakeholders describe adult education as the key towards transformation. It is important to stress, however, that the vignettes do not present a scientific evidence-based assessment of the two communities.

In adopting a critical paradigm perspective, the vignette of Kidukuule cannot just pass as a perfect success story of community development. It was noted that although some selected homesteads have made great strides in agriculture and health improvement, other families are still struggling. It was reported, for example, that the drug kit in Kidukuule managed by a CHW collapsed because people couldn't pay for the medicines given to them, an indication that poverty still remains an issue. A number of questions, therefore, arise as to why Kidukuule is fairly better off than Bigaga. Could it be as a result of closer proximity to an urban centre? Could it be that government is more effective in Kidukuule? Could it be other factors beyond what this study could possibly pursue, or perhaps because of EDF's role?

The vignettes of the two communities are based on generalizations and do not imply that all families in Kidukuule are alright, while those in Bigaga are worse off. I only based my conclusions on the interaction with a section of the communities and a few homes that I was able to visit. More questions need to be asked, including if indeed adult education is the key to

transformation, and who the holder of this key is. Radical adult educators would be further interested in the role of local people and whether they become the key-holders. The definition of transformation from the perspective of EDF also needs further questioning, in terms of whose definition and whose standards of development are in operation.

The education theory of Nyerere (Kassam, 1994; Mulenga, 2001; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009; Nyerere, 1967, 1973, 1982) comprehensively explores this form of adult education that is associated with change or what is referred to as a 'key' for social transformation in EDF. Nyerere viewed adult education as a person's endeavour to better himself/herself as expressed in the statement below:

The first job of adult education will therefore be to make us reject bad houses, bad *jembe* [hoe], and preventable diseases; it will make us recognise that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools, and better health ... In other words, the second objective of adult education is learning how to improve our lives (Nyerere, 1973, pp. 137-138).

According to Nyerere (1973), adult education is a person's endeavour to overcome the bad conditions in which they live. Adult education helps people to shake off the resignation about their conditions and the feeling that current conditions are 'the will of God'. Therefore adult education is an endeavour by men and women to confront their life challenges such as ill health, malnutrition, poor technology and poverty in general. Nyerere (1982) also describes adult education as a process of change when he notes that:

The first function of adult education is to inspire both a desire for change, and an understanding that change is possible. For a belief that poverty or suffering is "*the will of God*" and that man's only task is to endure, is the most fundamental of all the enemies for freedom ... Men living in poverty or sickness or under tyranny or exploitation must be enabled to recognize both that the life they lead is miserable, and that they can change it by their own action, either individually or in cooperation with others ... The same thing is

true of what I would call the second stage of adult education. That is, helping people to work out what kind of change they want, and how to create it (Nyerere, 1982, pp. 39-40).

Therefore Nyerere looks at adult education as a process of realization by individuals and societies to change the conditions in which they live. Nyerere also recognizes external efforts by individuals or organizations such as EDF, towards individuals' wellbeing. However, Nyerere stresses that external assistance should be consultative rather than prescribing solutions to the poor. Nyerere's view on this type of adult education is closely associated to Freire's concept of conscientization (Freire, 1972, 1973, 1978, 1985, 2004; Fritze, 2010; Gadotti, 1994). According to Freire, conscientization involves working with the poor and illiterate towards the realization of their potential, but not prescribing solutions to their problems. Hence, Freire (1972) describes notions of extension education as forms of cultural invasion. This is discussed in chapter 8.

#### **6.4.2 Adult education as a 'sustainability strategy'**

Adult education is also espoused as a sustainability strategy in EDF. The concept of sustainability stands out as one of the core philosophies in the work of EDF. Adult education and the concept of community development workers (CDWs) are some of the underlying principles for the concept of sustainability in EDF (see Chapter 8). During interviews, two members of staff noted:

We have discovered that most of these people don't have skills, so when we go to the communities we work with them, like when you go to demonstrate on how to make a sanitary facility, we gather people and teach them for example how to make an improved cooking stove, how to make a bath shelter, dish rack, how to smear the house using locally available materials. Then after we have done that demonstration, we move out as staff and they continue doing the same things by themselves. So what we do is to empower them with the skills to perform independently without being supported by the staff after the training, because the project has to be sustainable even after the project has ended (Moses).

Actually, we have been trying to embed knowledge within the communities as *key* [emphasis added] to ensuring sustainability. One, you cannot influence change of behaviour unless people own the knowledge, and it must actually be inherent within the communities, such that they can be able to take it as a way of life ... and that's why even in our approaches, for example in agriculture we emphasize farmer to farmer education, farmer to farmer extension, that means a farmer can be able to guide another farmer on an improved technology, which technology can help this farmer to improve (Kwaga).

As noted from the two interview extracts of Moses and Kwaga, education programmes in EDF have been embraced as a means of enabling people to perform independently. EDF believes that their intervention cannot last forever, and rightly so, because most programmes are donor supported and therefore time-bound. Although one senior member of management stressed that their development partners tend to support their education related activities, it is difficult to ascertain the origin of the sustainability concept in EDF. Many donor-sponsored programmes are usually associated with a clause on sustainability, where education happens to be one of the routes to sustainability (Barr et al., 2004).

The concept of adult education as a sustainability strategy in community development work is supported by both Freire (1972) and Nyerere (1980). Adult education is described as a liberation tool towards the liberation of man [woman] to total freedom. Sen (1999) is in agreement with Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) that freedom is the apex of development. This concept of sustainability is discussed further in chapter 8.

### **6.4.3 Adult education as a coping mechanism**

Adult education is also espoused in the life of the organization as a coping strategy. EDF describes itself as a learning organization, a view that has perhaps contributed to the growth of various forms of learning in EDF. Most educators reported having had to learn skills in adult education in order to execute their duties in EDF appropriately. Most staff, having trained as social workers, nurses and agricultural officers, have come to terms with the fact that the major task in community development work is educating adults on a range of issues. As a result, they

have had to learn to be adult educators in order to adequately deal with the situation at hand. During interviews, Kwaga, a member of senior management, and Mendo, a member of staff noted:

I most often tend to refer to myself as a self made adult education facilitator and why, because ... I have found myself motivated to get into many skills... and until you try something, you may not really know that you are one of the best. But I have been praised by so many people who have managed to attend my training session ... but I also think that through practice you get to learn (Kwaga).

Now you find that a staff member who studied agriculture but when he/she arrives here, he/she gets a chance of interacting with fellow staff members who have experience of teaching adults. At the end of the day you find that he/she has experience of doing the same (Mendo).

The case of EDF indicates a link between the practice of adult education and a person's endeavour, not only to adapt but also to transform, his/her environment. It ought to be noted that the history of humans is such that when a person is faced with a problem or life challenge, personal or communal; he/she moves to find a solution. The process of finding this solution, perfecting it or popularizing it becomes a form of adult education (Mohsini, 1993; Nafukho et al., 2005; Sodhi & Multani, 1989). As noted above, adult education emerged in EDF largely as a way of dealing with their development challenges. EDF even came to believe that what the society lacked was not resources but knowledge and ideas to turn their situation around.

Nyerere (1973) holds that: 'To live is to learn; and to learn is to try to live better' (Nyerere, 1973, p. 141). If adult education is coterminous with life and life itself, then it is constantly changing as life changes with age, environment, technology, situation and conditions (Lindeman, 1926; Nafukho et al., 2005; Nyerere, 1973; Roland, 1997; Smith, 1998; Smith, 2004). The derived lesson here is that life is constantly under new and emerging challenges and, as a coping strategy; one must constantly be subjected to new learning. What therefore makes one society

better than another is its access and richness of adult education environments. Learning can thus occur both at an individual, group and social level.

The concept of adult education as a coping strategy, is also supported by educators such as Lindeman (1926), Nyerere (1973), Dewey (1966) and Ghandi (Sodhi & Multani, 1989), who believe that if adult education is life, then it is part and parcel of human progress. This means that human life is constantly changing and must be subjected to new learning as a coping strategy. Freire (2004) notes that adult education is linked to human survival:

I cannot understand human beings as simply *living*. I can understand them only as historically, culturally, and socially *existing* ... Unlike the other animals, which do not become able to transform *life* into *existence*, we, as *existent*, outfit ourselves to engage in the struggle in quest of and in defence of equality of opportunity, by the very fact that, as living beings, we are radically different from one another ... what we cannot do, as imaginative, curious beings, is to cease to learn and to seek, to investigate the “why” of things. We cannot *exist* without wondering about tomorrow (Freire, 2004, p. 83).

Freire looks at adult education for life or coping with life as an education that prepares individuals to go beyond conformity and to struggle for the better. Freire also holds that such an education should prepare people to move beyond uniformity because as people we are radically different. The question that emerges from Nyerere and Freire is whether adult education in EDF is capable of helping the local people to go beyond coping to improve their life conditions in a continuous manner.

However, looking at the emergence of adult education in EDF, one needs to probe further the role of the community. In line with radical adult educators such as Nyerere and Freire, if adult education was to make sense as a coping strategy, it ought to be rooted in poor people’s lives. People must take the lead in identifying their problems and rising to the occasion to deal with those problems. This is not to say that either Nyerere or Freire were against the role of external assistance. The role of external experts should be limited to advisors and be linked to people’s way of life (Freire, 1972, 1985, 2004; Fritze, 2010; Gadotti, 1994; Nyerere, 1973, 1980, 1982).

## 6.5 Adult education for whom

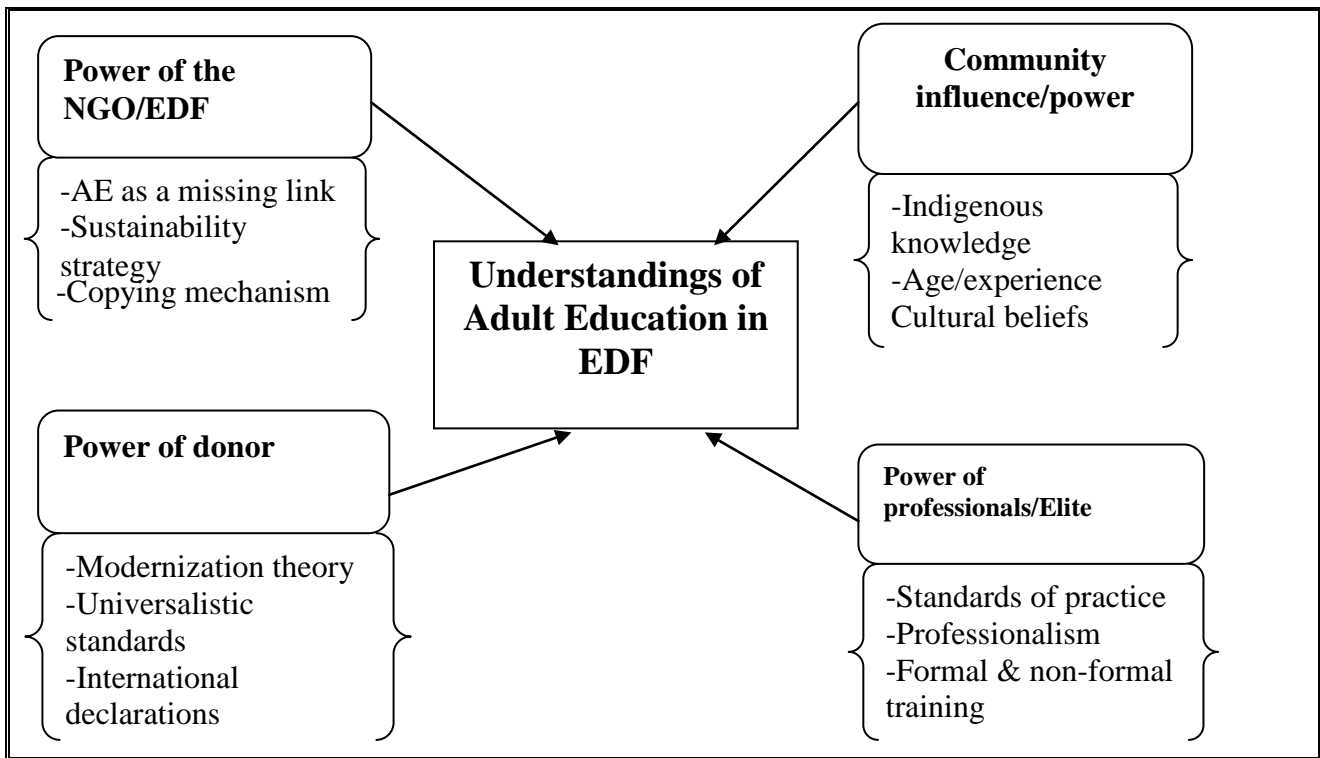
The discussion above centred on the purpose of adult education in EDF. Accordingly, three concepts emerged; that of adult education for transformation, adult education for sustainability and adult education as a coping mechanism. The first two concepts pointed to the fact that adult education efforts in EDF are aimed at making some differences in the lives of the poor or illiterate, that is, giving skills, taking away superstition and changing negative behaviours. However, the third purpose also shows that adult education is not limited to the poor and the illiterate, as one educator notes below:

What I've seen relating with the people we serve is that they need more adult education. I have discovered that even the educated ones like teachers didn't know the proper ways of how the water sources can be cleaned. So the way I see, there is need for adult education in every field. The water catchment isn't supposed to be painted but you find almost all the schools have painted water tanks (Junju).

According to Junju, who originally confessed to not being aware of adult education, the need for adult education goes beyond the level of education and status. Junju's view above supports that of Lindeman (1926), who holds that the uniqueness of adult education lies in the fact that it is from birth to death. Therefore, the case of EDF adds to the view that adult education as a coping mechanism goes beyond the illiterate and the poor. It is this type of adult education that can be associated with lifelong learning (Nyerere, 1973, 1982; Preece, 2009).

According to the above section, I noted that the three purposes of adult education relate to context. The figure below draws from Youngman's (2000) political economy of adult education and development, and explains how the understanding of adult education is an interface of power relations among partners of EDF within a particular context.

**Figure 9: A diagram showing the different influences on how Adult Education is understood within EDF**



The figure above is a diagrammatic expression of forces influencing the understanding of adult education in EDF. The forces also represent the major actors in EDF. I have grouped these forces or actors into four categories: EDF, the professionals, the donor community and the local community.

- i. The first category includes the NGO itself or EDF, which includes the foundation body, governing board and senior management. This category defines the philosophical values of EDF.
- ii. The second category is the professional adult educators.
- iii. The third category or force is the donor community
- iv. The fourth category or force is the community.

The case of EDF reveals the dynamic nature of how adult education is understood within a local Ugandan NGO and the multiple forces shaping such an understanding. Exploring such understanding is important for engaging with the practices they give rise to, to be discussed in the next chapter. This chapter and the next respond to the two key research foci of this study: that is, exploring EDF's understanding and its practice of adult education in community development work.

### **6.5.1 Forces influencing adult education understanding in EDF**

According to senior management and the founding director, the emergence of adult education in the work of EDF is associated with the shifting needs and targets of the organization. The discussion above identified three major aspects that have since come to define shifts in the goals and needs of EDF, that adult education is the '*missing link*' for sustainability, and it is a coping mechanism.

The shifts in EDF's understanding of adult education has also been associated to staff that subscribe to different associations and professions. I call these people elites because their association to EDF is based on their academic expertise. These professionals have over time come to highlight the critical role of adult education as a discipline in the work of EDF. Some of them occupy senior positions in EDF, government and society in general. As a result of these professionals, some staff members have been sponsored to attend short courses for the acquisition of skills in adult education facilitation.

The donor community or external partnerships have also had some influence on the understanding of adult education in EDF. Although donors do not openly put adult education as a condition for funding EDF programmes, partnership guidelines do stress aspects of sustainability and raising awareness for stakeholder communities.

The last group or influence is the community. It was earlier noted that the community is the major reason for which EDF was set up and are therefore a major stakeholder. Findings indicated that EDF values local knowledge and endeavours to tap into it (see Chapter 5). What remains

unclear is the level at which local community knowledge and influence drives priorities in the work of EDF.

However, from a critical paradigm perspective, the forces described above could be viewed as a political process where understanding that give rise to practices, discussed in the next chapter, is a function of power relationships. In each of the forces identified and illustrated in the diagram above, there is an element of power relationship. EDF, for example, has power to determine and declare “missing links” and what communities need.

Equally, donors with funding and influence have power over NGOs and communities (Menike, 1997). The professionals, as part of elites in society, also carry the power to shape the understanding of adult education in relation to academic standards and development. The extent, to which ordinary people are able to shape their understanding and practice of adult education, is therefore questionable. What then can facilitate the power of the people to take centre stage in directing the destiny of adult education in EDF? The framing of this study with the educational theories of Nyerere and Freire engages with this question throughout the report. The aspect of these power relations is discussed more extensively in chapter 9.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

It has emerged that the understandings of adult education within EDF are varied and constantly shifting. They are linked to the history, philosophy and partnerships within EDF. The story of EDF has been characterized by shifts and compromises based on targets and the contexts in which EDF is located. There was a noted shift from a social enterprise to a development organization. This shift accounts for a staunch belief in adult education as a transformational strategy which can help people to move away from their superstitious beliefs and backwardness. Therefore adult education has emerged as a means through which these shifts and compromises could be accommodated.

However, it is also noted that the understanding of adult education has largely been influenced by power dynamics between EDF partners. It is noted, for example, that the voice of the

communities remains faint. Therefore the understanding of adult education in EDF is a reflection of the ideological beliefs of various partners. Hence, this understanding of adult education is characterized by a struggle to accommodate the local, national and international interests.

This chapter dealt with one of the study objectives, that is, exploring EDF's work over time that demonstrate evidence of a clear understanding and application of AE in its practices. Major highlights in the chapter indicate that the evolvement and growth of adult education in EDF has been a result of need, driven by internal and external factors. EDF has therefore used adult education to re-align its development agenda within the local, national and international contexts. This chapter also provides a platform for the next chapter, which seeks to explore how EDF's curricula and pedagogical practices have been informed by the principles/practices of adult education.

# **CHAPTER SEVEN**

## **7.0 ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICES IN EDF**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on EDF's practices that demonstrate the use/influence of adult education principles. It addresses one major objective of the study that is, examining how EDF's pedagogical practices have been informed by practices in the field of adult education. The chapter is a combination of a narrative description and an analysis of educational practices in EDF. Chapter 6, which explored the origins and growth of this understanding of adult education in EDF, provides a basis for this chapter.

The education theories of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) are used as yardsticks to explore the extent to which pedagogy and curricula in EDF demonstrate an understanding and application of banking education, conscientization, dialogue and democratic learning (see Chapter 3). EDF, like most NGOs, claims to embrace the empowerment approach of community development (Paulsen, 2006; Preece, 2005a; Ramirez, 1990).

### **7.2 Novice educators and adult education activities in EDF**

In order to understand how adult education is practiced in EDF, it is important to first briefly discuss the various categories of educators and forms of educational activities that are in place. Each of the activities is usually carried out by different groups of educators, for a particular purpose and for a particular group of stakeholders.

### **7.2.1 Novice adult educators in EDF**

The concept of ‘novice adult educators’ was adopted in this study to refer to adult education practitioners in EDF who lack formal training in adult education. In EDF, educators are a conglomeration of professionals from various disciplines such as public health, social work, nursing, agriculture, veterinary science and business entrepreneurship. Furthermore EDF recruits community members as community development workers (CDWs) to train for a few days and weeks take on various roles, including in adult education. It is for this reason that community members refer to all staff of EDF, as ‘*abasomesa ba EDF*’ or educators of EDF.

There are three main types of adult educators in EDF: full-time staff, part-time staff or external facilitators and community development workers (CDWs). Full-time staff members are employed to work full-time in the fields of agriculture, health, water and sanitation, but are also educators in one form or another. Part-time staff members are professionals who are recruited to facilitate specific modules during the training of CDWs. They are at times referred to as “resource persons” because of the specialist skills they bring to the organization. Lastly, Community Development Workers (CDWs) are ordinary community members who are recruited and trained by EDF to mobilize and educate fellow community members (see Chapter 8).

### **7.2.2 Adult education activities in EDF**

As noted above, EDF carries out a range of adult educational activities targeting different groups of people. Each educational activity is organized purposively, lasts for different periods of time, and uses a range of media and educators. There are six major education activities in EDF, including training of CDWs, stakeholder mobilization campaigns, community sensitization meetings, home visits, farmer-to-farmer extension and radio programmes.

### **7.2.2.1 Training of CDWs**

CDWs are central to the philosophy and community development strategy of EDF and for this reason are discussed in detail in chapter 8.

### **7.2.2.2 Stakeholder mobilization campaigns**

EDF organizes educational meetings for various stakeholders before entry into the community. These campaigns or meetings take place at two levels. The first meeting involves community leaders such as local council officials, church leaders, cultural leaders and representatives of the ruling party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM). The purpose of meeting these leaders is to seek their approval and ask them to generate interest and mobilize their communities. The second meeting involves all community members who agree to turn up. Stakeholder mobilization campaigns serve a number of purposes, including setting up local structures, identifying the critical challenges facing the community, working out possible solutions to the existing problems, agreeing on best approaches and discussing budgets and sources of funding (donor and local contributions).

### **7.2.2.3 Community sensitization meetings**

Sensitisation meetings are meant to raise awareness of challenges faced by the community, and are always focused on health and family incomes. These meetings are open to all community members and take place in selected people's homesteads. Facilitation and training are usually done by the staff of EDF, with the assistance of CDWs.

### **7.2.2.4 Home visits**

These routinely take place in a planned schedule or sometimes as an ad hoc arrangement. It is argued that these visits are aimed at making spot checks to ascertain whether families have complied with the health and agricultural standards agreed to with EDF. In addition to routine

monitoring, educators do one-on-one instruction and hands-on guidance on various aspects such as hygiene and agriculture.

#### **7.2.2.5 Farmer to farmer extension**

EDF also promotes adult education through farmer-to-farmer extension and competitions amongst farmer households, groups and communities. Individual farmers/families are encouraged to visit and consult among themselves on how they can improve or deal with certain situations. Although this learning arrangement was mentioned in interviews, as it is largely informal and unstructured, I did not observe any.

#### **7.2.2.6 Radio programmes**

The district of Kibaale, where EDF operates, is covered by Kibale Kagadi Community Radio (KKCR). Which is owned by another non-governmental organization called Uganda Rural Development and Training Programme (URDT). EDF occasionally pays for airtime on the station to disseminate information related to their development work.

### **7.3 Pedagogical practices in EDF**

Wink (2000) defines pedagogy as the interaction between teaching and learning, while Pollard (2010) refers to pedagogy as the art or science of teaching. Critical pedagogy is complex as it involves looking deeply below the surface to question the whys that inform the teaching-learning process (Wink, 2000). In order to explore the pedagogy that informs educational practices in EDF, I have chosen to discuss the concept from a broader perspective to include the environments that influence the interaction between the learner and educator. In addition to facilitation styles, I also explore power relations, instructional materials and learning environments. These aspects are discussed below.

### **7.3.1 Facilitation styles and learner participation**

Using the theoretical lenses of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972), the study sought to understand facilitation styles or, what Nyerere (1982) calls methods of adult education in use in EDF. Data collection was largely through participant observations, interviews and document analysis. A number of issues emerged from observations, interviews and FGDs that are worth analyzing here in view of the literature and the theoretical lenses framing this study. Facilitation styles in EDF vary from one educator to another and across learning activities. The two extremes can, however, be characterized as the banking method and the dialogical method (Freire, 1972). Examples of these practices in EDF are briefly explained below.

#### **7.3.1.1 Banking method in facilitation**

Observations indicated an over reliance on prepared materials such as handouts to guide the learning process. There was a tendency by some educators to ‘suffocate’ learners with scientific theories. This practice was, however, observed more with external resource persons/facilitators than with internal staff of EDF. The use of banking methods could perhaps be explained by the pre-set curriculum which is externally determined, forcing trainers to rush through content so as to complete the syllabus in limited time spans.

Observations of training sessions for CHWs, for example, indicate that there is a desire to “over teach” based on a prescribed curriculum from the Community Based Health Care Association of Uganda (CBHCAU). Learners are bombarded with a lot of theoretical concepts just as one would expect in a traditional first-year nursing or medical course. As to whether these trainees require such theoretical details is a topic for further research. Trainees are not given adequate time to contribute to the learning process from their reservoir of knowledge and practical experience. One notices that training, in this banking mode, is largely driven by technical knowledge from experts from EDF and external resource persons.

Freire (1972) criticizes banking methods of teaching as they dis-empower the learners by reducing them to depositories of alien information. He also likens banking methods to a form of cultural invasion where the invaders inhibit the creativity of others. Although Freire (1978) stresses the paramount role of theory, he argues that it should be backed by practice. Likewise, Nyerere (1982, p. 42) notes ‘... the adult educator is in the same position. He is not giving to another something which he possesses. He is helping the learner to develop his own potential and his own capacity’.

The banking method is oriented to the liberal adult education perspective, which holds that educators are custodians of knowledge and learners/the poor are powerless because they lack knowledge (see Chapter 3). The use of banking methods and the imported curriculum in EDF are also tied to power relations, as educators feel it is their duty to cause change by instilling the ‘right knowledge’. Such power relations are discussed extensively in chapter 9. Although there is observed use of banking methods in facilitation, most educators tend to downplay such practices in interviews. This indicates that educators are cognizant of the unsuitability of banking methods in adult education facilitation.

### **7.3.1.2 Dialogical and democratic pedagogy in EDF**

In spite of the usage of the banking type of facilitation noted above, most educators in EDF are aware of the need to engage in democratic and dialogical facilitation modes of delivery. A question and answer approach is highly promoted as a way of probing into the learners’ world. Ledwith (2001, p. 178) notes that ‘By skillfully posing questions rather than giving answers, critical connections emerge from the dialogue’. Most educators in EDF promote dialogue as a means of respect for learners and of tapping into their knowledge reservoir. This concept of dialogue was found to strongly characterize pedagogy in EDF and is discussed extensively later in this chapter.

### 7.3.2 Power relations in the learning process

One of the main components of the pedagogical practices explored in the study was the power relations between trainers and trainees on the one hand and specifically gendered power relations on the other. I will now discuss these power relations as they impact on pedagogy in EDF.

There are noted power differences between educators and learners at all levels and across a range of learning activities. Educators are respected based on the qualifications they hold, their social-economic status and the positions they hold. Western knowledge, which is associated with certificates and diplomas, is revered as a sign of modernity among the local people. However, there is also a noticeable desire and effort by educators to narrow the gap between themselves and learners. During interviews, some educators declared:

I always want learners to see me as one of them, so they do not fear me as a teacher but rather see me as one of them. We all appear as though we have come to learn, they ask me and I also ask them, but I don't try to appear as though I am a class apart ... I was never taught that, it has been part of me, it has always been ... maybe it is part of my principles (Naka).

It depends on the class of the people where you've gone for that period of time, for example if you are with farmers then you have to behave like farmers ... I don't take myself to be a boss, that is out, then I can't behave like a primary or secondary teacher because these ones [farmers] are bosses with powers (Keti).

The desire to narrow the educator-learner gap is attributed to a number of factors such as respect for age and status of learners and the need to build a rapport with them. A common means which educators use to narrow the power gap include sharing jokes, sharing feelings before, during and after training, sharing meals, behaving like learners, not showing off, being simple, using friendly language, taking note of learners' expectations, interacting with them and using team-building activities. The use of the vernacular language during training for community members and various groups of CDWs can also be said to contribute to narrowing this power gap.

However, the desire and effort by educators to bridge the power gap does not seem to achieve the intended objective. The power imbalance seems to be built within the social structure of EDF and can be noticed in the skewed relationships of provider-recipient, educator-learner and superior-subordinate between educators and learners. Community members view EDF as a suave organization and its staff and agents are accorded such respect. As a result, most learners hardly interrupt the learning process with questions and contributions. The majority only respond when prompted to do so. This makes the educational encounter appear largely facilitator driven.

Liberatory pedagogy advocates for minimizing the learner-educator power gap (Freire, 1972, 1973, 1978, 1985). Freire recognizes the role of educators as revolutionary leaders, but stresses that they ought to do so as guides and not as superiors or knowledge consultants with solutions to be handed over to hapless learners. Therefore, true dialogue can only be based on a horizontal relationship between educators and learners, built on trust.

### **7.3.3 Adult learning environment in EDF**

Seaman and Fellenz (2002) describe the learning environment as including physical, social and psychological conditions which impact the learner. One of the principles of adult education is that adults are responsible and busy with many things and therefore require conducive environments to concentrate (Knowles, 1980; Vella, 2002). This calls for educators to organize learning programmes that are considerate of physical, social and psychological environments that suitably attract and maintain the attention of adult learners. In an interview, one educator stresses the importance of friendly and flexible learning in EDF:

Our trainings are different because when we sit in the room just for one session, then the next session we can sit under the tree for fresh air, because when you are teaching adults you can't take them in class for a whole day. We at times take them for exposure visits of model farmers ... at least to change the environment (Meddie).

Based on observations of learning environments, interviews and FGDs with various stakeholders, three aspects of adult learning in EDF can be noted:

### 7.3.3.1 Fixed learning environments

I call the first type a ‘fixed learning environment’ because training takes place in a hotel conference room, fitted with a TV set and flip chart stand. The training of all groups of CDWs takes place within fixed learning environments. Seaman and Fellenz (2002) talk of the training environment as a crucial factor in the training of adults. This training venue in EDF is sizeable and comfortably accommodates the participants. Facilitators usually join participants in a semi-circle seating arrangement, which enables participants to move in and out easily without disrupting others [as in the figure below].

**Figure 10: Facilitator [nurse] demonstrating to CHWs how to dispense drugs**



An example of respect given to learners is that breastfeeding mothers are allowed to attend with their babies. In some instances a co-trainer helps to baby-sit while the mother concentrates on the training. All participants and trainers are provided with name tags, and as a result facilitators call all participants by name. In addition, most educators virtually know all trainees as they work together in the communities. Facilitators also use a range of team builders and energizers to boost the self-esteem and morale of the trainees.

### **7.3.3.2 “Community-based” training environments**

Training venues within the communities tend to vary based on factors such as time, the type and number of participants. Community sensitization meetings, for example, are rotated in individual homesteads. All the stakeholders involved, that is, EDF staff and community members, agree upon the venue collaboratively.

### **7.3.3.3 Gender considerations in training environment**

The literature is divided as to whether adult learners should be handled differently based on their gender. This debate has led to studies concerning gender-responsive pedagogy. This kind of pedagogy is concerned with addressing personal and socio-economic issues that hamper people of a particular gender in freely accessing learning opportunities (FAWE, 2006; Mluma et al., 2005). During the training sessions for CDWs, most facilitators emphasize a mixed-gender seating arrangement, perhaps to minimize the power gap between them. As noted above, facilitators also support breastfeeding mothers to the extent of baby-sitting for them.

In the trainings that take place at community level, learners usually choose for themselves where to sit. Male participants usually sit on logs and stools carried from home while female participants sit on the bare ground or on their own pieces of cloth. The difference in this seating arrangement is embedded in the culture of the people without influence by EDF. Traditionally men usually sit on raised chairs while females sit on the ground. Although this practice, which promotes a gender imbalance, is slowly fading among elites and in urban centres, it still prevails in rural communities.

**Figure 11: Principal Researcher making remarks during a community sensitization meeting:**



As can be observed from the photograph above, seating arrangement is unconsciously segregated with women seated on the ground on right hand side, while men are on the left on raised stools and logs.

Educators in EDF try their level best to provide equal learning spaces to both men and women. It is, however, obvious that the educators are unaware of the limitations to women's learning and participation inherent in the communities' social structures. Just as the case of facilitator-participant relations discussed earlier, gender relations are power driven. EDF operates in a patriarchal social environment where inhibited free learning opportunities for women are evident. Such power dynamics play a critical role in EDF and are extensively discussed in chapter 9.

### **7.3.4 Instructional materials**

If I hear it, I forget it. If I see it, I remember it. If I do it, I know it (Old Chinese proverb).

The Chinese proverb above provides a basis on which instructional materials can be chosen to appeal to all senses, including practice (hand-on). Jimoh (2010) stresses that instructional materials can be audio, visual or audio-visual, that is, appealing to the eyes and ears respectively or both. Iwu, Ijioma, Onoja and Nzewuihe (2011) define instructional materials as objects that

are commercially acquired or improvised to make conceptual abstraction more concrete and practical to the learner. Instructional materials play an important role in the learning process as they help make the teaching and learning process easier and less stressful. Brookfield (1987) and Seaman and Fellenz (2002) thus promote materials for their motivational role in adult education as they project learning closer to reality.

This study wanted to understand the types and nature of materials used as aids in adult education practice in EDF. I was interested in knowing how materials are produced, who produces them, and for what purposes. The interviews below highlight the view of EDF concerning these instructional materials and how they are valued in their work:

Normally the materials are bought by the organization and are kept in a central store. So for me I make requisition and say this is what I want for my teaching ... then, I go to the central store and I pick what I need (Moses)

Some of them [materials] were developed by us as an organization, the others we have gotten them from other sources - professional bodies and some of them from the district and the line ministries such as Health and Agriculture (Paulo).

I prepare handouts except the challenge is that these handouts are in English ... however when I go to train we usually go by consensus that we use *Runyakitara* [local dialect] (Ramla).

The educators' voices above point to the degree of importance EDF places on the instructional materials in their adult education practice. I however noticed that there is no common standard for the production and usage of instructional materials. I have therefore categorized them into two forms, that is, generic and customized materials, as discussed below:

### 7.3.4.1 'Generic' instructional materials

I call the first type 'generic' because EDF procures them externally, implying that these materials are not tailored to the specific needs and interests of participants. According to Moses and Paulo above, instructional materials are externally secured and learners do not participate in the production of these materials. They are produced in bulk to offer generic messages on issues such as HIV/AIDS, agriculture, family planning and environmental protection. This type of instructional material is largely in the form of posters and fliers. Generic instructional materials are acquired from professional bodies, government ministries, corporate bodies or sister NGOs.

However, generic instructional materials deny participants a chance to participate in materials production and can thereby promote passive learning. Seaman and Fellenz (2002) stress the importance of creativity and the resourcefulness of adult educators as key in the development of materials. The over reliance on generic and externally designed materials presuppose that all learning situations are similar. EDF ought to democratize the concept of instructional materials, as stressed by Nyerere (1982, p. 43).

And in a poor country the techniques used must be of very low cost and preferably capable of being constructed out of local materials, at the place where the teaching will be done, and by the people who will teach and learn. Self-reliance is a very good educational technique as well as being an indispensable basis for further development.

According to Nyerere, materials production should be part of the teaching and learning process, and should be produced collaboratively. Whereas Freire does not discourage the use of externally generated materials, he emphasizes that they should be made with the learner and context in mind (Freire, 1978). Freire further stresses that such materials should be extensively tested for their suitability to learners and the environment in question.

#### **7.3.4.2 ‘Customized’ instructional materials**

I call the second type of materials ‘customized’ because they are specifically made to suit a specified group and for a specified learning activity. As noted by Paulo and Ramla above, some materials are prepared by the staff of EDF. Although, most of the time these materials are made by the staff, learners are at times involved. The materials are made from either purchased resources or from local resources.

One such example of locally made materials comes from an agriculture improvement lesson in the communities. The staff members of EDF usually join local people to make prototype products to be replicated by the entire group. With the help of local resources largely secured by local people, educators and learners are able to produce prototypes for real life situations such as compost and liquid manure. At the end of each session, most learners can actually say, yes I have seen it, I have participated in making it and I can do it again.

Freire (1973) stresses the importance of context in instructional material design. In his literacy method, Freire uses cards and words to depict images of real life situations. The pictures are used to provoke learners to critical thinking about the situations implied in the pictures. Freire refers to the process of developing images depicting real life situations as codification (Freire, 1973, 1978, 1985; Ojokheta, 2007). The critical point here is that the process of materials development is not generic and is based on the situation at hand while having learners in mind and them actively participating.

#### **7.3.5 An emerging pedagogy from the case of EDF**

As noted above, the case of EDF brings to light the varied perspectives of educational actors in relation to adult education pedagogy. These variations are linked to the different understandings of adult education by various actors but also to the varied environments in which training takes place. In spite of the noted variations, educators’ views seem to point to a common position on what constitutes what I will call an ‘emerging pedagogy of EDF’. This pedagogy is derived from observations of educators in action, relationships with learners and the training

environments. I have identified four dimensions to the pedagogy of EDF as passion and respect for ‘the adult’ practice as the ‘magic’ ingredient, tapping into learners’ knowledge reservoir and making learning applicable to people’s lives. I will now try to discuss the four influences of adult education pedagogy in EDF from the purview of the educators.

### **7.3.5.1 Passion and respect for ‘the adult’**

Vella (2002) holds that respect for learners is informed by the belief in men and women as subjects of their own learning. FGDs, interviews and observations with various educators and learners highlight the fact that the interaction between educators and learners is informed by passion and respect for the age or adult status of learners. Irrespective of their knowledge levels and adult education facilitation skills (discussed in Chapter 6), educators seem to approach their interaction with ‘adult’ learners with age in mind. Educators view learners as peers and at times seniors. Culturally, the people of Kibaale, as in most African societies, approach elders with high respect. Age bestows upon individuals a status irrespective of gender or socioeconomic status (Nyerere, 1973; 1980). This orientation is apparent in references to training materials, seating arrangements and assessment. In interviews and FGDs, some educators noted:

We usually don’t teach people like children, we allow them to ask questions ... of course you don’t have to be rude to them. They [adults] also ask you, then when they have not understood you explain to them because an adult understands quickly. As we teach these people for example about farming, we are aware that they have done it before and that makes our work a walk over. When you explain to him [her], he also realizes how things are done ... and you are only introducing a few new things (Mendo)

When I normally come, I always want them [adult learners] to see me as one of them, so they do not fear me as a teacher but rather one of them. We all appear as though we have come to learn. They ask me and I also ask them, but I don’t appear as though I am a class apart (Naka).

Of course with adults, we look at various issues; the venues, feeding, are the materials in place? and so on ... and with adults even though we follow a time table, its adjustable and most of the time we do demonstrations, role plays which are interesting, and give examples which are common to them in their setting (Bintu)

According to Mendo, Naka, and Bintu above, an adult is not just a learner but a colleague, farmer, adult, 'wise individual' and a respectable member of society. In Uganda, adults hold a special place in the society irrespective of their education and socioeconomic status. The respect for age, associated with wisdom, was also observed during community educational meetings and photovoice discussions. Whenever a contentious issue arises, you notice everyone trying to solicit for the opinion of 'muzeyi' or elderly person(s).

The voices above suggest that the pedagogy in EDF is driven by love and respect for adults. As a result, educators go out of their way to make learning interesting and flexible. Love and respect for learners also influence the change of environments to keep learners focused and interested. According to Bintu above, the pedagogy is characterized by demonstrations and role-plays, all intended to keep learners relaxed and interested. Freire (1972) describes the pedagogy that emerges out of this relationship as an act of love:

Founding itself upon love, humility and faith, dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the participants is the logical consequence. It would be a contradiction in terms if dialogue – loving, humble and full of faith – did not produce a climate of mutual trust, which leads the people involved into ever closer partnership in the naming of the world. Conversely, such trust is obviously absent in the anti-dialogics of the banking method of education. Whereas faith in man is an *a priori* requirement for dialogue, trust is established by dialogue (Freire, 1972, p. 64).

John (2008, p.49) notes that, 'Freire's views on love, hope and trust are more than just ontological positions, they are emotional or affective dimensions of ways of knowing and being in the world ... love, hope and trust are pedagogical principles and professional orientations for educators'. According to Freire (1972), love and respect for men/women breeds a dialogical or

horizontal relationship rather than domination. The banking method is the exact opposite where the educator not only disrespects the position of a person's standing in society but also what he/she knows. In the absence of trust and respect for men/women, the educator deposits information disregarding what learners know or have to bring to the relationship.

The respect and passion for 'the adult' in EDF is an affective (and effective) dimension of EDF as rooted in the culture of the local people. This can be equated with what Freire calls an act of love for participants driven by mutual trust. As noted from the voices above, educators try their best to make learning friendly and flexible, but also to create a platform for dialogue and free exchange.

### **7.3.5.2 Practice as 'the magic'**

But when you just talk and walk away, you will leave knowing that they have not understood (Mendo)

The second dimension of adult learning pedagogy in EDF is driven by a belief in 'practice as the magic' to learning. Although theory is included during facilitation, educators would be quick to downplay it especially during interviews. EDF educators concur that whatever topic they facilitate and for whatever purpose, engaging learners in practical work which does 'the magic'. Notwithstanding the pressures from the standardized curricula, most educators seem to put more emphasis on practical work. Voices from educators and community members below give a glimpse about practice as the magic in adult education in EDF.

I usually put emphasis on practical examples while teaching farmers ... You see ... when you keep on teaching theories and theories without showing these adults how things are done, at the end of the day you will end up leaving when they have not understood what you were teaching. But if you, let say you, have been teaching about how to prepare nursery beds and you do it practically and you tell them this is how you measure the width, you do like this to measure length and when you finish you do that. At the end of the day this is the final product. So when that person leaves, he will be able to explain to

those who weren't around and they will also be able to understand. But when you just talk and walk away, you will leave knowing that they have not understood (Mendo)

... when you don't touch the soil as an extension worker then farmers will not understand what exactly you are meaning. So like if you tell them that ... we are measuring 4 feet those are 4 by 10. So if you don't get that measurement for them and you really practically measure for them by saying this is one foot, this is two, this is three up like that then they will not know what you are meaning (Keti)

The trainings of EDF are quite different because whenever we would be having a training we would sit like we are seated now [in a circle] and we learn theoretically in the morning and thereafter do practicals in the afternoon ... For example if we have learnt about constructing a pig sty in the morning, we construct it in the afternoon ... if it is about vegetable garden we do that and even if it is about smearing the house with mud, we do it like that (Community member, FGD).

All the educators above note that there is no better way to help adults learn than by engaging them in practice. In addition, it is not enough to show learners how things are done but the message sinks in better when the educator physically gets involved. According to educators in EDF, adults learn best when they see and touch. Therefore educators in both health and agriculture endeavour to lead learners in practical sessions. Not only do they show them how things are done but also get their hands dirty alongside learners, as is advocated by Nyerere (1973).

According to Mendo above, learning by practice also ensures sustainability of learnt skills. It was noted that in the initial community and group education meetings, EDF educators led people into preparation of nursery beds, improved cooking stoves and bath shelters. However, in subsequent meetings, community leaders then take over in helping fellow community members to develop these facilities. This is precisely in line with Nyerere's advice to educators of adults when he notes:

A mother does not "give" walking or talking to her child; walking and talking are not things which she "has" and of which she gives a portion to the child... What all this means in practice is that the adult educator must involve the learners in their own education, and in practice, from the very beginning. Only activities which involve them in doing something for themselves will provide an on-going sense of achievement and mean that some new piece of knowledge is actually grasped - that it has become something of "theirs"... What is important is that the adult learner should be learning by doing, just as - to go back to my earlier example - a child learns to walk by walking (Nyerere, 1982, p.42-43).

Nyerere compares the role of an adult educator to that of a mother. It is easier to teach a child to walk by helping him/her to walk. Ultimately walking is a personal achievement and not a given one. Equally Freire also stresses that there should be a balance between theory and practice, and such practice or experience should not be transplanted from one environment to another. Freire (1978, p. 104) notes: 'I am convinced that it is easier to create a new type of intellectual forged in the unity between practice and theory, manual and intellectual work - than to re-educate an elitist intellectual'. It is important to note that both Nyerere and Freire do not downplay the role that theory plays in learning but stress that there ought to be a good balance between theory and practice.

As noted above, community members also applaud the facilitation style in EDF for being flexible to accommodate their busy schedule, giving them audience but also showing them practically how things are done. Learners seem to base their judgement on a comparison to other educational activities they have engaged in with government and other NGOs.

It had earlier been noted that the banking methods of facilitation are also used in EDF. The question is why are there such contradictions where dialogical methods are applied alongside banking methods of facilitation? The over-reliance on theory and banking methods can perhaps be attributed to the standardized curricula for some courses like the training of CHWs. The desire to stick to standardized curricula is also influenced by external pressures such as development partners who seek to align their contribution to global agendas. The issues of curricula in use in

EDF are discussed extensively in the next section, while issues of power and the local-global dynamics are discussed more deeply in chapter 9.

### **7.3.5.3 Making learning applicable to people's lives**

One other noted dimension of pedagogy in EDF is the belief in making learning applicable to people's lives. This view can be equated to Vella's (2002) principle of immediacy. According to Jane Vella, adult learners want to see the immediate usefulness of learning in their lives. The belief in the applicability of learning as a driver of pedagogy in EDF is closely associated to the above concept of 'practice as the magic'. During a photovoice discussion, some CDWs noted:

We have now even changed our method of work. We now organize community [educational] meetings in people's homes which we consider to be in poor condition. Like in this case, we just go and see you and then bring the next meeting in your compound, and see how to help you ... when we sat with [Sendi], we decided that let's now move community meetings from model homes to those that are still struggling with standards so that we can help them to improve (Balifaijo, CRP).

In photograph 7 [reference to photovoice exercise], there are these women transplanting seedling from [a] group seed bed. We were given the seeds by EDF as a group. In the teaching of EDF, we are always advised to plant near the homestead and we grow our crops in an organized way unlike those working on an individual basis. And these women had come to pick the seedlings to go and plant in their gardens (Iruku)

In an interview, one educator also noted:

Yes they [CDWs] change because like now if you are talking about health and nutrition, sometimes you teach them [CDWs] on these gardens - they cannot graduate you here unless you have such a garden at home ... So if you are not showing the example to others, they [EDF] don't graduate you (Enid).

As noted from the photovoice discussion and the statement from one educator, the pedagogy in EDF is characterized by application of learnt ideas into real benefits to people's lives. Learning

goes beyond theory and practice into application. As noted by Enid above, each CDW is expected to showcase real products in their own homes as a condition for graduation into leadership. They are expected to put in place all basic requirements in health and agriculture according to EDF standards.

When it comes to community mobilization, meetings are always organized in people's homes (see statements of Balifaijo and Iruku above). The meetings alternate between "model homes" and those considered "inadequate or struggling". The purpose of such meetings is not just to give skills to learners but also to practically help out a family in need. The meetings usually result in prototype experiments, which are later donated to the host household. They could, for example, construct a food store, kitchen or latrine, where these are lacking. They also prepare nursery beds, which are later shared among all community members. Beyond the application of learning activities discussed above, the pedagogy opens up a new window of social support, perhaps embedded in people's culture.

One can perhaps attribute this gesture of social support as part of learning, to people's religious beliefs and cultural values that place community beyond self. In his justification for *ujamaa* or African socialism, Nyerere (1968) describes the African way of life as being 'one for others and vice-versa'. Nyerere contends that at times such feelings happened unconsciously but are rather a way of survival. Nyerere (1968) further notes:

The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of *ujamaa*. Its members did this unconsciously, and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms. They lived together and worked together because that is how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties of weather and sickness ... and the cycle of life and death. The results of their effort were divided unequally between them, but according to well-understood customs (Nyerere, 1968, p. 337).

Similarly, adult learning pedagogy is interwoven with the applicability of new knowledge, not just for the sake of it, but also to help deserving family members. As community members

congregate to learn, they also come with tools and materials to help out a colleague in need. There is no direct benefit to those who contribute but in addition to helping, they too learn. Indeed as Nyerere notes, such gesture has something to do with people's beliefs and culture as set out *ujamaa* or family-hood built into African cultural values, like that of Ugandans. Likewise, Freire views participation as a source of social cohesion pointing out that:

Participation in common experiences stimulates social solidarity rather than individualism. The principle of mutual help, practical activity in the face of actual problems, and the unity of mental and manual labour are experienced daily. The learners begin creating new forms of behaviour in accordance with the responsibility they must take within the community (Freire, 1978, p. 42-43).

In spite of different opinions by Freire and Nyerere regarding the purpose of participation, applicability and mutual help by adult learners, both scholars agree on the fact that adult learning goes beyond knowing for the sake of it. The ability of EDF to stretch their pedagogy beyond the acquisition of new knowledge into practical support of members is a wonderful attribute. In a global environment characterized by the market economy and competition, EDF is capable of mobilizing community members to support one another based on traditional African values.

This is not to say that everyone in the community agrees and lives by the tenets of the concept of participation. Some community members accuse their colleagues of laziness and failure to return a hand when others are in need. The divergent views represent some contradictions between indigenous values versus the capitalism-driven ideology of individual benefit. The basis and the effects of conflicting ideologies in EDF is discussed extensively in Chapter 9 using Youngman's (2000) framework of political economy of adult education and development.

#### **7.3.5.4 Tapping into learners' knowledge reservoir**

I call this dimension of pedagogy, 'tapping into learners' knowledge reservoir' because most educators in EDF acknowledge the special knowledge and skills that reside in learners. As a result, they see a need to use a pedagogy that allows them to tap into this reservoir. Learners'

knowledge reservoir is perhaps an equivalent of what Busingye (2011) calls unscientific knowledge, local knowledge, traditional knowledge or indigenous knowledge. Observations, FGDs and interviews revealed that most educators endeavour to adapt a pedagogy that allows sharing of ideas. These take the form of a question and answer approach, dialogue, consultation and learner-centred approach. During interviews, some educators noted:

In the last training session we give them [CDWs] skills in adult education facilitation. We also inform them that the best teaching approach is the LEPSA (Learner Centred approach). This is a method where we look at problem posing so that people don't say it is you feeding them with information but they can think and come up with solutions to their own problems (Sendi).

Learners have much more experience than us [staff] who have been in school [formally educated] ... you have a diploma in agriculture but have never done farming before ... but these people know from experience. They can tell you that in such a season if you do not plant early, your plants will die because of less rain ... He [farmer] knows them practically because he has done it before and did not gain from it. So the information we get from the village is useful to us as staff and management (Mendo).

Obviously the relationship between these adult learners and those students in school is not the same because here we share information ... in teaching you just come and give your information to the people and the people you are teaching ... But here [EDF] we assume that these adults know something, and as an educator, you are just adding on what they know and getting out the superstition that they may have (Enid, 2011).

At times I get questions from them [learners], then ... I answer according to their questions, I bring a topic I let them ask questions related to water, water related diseases then I answer their questions from what they have asked ... (Junju)

No here ... once you deal with adult learners, you are not teaching, you are facilitating. You are like a catalyst just incite them to discuss their views otherwise we always have a

pre-test to know the level and we concentrate on that. Since you are not to give them an exam, not failing them here, you just facilitate the learning process so you become part of them (Bintu).

According to the various views of educators expressed above, three important aspects can be noted:

- i. Novice educators realize the potential and knowledge reservoir of adult learners. They hold that adults have vital information, which enhances their learning, unlike the case with child learners. As shown in the quotes of Mendo, Enid and Bintu above, they note that such knowledge is as a result of experience and practice. This affirms the realisation of the value of indigenous knowledge by EDF.
- ii. It also emerges that the pedagogy of EDF recognizes and provides room for people to contribute, and even participate in finding solutions for their own problems. This is evident from interviews with Sendi, Mendo, Enid and Bintu. Therefore, the pedagogy of EDF closely correlates with Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972, 2004) as both advocate for pedagogy that taps into the learners' world.
- iii. One respondent (Enid) indicated that the interaction with learners also helps to suppress beliefs considered superstitious and retrogressive. Although this was a lone voice, it could perhaps represent other voices, which did not participate in this study.

Although some EDF educators consider prior knowledge as superstitious and anti-developmental (see Enid), they still recognize the need to consult local people. The adoption of a banking approach noted earlier could perhaps be an endeavour to suppress the “undesirable superstitious knowledge” in learners who are considered un-developmental.

On the other hand, the recognition of learners' knowledge reservoir and their ability to provide solutions to their own problems is a function of the dialogic methods stressed by most radical educators. Educators reported the use of a question and answer approach and probing as a means

of inviting learners to think through their world. These approaches in EDF are evidence of Freire's (1972) principles of dialogue and democratic learning. Freire (1972) further notes:

The only effective instrument is humanizing pedagogy in which the revolutionary leadership establishes a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed. In a humanizing pedagogy the method ceases to be an instrument by which the teachers (here, the revolutionary leadership) can manipulate the students (the oppressed), because it expresses the consciousness of the students themselves (Freire, 1972, p. 44).

Therefore according to Freire (1972), dialogue is not just a method but also a liberating process. Dialogue recognizes the position of learners as humans only placed at one end of the learning relationship by circumstances (Freire, 2004). According to Freire (1978), educators working within a liberating pedagogy not only need to be democratic but also demonstrate the ability to raise the confidence of the learners to take charge of their own learning.

In a similar vein, 'Nyerere believed that adult learners have experience, so the teacher should guide them to learn from their own experiences' (Major & Mulvihilland, 2009, p. 20). Hence, adult education is a liberating process that begins with men and women and not ideas from professionals and technocrats (Freire, 1972, 1973; Nyerere, 1973, 1982). Therefore the goal of a radical adult education perspective advanced by educators like Nyerere and Freire is to empower learners to question their state of affairs with a view to finding local solutions.

### **7.3.5.5 Concluding remarks on pedagogical practices in EDF**

Adult education pedagogy in EDF is complex. Pedagogical practices in EDF reflect two extreme positions, that is, banking methods and dialogical methods of facilitation. Observations show that banking methods are driven by standardized curricula plus a belief that educators/experts have the required knowledge to help learners/people solve their problems. As a result, some educators turn up with prepared presentations and do the talking most of the time. However, interviews and FGDs stress dialogue as the preferred approach. The dualism or variety therefore conforms to

one of the greatest principles of adult education that takes care of different situations, that is, depending on the need and use.

One possible answer to this question could perhaps lie in the participants' familiarity with the purpose of this study and their endeavours to impress and provide the "correct" answers. The second explanation could perhaps be attributed to the power dynamics between the local and global contexts (see Chapter 9). The pedagogy of EDF consists of the interaction between Western knowledge systems and indigenous knowledge systems.

Education pedagogy in EDF is a hybrid of many influences, both conscious and unconscious, on the various actors. Some of the noted influences are the discipline of adult education driven by professional adult educators, love for one another, benchmarking best practices and, most importantly, culture. Amidst all these influences is the local-global trap, engineered by the direct and indirect influence of development partners and international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and WHO. The local-global contradictions call for local-global compromises and EDF is no exception. These traps, contradictions and compromises are discussed in chapter 9.

## **7.4 Curriculum in use in EDF**

### **7.4.1 Introduction**

EDF carries out various educational activities with various educators at various levels. Each of the activities described above is guided by a curriculum. The word 'curriculum' is complex and accommodates many concepts and ideologies (Egan, 2003; Koo-Hok-chun, 2002; Null, 2011). Null (2011) quoting Schwab identifies the five critical aspects of the curriculum as teachers, learners, subject matter, context, and the curriculum making process. The curriculum is further linked to various traditions or philosophies, that is, the liberal tradition, systematic tradition, existentialist tradition, radical tradition and pragmatic tradition. Observations and voices from educators in EDF provide a glimpse of the curriculum in use in EDF:

Yes, there is a curriculum that has been approved by the community-based health care association of Uganda (CBHCAU) which we normally follow in the training of CHWs ... it is nationally accepted curriculum for training CHWs and TBAs ... but at times we smuggle in certain things which we think are critical (Moses).

Actually even the CBHCAU died and it is always the section of people who are doing it. It is now sort of private... it was being supported by other organizations like WHO and others. So when these people moved out it could not be sustained (Bintu).

Of course we have the training manual which guides us and we [EDF staff] all participated in the development of this training manual. There was no leader generally for it but we were guided by the Executive Director (Meddie).

Even if I teach what I learnt from EDF, I have to add from my experience (Teri, TBA).

Our messages and programmes depend on what people need. You can begin with a different method and focus but as you get deep into the community, you get to learn their [community members] needs then you can switch your methods and message to address the needs (Sendi).

... and we have built the organization on essentially on education [adult education] ... because if you look even at our slogan, that clearly captures our vision, that is, 'empowering communities to sustain themselves (Kwaga).

The views above expressed during interviews, together with the eight months I spent with EDF as a participant observer, allows for some deductions regarding the curriculum in EDF:

- i. There are multiple sources and forms of curricula in EDF.
- ii. The goal of the curriculum is to serve both national and local interests. The local interests are largely focused on empowerment and sustainability while the national interests are largely standardisation of knowledge and skills.

- iii. It is noted that some respondents cast doubt on national interests based on the credibility of CBHCAU. Various expressions are used to represent local interests in the curriculum, such as, smuggle in, not a blue print, just a guide, learner expectations, process approach and accommodating field experiences.
- iv. Educational activities at community level such as community mobilization are based on an undocumented/unwritten curriculum.

Based on the above deductions, I now proceed to categorize the curricula in EDF based on the perspectives of various novice educators. Conclusively, there are four types of views on how people understand the role or forms of the curriculum in EDF. Type one is what I can call a standardized curriculum or imported curriculum, the second one is a flexible curriculum, the third a homegrown curriculum and the fourth type is the ‘common sense curriculum’. These forms are deduced from the educators’ views on how the curriculum is perceived and constructed in EDF. I will now proceed to describe each type.

#### **7.4.1.1 Standardized curriculum**

I call this type standardized or imported curriculum because EDF adopts it from the Community Based Health Care Association of Uganda (CBHCAU), a national body that brings together all actors in community-based health care. The training of CHWs and TBAs is based on this standardized curriculum. As noted from the participants of this study, Moses, Sendi and Paulo above, EDF uses this standardized curriculum for purposes of alignment to national standards and accreditation.

However, the over-reliance by EDF on the standardized curriculum in the training of CHWs and TBAs promotes the use of banking methods. This standardized curriculum falls short of addressing the specific needs of the learners in relation to the context in which they operate. However, there appears to be a dilemma that EDF finds itself in, that is, meeting national and international standards while at the same time trying to accommodate the interests of local communities.

This further implies that the trainers are pressurized to complete the curriculum within a limited time, given the resource constraints. The imported or standardized curricula used by EDF subscribes to the liberal perspective of adult education which holds that adults require a body of knowledge 'out there' for them to function properly (see Chapter 3). However, Freire (1972) stresses the importance of consulting the learners on what is to be learnt:

They do not listen to the people but plan to teach them how to 'cast off the laziness which creates underdevelopment'. To these professionals, it seems absurd to consider the necessity of respecting the 'view of the world' held by the people ... They regard as equally absurd the affirmation that one must necessarily consult the people when organizing the programme content of educational action (Freire, 1972, p. 124).

The community/participants in such programmes do not even know that they have a role to play in curriculum development or that they can at least contribute to study or learning (Freire, 1972; Nyerere, 1973; Nyirenda, 1996; Tobbell, 2000). The negative effects of imported curricula can further be seen in over-teaching in a bid to cover the pre-set or externally generated curriculum. The use of a pre-set curriculum, for example, hinders community members from engaging in a participatory and liberating learning adventure.

Freire (1972) also notes that, 'The content of that dialogue can and should vary in accordance with historical conditions and the level at which the oppressed perceive reality' (Freire, 1972, p. 41). According to Freire, a pre-set curriculum 'deskills the teachers as well as the learners' (Tobbell, 2000, p. 205). Equally, Nyerere detested a learning system with a curriculum that ultimately produces individuals with uniform knowledge levels or who think alike:

There is a second very fundamental determinant of adult education method. It is that every adult knows something about the subject he is interested in, even if he is not aware that he knows it... It is on the basis of this knowledge that greater understanding must be built, and be seen to be built (Nyerere, 1982, p. 43).

Therefore both Nyerere and Freire would consider such a learning process in EDF as domesticating, where learners are not given the right to direct the curriculum. Null (2011)

describes such a curriculum as a tool of an external force to control the disadvantaged poor, as he notes:

The “official knowledge” ... is the institutionalized curriculum that powerful groups maintain dominion over so that they can control lower classes, especially minority groups ... what becomes official knowledge (and hence part of the official curriculum) is inherently biased against ... historically disadvantaged groups (Null, 2011, p. 89).

Thus it can be asked: Who are these powerful groups and what are their interests in this curriculum design? What deprives adults a choice to determine what they wish to learn? These forces are perhaps explained by Youngman (2000), as he attempts to tackle the question regarding the purpose of adult education in the South in a neoliberal world order. He asserts that adult education is a tool by partners from countries of North to prescribe a development formula to the hapless poor. This question is answered at the end of this section but also discussed further in chapter 9.

#### **7.4.1.2 Home-grown curriculum**

The second form of curriculum is what I have called the ‘home-grown curriculum’ because it is locally developed at organizational level. The curriculum is a product of EDF staff that endeavours to capture the local needs taking into account local and international best practices. The home-grown curriculum is used in the training of community resource persons (CRPs) and water source committees. Despite incorporating local aspects, it still does not capture the learners’ needs and interests. It therefore remains a document of the elite professionals putting together ideas and solutions for the problems of the poor. Both Nyerere and Freire would still consider the home-grown curriculum in EDF as domesticating.

#### **7.4.1.3 Flexible curriculum**

The third type is the ‘flexible curriculum’ because it allows additions to the standardized curriculum developed by professionals both from within and outside EDF. The curriculum for

the training of CHWs and TBAs presents an interesting scenario. Although EDF uses the standardized curriculum from the CBHCAU, it has also designed their own training manual to accommodate what they consider critical issues to their conditions. EDF also solicits ideas and views from the community and trainees about what they wish to learn.

One important aspect of the training manual developed by EDF for CHWs is that it has a full section on how to help adults learn (Bigirwa, 2008). This topic covers areas such as factors that promote or hinder adult learning; the characteristics of adult learners and the principles of adult learning. In addition, the topic covers general pedagogical skills such as materials development, making lesson plans and leading demonstrations and practical training sessions.

In addition, in every training session, there are efforts made to capture and include the special interests of learners. Each training session is preceded by a list of learning expectations, which are hung in the room until the end of training. At the closure of the training session, these expectations are also used as benchmarks for judging the success of the training. Educators stress that they do not use the standardized curriculum or home-grown curriculum as a blueprint during training. Other phrases used to describe the flexibility and inclusiveness of the curriculum are, “smuggling in learners’ ideas and incorporating field experiences”, “use of process approach” and “adoption of a collaborative process”.

Nyerere (1982) is in agreement with Freire (1972) that an adult learning curriculum ought to be collaboratively developed with learners and should help them adapt to their environments. Freire (1972) further notes:

Thus, the dialogical character of education as a practice of freedom does not begin when the teacher-student meets the students-teachers in a pedagogical situation, but rather when the former first asks himself [herself] what his [her] dialogue with the latter will be about. And preoccupation with the content of dialogue is really preoccupation with the programme content of education (Freire, 1972, p.65).

The strength of a flexible curriculum in EDF is that it acts as a compromise between a local and global ideological contest. EDF recognizes the importance of standardized curricula as it represents powerful forces such as government, donors and international bodies, for example, WHO. On the other hand, the local training manual helps to address specific local needs and conditions.

#### **7.4.1.4 Common sense curriculum**

I call the fourth and last type as the ‘common sense curriculum’ because educators in EDF at various levels base their education activities on general knowledge or common sense. At a general level, educators in EDF engage in messages that are broad in nature, which are based on common knowledge found in books, in ordinary speech, played on various radio stations and even taught in homes. The source of ‘*common sense curriculum*’ can therefore be traced to both indigenous knowledge but also Western knowledge systems. During a FGD, some CDWs noted:

We teach what EDF taught us like how to prevent diseases, proper feeding and those in charge of agriculture teach people how to plant bananas and how to care for them (Poskali; Male CHW).

I help them through sharing with them the knowledge I have acquired from EDF and the natural one which I had before the training. They come and visit my farm and I teach them how things are done (Balifaijo; male CRP).

It is the ‘common sense curriculum’ that is used largely in community educational meetings. Surprisingly, the ‘common sense curriculum’ also has a power element attached to it. It is common to hear CDWs and other leaders telling fellow local community members what EDF told them, perhaps to give credibility to their messages. However, when you closely interact with the local educators they indicate that part of the information and knowledge they use in their work is personal and indigenous. Indeed, EDF’s selection of CDWs is based on their past experience, exemplary leadership and lifestyles. The following excerpts from photovoice discussions illustrate the notion of the ‘common sense curriculum’:

This picture shows a parish chief addressing a community meeting ... this meeting had been invited by him but we also take chance of such meetings to address our concerns as mandated by EDF ... the parish chief was talking about '*burungi bwa nsi*' (community services) such as community roads and improved household standards. And you see, that is our major aim and focus as CRPs; to see that people are healthy with better incomes (Iruku, CRP).

I took this picture because someone planted crops in a wetland and yet this is against our teaching as EDF... I therefore hoped that this picture can be used to educate more people about dangers of environmental destruction but also to highlight our challenges as CRPs. This practice is not only condemned by EDF but the National Environmental management Authority (NEMA) as well... most people understand the dangers of destroying wetlands, but they just go for short-term benefits (Iruku, CRP).

Information concerning hygiene is always there on air [media] just like I said EDF and the government work together. For example, where government talks about pit latrines, EDF talks about that as well ... There is also a group of people whereby however much you explain to them they do not mind at all or refuse to take any action and there is nothing you can do to such people (Poskali, CHW).

As noted from the photovoice discussions above, EDF message, especially at the grassroots, is of a general or popular nature. The same information is circulated by government, churches, related organizations, and common speech. The teaching of EDF at the grassroots can easily pass as the mere emphasis of common knowledge. It is perhaps due to the use of the 'common sense curriculum' that some CDWs report that the rich and elite in the community tend to look down on their work. The elite argue that they don't see anything new to learn or benefit from the educational activities of EDF. During a FGD, one CHW noted:

Another problem when we advise people on certain issues, others especially the rich and those with more education ... go back laughing at our work saying that we have nothing to do. So that is a problem in the area (CHW, Busesa).

The feeling one gets is that EDF and its stakeholders feel that people are backward because they lack this 'common sense knowledge' or perhaps they have not paid much attention to adhering to this common sense knowledge. The educational programmes are seen as an endeavour to call people to order. However, the question that remains unanswered is why these people ignore living by common (sense) rules? Does EDF's call necessarily bring back people's commitment to living by common standards such as the need for every household to have a latrine? Freire (2004) is in support of a curriculum based on common sense:

What kept me from ever looking down on or simply belittling "the common sense" may have been the always – respectful contact I had with it, ever since the faraway days of my experience in the Brazilian Northeast, coupled with the never-failing certitude within me that, in order to get beyond "common sense" you had to use it. Just as it is unacceptable to advocate an educational practice that is satisfied with rotating on the axis of "common sense", so neither is an educational practice acceptable that sets at naught the "knowledge of living experience" and simply starts out with the educator's systematic cognition (Freire, 2004, p. 47).

In simple terms, a 'common sense curriculum' is actually a curriculum. The question is, 'where does the 'common sense curriculum' as a curriculum come from and how important is it for the survival and betterment of society?' As noted above, Freire (2004) considers common sense knowledge important as it is based on tested knowledge, that is, what has worked based on the individual and the societal view. He further notes that the practice of common sense allows individuals and society to aspire to go beyond what is considered common sense.

According to Youngman (2000) while quoting Gramsci, common sense itself is not purely common knowledge but is rather built on ideological hegemony permeated through institutions such as religion, the media, education, and popular culture. However, a researcher working from

the critical paradigm would further probe what the dominant ideology in Kibaale or Uganda is. During interviews and FGDs, CDWs and local community members tended to emphasize the language of change built on principles of Western modernization theory, stressing ignorance or lack of western knowledge as being responsible for ill health and poverty. Therefore in a society like Kibaale in which EDF operates, common sense is actually a product of the dominant [Western] ideology. Chapter 9 engages with issues related to these local-global contradictions.

#### **7.4.2 A synopsis of curricula in use in EDF**

Freire (1978) holds that curriculum organization and development, just as is adult education itself, is a political process aimed at building a new society. It is an embodiment of the whom, the why and for what purpose. According to Freire, a curriculum can never be a neutral process nor can its proponents or implementers, lest it become a document aimed at universal conformity. Given the various curricula orientations in EDF, it is important to interrogate the rationale behind such curricula. Is it for building a new society of independent critical thinkers or for producing a new breed of ‘developed citizenry’ modelled on Western standards of ‘development’?

Having employed the radical traditions of adult education in this study, the question then is the extent to which the curriculum in EDF reflects these traditions. Furthermore, what actually constitutes a radical curriculum? Null (2011) provides an answer when he notes that:

Radical curriculumists ... embrace the political nature of curriculum work. They see politics and curriculum as inseparable ... Radicals contend that changes in curriculum must keep the goal of equality in mind at all times, even if achieving this goal means sweeping change or revolutionary action. To these thinkers, almost every school’s curriculum is a source of cultural oppression, one that serves to keep minority students in positions of inferiority while at the same time providing a pathway for privileged students to gain a leg up in society (Null, 2011, p.87).

Although Freire (2004) is considered a radical educator, he equally recognizes the value of pre-set curricula when he notes that:

There has never been, nor could there ever be, education without content, unless human beings were to be so transformed that the processes we know today as processes of knowing and formation were to lose their current meaning ... There is no education without the teaching, systematic or no, of a certain content. And “teach” is a transitive-relative verb. It has both a direct and an indirect object. One who teaches, teaches something (content) to someone (a pupil) ... The fundamental problem – a problem of a political nature, and colored by ideological hues – is who chooses the content, and on behalf of which persons and things the “chooser’s” teaching will be performed – in favor of whom, against whom, in favor of what, against what (Freire, 2004, p. 93-94).

Relatedly, Nyerere (1973) recognizes the importance of expert knowledge by stressing that:

And when the educated person has reasons for his different way of life which arise out of his greater knowledge then he must be willing to explain this difference to those among whom he lives and works, that is, to his equals. If, for example, he always boils the water he drinks, and people can see the better health of his child, he must explain the connection between the two things when people ask, or as the occasion arises (Nyerere 1973, p. 26).

It can be deduced that albeit their inclination to a radical ideology, both Nyerere and Freire recognize the role of expert knowledge. However, both scholars stress that such expert knowledge should be taken to learners as equals, and without downplaying learners’ views. Therefore, in order to assess the extent to which curriculum in EDF measures towards a radical tradition of the curriculum, we need to look at the source, learner involvement and content.

It was noted that irrespective of the varied views of EDF educators concerning the curriculum, they concur with the idea of incorporating learners’ interests and ideas. The dominance of a standardized curriculum alongside a home-grown curriculum can be explained by the local-global debate about what constitutes credible knowledge in development circles. Although EDF does not highlight the role that donors play in influencing curriculum development, donor

influences can be seen in EDF's desire for accreditation and a standardized curriculum. One can notice also that EDF's desire is to use curricula and pedagogy as liberation tools for the people, modelled on a universalistic approach (see Chapter 9).

EDF is cognizant of the need to meet local needs and it honours this through its use of the home-based curriculum. The 'common sense curriculum' also has an element of local needs as it partly taps into indigenous local knowledge. However, EDF has to achieve their objectives with the local and international contexts largely controlled by government and global forces. These dynamics of the local-global forces are discussed in chapter 9.

In the final analysis, it can be noted that the pedagogy and curricula in EDF seem to be influenced by competing forces. Through observations, interviews and FGDs, EDF can be described as a very innovative organization driven by the desire to do 'good' with the resources at their disposal. The flexible pedagogy and curricula are examples of such innovation. However, the use of standardized curricula and examinations are considered unhelpful to the learners and subscribes to what Youngman (2000) calls the universalistic creed of development. Adult education in EDF is therefore a reflection of development ideology driven by the direction of power in a globalized environment.

### **7.4.3 Emerging issues from the understanding and practice of adult education in EDF**

Chapters 6 and 7 highlight the dynamics of EDF's understanding and application of adult education. It was noted in Chapter 6 that different actors in EDF understand adult education in different ways. It was also noted that in spite of most educators being described as novice, they showed great skills in handling adults as learners. These findings posed a number of questions that this study addresses. Who is a professional adult educator? Does the concept of novice also apply to adult education? What level of training qualifies one to be considered a professional adult educator? Is adult education a standalone discipline or service to other disciplines? Below, I tackle some of these questions from the perspective of EDF noting some implications for the profession and practice of adult education.

### **7.4.3.1 Defining the boundaries of the profession of adult education**

The profession of adult education has come to be linked to the ‘modern practice’ (see Chapter 2), that is, organized and following a set of principles and managed or led by a group of trained professionals. Therefore as adult education is increasingly getting professionalized, a number of actors are either left out or not recognized (Finger & Asun, 2001). The case of EDF shows that most actors in EDF have learnt to craft their own practice individually and collectively to suit their conditions and needs. However, a section of educators with formal training argue that such skills remain lacking (See Sendi above). The emergent question relates to how to incorporate and recognize such efforts as part of the mainstream adult education profession. During interviews, one EDF educator noted this about her own practice:

I was never taught that, it has been part of me, it has always been ... maybe it is part of my principles. I don't just want to look as if I am above people. I want to sit with them and I know what they think, maybe that's when you get the information, because with such a relationship, that's when if you are asking for something, people are easy and cooperative. People say, this person is always with us and talks to them ... things like that (Naka).

Despite the fact that most educators in EDF have not attended formal or non-formal training programme, they have learnt the art of training adults informally. The desire to over professionalize adult education has presented both opportunities and challenges. Opportunities arise from the fact that the discipline is able to gain recognition, win some funding, attract a team of professionals and generally improve practice. However, the challenge is that such limited definition is isolating dedicated adult education cadres like those in EDF.

What emerges from the case of EDF is that the perspectives of the formally trained educators reflect a form of power attached to the knowledge source. Adult education has grown largely as a context-based discipline that strives to take advantage of situations (Finger & Asun, 2001). The desire for uniformity in practice and standards are seen as another school-based education

that discriminates against learners and educators based on their age and entry limitations. The concerns raised here are shared by Ostrome et al., (2008, p. 300) when they raise a number of questions such as: ‘Can adult education be defined? Does it have irrefutable boundaries agreed upon by most practitioners and scholars, or is the field of adult education market driven and defined by individual experiences and vocations?’.

The desire to over professionalize adult education has led to the isolation of good cadres such as EDF educators. Therefore adult education has fallen into a trap of what Finger and Asun (2001) call learning our way out (see Chapter 9). According to them, adult education is principally meant to target those neglected by the mainstream educational systems, but the more the field gets professionalized, the more it shifts away from its target audience. Furthermore, both Nyerere (1973; 1982) and Freire (1972; 1973; 1998) stress that adult education should be context based. This means that a search for uniform standards of practice or endeavours to stipulate them, are no better than school-based education where learners are treated alike.

The most appropriate adult teachers are often those who are also engaged in another job, who are practitioners of what they will be teaching. But it is necessary to have some people whose full-time work is teaching adults, or organizing the different kinds of adult education. These people have to be paid wages and given the equipment, and facilities, which are needed to be effective (Nyerere, 1982, p. 44).

The profession of adult education should go beyond the limitations of formal and non-formal training to absorb *practioners* who have learnt informally. Therefore the concept of ‘a novice adult educator’ is rather irrelevant in the case of adult education.

#### **7.4.3.2 The debates over standardization of the concept of adult Education**

The varied understandings of adult education within EDF pose a question as to whether there is or can ever be a common standard of adult education. If so, then what distinguishes adult education from general education practice? It is argued that adult education by nature is not a static discipline but varies according to context. Proponents from a progressive and radical

school argue that there can never be a standard approach to adult education practice (Freire, 1972, 1973, 1998; Giloux, 2010; Nyerere, 1973, 1982). Lindeman (1926) argues that adult education is an attempt to break the pattern of conformity. Therefore, good practice in adult education remains relative in view of context and prevailing circumstances (Ostrom et al, 2008).

The case of EDF shows that it is a rather futile venture to limit adult education to a standard practice. It is important for adult education to re-invent itself as an open profession (Finger & Asun, 2001).

### **7.4.3.3 Local-global ideological confrontation**

The philosophy of adult education and community development in EDF, especially on paper and everyday speech, points to a bottom-up approach that is, rooted in values of people-power and allowing local people to take centre stage in addressing their problems. However, the implementation of this agenda is sometimes overshadowed by technical leadership. The process also seems to be rushed to fit within prescribed time frames largely set by Western development partners. A rushed approach was sometimes observed when engaging with the community during community sensitization meetings. This denies community members a chance to internalize the problem at hand so that they are able to suggest their own approach. Every meeting would be packed with activities such as the selection of CDWs, formation of groups, brief from EDF staff and among others. Freire (1985, p. 59) asserts that:

The longer the problematization process and the more the subjects enter into the “essence” of the problematized object, the more they are able to unveil this essence. The more they unveil it, the more their awakening consciousness deepens, thus leading to the “conscientization” of the situation by the poor classes.

According to Freire (1978), rushed engagements with poor rural communities are nothing but mere communiqués of alien information. The case of EDF, therefore, puts forward a challenge that NGOs such as them face, in trying to carry out sensitization within limited time spans, while being dictated by funding from donors. This can therefore be termed a ‘learning-funding trap’,

which educators, committed to liberating pedagogy, have to grapple with. In the current situation, there is more to the learning process beyond the educator-learner relationship. The donor is increasingly becoming an inevitable party in the relationship.

## **7.5 Conclusion**

There was a slight difference between what was observed and what emerged from interviews and FGDs, regarding pedagogy and curricula. Although there was observable usage of banking methods of facilitation and pre-set curricula, little of this was revealed in interviews and FGDs. There is however a fair balance between banking methods and democratic methods in EDF. The mixture can be attributed to individual trainers' beliefs and skills but also located within the broader philosophical orientations of organizational, national and international stages. EDF, like most NGOs, endeavours to promote the rhetoric of empowerment and liberation that has shaped the NGO global movement (Barr et al., 2004; Hall, 2000; Werker & Ahmed, 2008). It is also important to add, that since interviews and FGDs were preceded by observations, respondents could have tried to influence the study findings accordingly.

This chapter dealt with adult education practices in EDF with special focus on curricula and pedagogy. There were three main sections in the chapter, namely, the various forms of education practices in EDF, pedagogical practice and the curricula in use. The next chapter deals with the concept of community development workers, as another coping strategy of EDF in their community development endeavour.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **8.0 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS AS NOVICE ADULT EDUCATORS IN EDF**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on Community Development Workers (CDWs) as novice adult educators at the grassroots within EDF partner communities. It actually deals with one major objective of the study that is, examining and theorizing the development process involving CDWs as novice adult educators in EDF. The chapter adopts the descriptive approach. These accounts are analysed in reference to the literature and theoretical frameworks informing the study.

In order to understand the concept of CDWs in the work of EDF, photovoice was used as the main method to capture their insights in terms of self-concept, roles, motivations and challenges. Photovoice was also preferred because there was need to deeply engage with CDWs in the research process by giving them more voice to describe their world (Duffy, 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012; Wang, 1999, 2006; Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001; Wiersma, 2011). More data was also generated in FGDs, as CDWs are members of village committees. In addition to capturing voices and experiences from photovoice and FGDs, further information about the life and work of CDWs in EDF was gained through observations, documentary analysis and interviews with staff of EDF and external facilitators (see Chapter 4). This chapter therefore explores their roles as novice community educators, taking into account experiences of their work.

#### **8.2 Categories of CDWs in EDF**

CDWs in EDF fall under three categories, namely, Community Health Workers (CHWs) who support health both in preventive and curative perspectives, Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs)

who help deal with maternal health care, and lastly, the Community Resource Persons (CRPs) who serve as extension agents in agriculture promotion. These categories are explained below:

### 8.2.1 Traditional Birth Attendants

TBAs, as one group of CDWs, are the earliest group to have been commissioned in EDF. This was as early as 2002 when EDF gained a partnership with Aidlink, Ireland. The presence of TBAs in the work of EDF is attributed to the high maternal and infant mortality rates that prevailed in Kibaale at the time. The majority of mothers delivered without the attention of health professionals. The situation in Kibaale was worse than the national situation (See Chapter 1 and 5). The table below shows a baseline study of two Sub-Counties prior to partnership with EDF.

**Table 9: Persons who assisted in delivery**

<b>Form of assistance</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Self	35	24
Relative	61	43
TBA (untrained)	28	20
Health worker	19	13
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: EDF baseline Survey Analysis for Kyebando and Matala Sub-Counties conducted in March 2010**

The table above illustrates the extent to which pregnant mothers in Kibaale need to be assisted during delivery. The baseline survey was carried out in two Sub-Counties of Matala and Kyebando. Only 13% of women were found to have delivered with the assistance of a trained health professional. The rest delivered either with the assistance of TBAs (untrained), relatives or unaided (Bigirwa, 2010). Therefore, EDF training programmes target such TBAs.

In the statement below, Sendi, a member of the senior management in EDF describes the criteria for the position of TBA.

Unlike CHWs where we consider the level of education among others, with TBAs we prefer those who are already practicing. This is because we build on the knowledge they already have. We also prefer someone who is a bit strong and not too old to walk or work for long hours. Again we want someone who can write their own names (Sendi).

Therefore prior experience in assisting women during delivery is the major criterion for working as a TBA in EDF. The expertise is based on skills acquired through practice and indigenous knowledge. However, it was also noted that in some instances, TBAs had had prior training with either government or other NGOs.

The recruitment and training of TBAs acts more like a partnership where they are aided with modern skills and facilities such as protective gear and surgical blades. They are also equipped with a mattress and a blanket. This has increased the health and safety for mothers, their babies and TBAs. Other than the unavailability of midwives to attend to expectant mothers, there is reported preference for TBAs by expectant mothers, as seen in the photovoice discussion below:

Poskali, (Male CHW): ... some women prefer to go to the TBAs because they say, if I go to the hospital, they will abuse me ... You even hear them saying, the TBA has told me that I go with gloves, and baby clothing

Noreda, (Female TBA): indeed they try to fulfil all that. TBAs are so calm and friendly, they don't abuse the mothers. When they go to hospital, they are abused and mistreated. However with TBAs, even if a mother leaves the garden without first cleaning, she will be welcomed without abuse. They are given advice but in a friendly way.

(Iruku, Male CRP): ... you see one problem, when mothers go to TBAs, they are told particulars about their condition. However, whenever they go to the hospital, medical workers just write without clearly explaining the problem ... and most times mothers fear to ask.

Reasons advanced for the preference of TBAs by expectant mothers included the view that TBAs are more friendly and understanding of the socioeconomic status of mothers in comparison to professional nurses and midwives. It was indicated, for example, that medical workers would not tolerate a mother that comes to deliver without clothes for a baby. However, TBAs are happy to improvise for them. TBAs are also credited for the friendly and educative encounters with mothers. The messages by TBAs to mothers usually concern breastfeeding, immunization, balanced diet, family planning and general family hygiene. What remains puzzling though is why well trained medical workers possess such antisocial and undesirable attitudes towards mothers.

In the photographs below, two photovoice pictures show two TBAs at work in the community. In the photo marked 12 (a), a TBA is examining an expectant mother during an antenatal visit while in photo marked 12 (b), a TBA is immunising an expectant mother during antenatal visit.

**Figure 12: Photovoice picture showing TBAs at work**



**a) TBA examining an expectant mother**

**b) TBA immunising an expectant mother**

### **8.2.2 Community Health Workers (CHWs)**

The concept of CHWs is the most profound and considered critical in the developing world due to inadequate health services especially among poor rural communities (Appleford, 2013; Brown, 2007; Farmer, Prior, & Taylor, 2012; Glenton et al., 2010; Razee, Whittaker, Jayasuriya, Yap, & Brentnall, 2012; Rensburg, Wouters, & de-Wet, 2008; Standing & Chowdhury, 2008).

Rensburg (2008) notes that CHWs have had a profound impact on confronting HIV/AIDS and infant mortality in South Africa. Brown (2007) clearly justifies the role of CHWs particularly in Africa when he states that:

Now, these voluntary workers, ... is [are] helping to supplement and reinforce the traditional health system – and the knock on effects have been so successful that WHO Director General Margaret Chan has publicly called for more governments to consider this strategy as a way of strengthening primary care in Africa (Brown, 2007, p. 1115).

In Uganda, the concept has been in use by both government and NGOs for some time and it has taken on various terminologies such as CHWs, community drug distributors and Village Health Teams (Mbullu, 2004; Taylor, 2009).

Although statistics for the baseline study for Buyanja County could not be accessed when the Integrated Community Health Programme (IHP) started in 2001, the general trend in Kibaale indicates a dire health situation. EDF sought to mitigate the poor health conditions of the people to increase peoples' productivity and quality of life. In a baseline survey conducted for the counties of Matala and Kyebando, Bigiwa (2010) observed that most health indicators in the community, such as latrines and hand washing facilities were generally below standard. The role of CHWs in EDF is twofold: preventive and curative.

### **8.2.2.1 Preventive role of CHWs**

The major preoccupation of CHWs is teaching and the sensitization of community members to guard against communicable diseases through a preventive approach. It is argued that it is cheaper to prevent the sickness than treat it. CHWs work hand in hand with members of the Village Health Committee, where they serve as 'secretaries' to the committees. They encourage fellow members to promote hygiene in their homes through having better houses, kitchens, latrines and hand washing facilities; and sleeping under treated mosquito nets and clearing nearby bushes. In addition to living by example, CHWs also promote group work as a means of achieving quick results.

In the photograph below, I took the picture to show a community health worker checking the records before immunising the children.

**Figure 13: A Male CHW taking records before immunizing young children**



#### **8.2.2.2 Curative role of CHWs**

CHWs in EDF act as first line health workers and occupy the level of health centre 1 according to Uganda's health structure. Health facilities manned by trained government officials begin at Health Centre 2. On the completion of the course, CHWs are equipped with drug kits which contain some basic medicine for common illnesses. The medicine is supposed to be given out at a small fee. It is argued that the fee is to act as a revolving fund to keep re-stocking the kit as a sustainability measure. CHWs carry out laboratory tests, using instant blood tests called the Rapid Diagnostic Test (RDT), diagnose and prescribe drugs. RDTs are commonly used in rural areas where medical laboratories are not easily accessible (Maltha, Gillet, & Jacobs, 2013). CHWs mandate is limited to management of simple illnesses such as malaria, pneumonia, flu, vomiting and diarrhoea. However, they also carry out tests for HIV/AIDS. Most CHWs working with EDF have also received training from government and are sometimes contracted by government to distribute drugs and mosquito nets and assist with immunization.

**Figure 14: A photovoice picture showing a female CHW (seated) carrying out an RDT for malaria on a young boy**



Although the partnership with government is hailed by CHWs and EDF management alike, it poses a danger to the philosophy of EDF and their relationship with communities. It was noted that oftentimes, some community members confuse services offered by EDF with those of government. Secondly, the notion of voluntarism, which is associated with EDF, is at times misconstrued with coercion used by government.

### **8.2.3 Community Resource Persons (CRPs)**

In an interview, Paulo, a member of senior management explains the criterion for selection and serving as a CRP in EDF.

... he [she] must be an active farmer, selected by the community themselves, resident of that community and willing to work as volunteer (Paulo).

CRPs are also called link farmers because they help to link theory from EDF with practice in the real world within the community. Farmers who are willing to volunteer are selected for further training from EDF to boost their indigenous knowledge. EDF relies on model farmers to carry out demonstrations using their farms, knowledge and experience.

**Figure 15: A photovoice picture showing a homestead of a CRP depicting some modern agricultural practices**



The figure above generated from photovoice shows a home of a CRP working with EDF. Nsemba, a female CHW, when asked why she took the photograph, she noted:

The picture represents what is considered a model home in our EDF teachings ... here; you see gardens of green vegetables, onions, egg plants, mangoes, bananas but also pig sty, goat's byre and a storage house. This means that farming around the home is good, not only because it provides food for the home, but also keeps away mosquitoes, which cause malaria ... we see a model homestead, food security, family hygiene, keeps dangerous snakes away ... just as EDF has been teaching us

However, it emerged in research findings that the impact of CRPs has not been as adequately felt on the ground as that of CHWs and TBAs. One explanation was that since their training takes a short time (one week), it has perhaps not prepared them adequately for their role. Another reason could be due to the lack of incentives and tokens as are provided to CHWs and TBAs. Glenton et al., (2010) argues that voluntarism at community level is at times driven by small gifts that sound 'big' to poor rural folks. In some cases, community members struggle to recall the names of CRPs in their community, which is not the case with CHWs and TBAs. In a FGD with community members, they noted the following:

**PI: Give me some of their [CRPs] names?**

R1: It is the CHWs who are common

R2: In the whole village ... we have only three CRPs

R3: No they are four

**PI: Who do you know?**

R1: On this side the person who visits us most is Balifaijo

R5: On our side I hear people say we have ... but we rarely see her, but she is there.

R6: In our area we have ... but she is lazy in her work.

R2: Even the ones who works from our side were not effective except the CHW who worked so hard that is our side. She handled well her clients; she would visit your home and convince you to come for a meeting.

R4: According to me these people [CRPs] are like they do not exist in our community. It is like they are not taught well....

The above extract from a photovoice conversation with CDWs shows that CRPs are hardly felt on the ground. However, the lukewarm attitude of CRPs in community development work deserves further investigation beyond the reasons stated here.

### **8.3 Philosophical underpinning of the CDW concept in EDF**

CDWs are increasingly being used by both government and NGOs as effective agents of change at the grassroots in rural communities (Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006). The concept of CDWs can take on different notions depending on the philosophy driving it. Scholars from a radical community development perspective look at CDWs as revolutionary leaders who inspire others to change (Freire, 1972; Nyerere, 1973, 1980). In a more conventional view, the concept of CDWs has come to be associated with extension work (Mbullu, 2004; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006). Although the approach to the usage of CDWs may differ from one organization to another (Appleford, 2013), there is largely agreement that CDWs are volunteers selected by the community to receive training in a range of fields to support community development initiatives in their own communities (Brown, 2007; Glenton et al., 2010; Razee et al., 2012).

In Uganda, the literature indicates that the concept of CDWs has been in use within government agencies and CBOs under various terminologies. Mupada and Ssebaganzi (2004) attribute the

growth of the concept in Uganda to limited funding to engage traditional service delivery professionals.

### **8.3.1 The basis for CDWs in EDF**

In a number of discussions and interviews with various stakeholders, CDWs are described as the nucleus of EDF, that is, as a link between EDF and the community. A number of terms are used to describe the identity and work of CDWs in EDF, and these include community educators, mobilizers, role models, change agents and community advisors. The concept of CDWs is built on two understandings, that is, as a coping and as a sustainability strategy.

#### **8.3.1.1 CDWs as a coping strategy**

The adoption of the concept of CDWs in EDF can be located in the many changes that EDF has gone through over time (See Chapter 5). CDWs are said to have emerged in the work of EDF in response to the needs of the local people (See Chapter 7). The emergence of the concept of CDWs in EDF is viewed as a means of tapping into local indigenous knowledge; as grass-root mobilization and support; as fostering group work; as a bottom-up approach and as earning the support and approval of local communities by working with popular individuals with a track record.

#### **8.3.1.2 CDWs as a sustainability strategy in EDF**

The concept of CDWs in EDF is also described as a sustainability strategy. Sustainability stands out as a core principle of EDF. It is described at the two levels of sustainability of programmes and sustainability of skills (Menike, 1997). EDF runs programmes as independent entities usually supported by development partners. Each programme comes with a budget, staff, specific area of coverage and time-span. EDF's view is that once the tempo has been built in a given community by a particular programme, the impact should remain even after the given programme has elapsed. In another way, sustainability applies at a personal and household level. EDF works towards 'empowering people to sustain themselves', and thereby imply that people

are not only helped to attain a good life but also to sustainably keep the good life. It is hoped that the knowledge acquired by CDWs would live on as a community asset beyond the life span of the projects.

At both levels, EDF has tried to build mechanisms to ensure the sustainability of programmes and individual skills. Some of the strategies adopted to ensure sustainability are the concepts of adult education and CDWs, as one senior manager in EDF stresses:

One reason why I stress sustainability is that the community ... ought to appreciate that the project is theirs ...if community members are not clear about what the project is all about in terms of approach, objectives, challenges and all that, there is a very big likelihood that in the future the project could fail. They [community] may end up disowning it saying it is EDF project. So we feel that this [adult] education component is very critical at this stage when we are entering into the community (Paulo).

According to Paulo above, EDF tries to use CDWs as educators at the grassroots to rally the communities to appreciate and participate fully in community development programmes as a sustainability measure. However, there are puzzling issues in relation to sustainability in EDF: Where does this concept of sustainability come from? Who owns it and how does EDF ensure that it is realized? It is sometimes argued that sustainability is a common catchword used by donors and sold to Southern NGO partners without sufficient mechanisms to ensure its success (Menike, 1997).

One such aspect of sustainability is the drug kit managed by CHWs which is supposed to be managed through a user fee. The rationale for the drug kit is that the funds generated can be used to purchase more drugs when funding from donors ends. However, this strategy is already failing because the supply of most drugs to CHWs has since run dry due to the inability of the community to pay. In addition to pointing to the loopholes in the management of these drug kits, it further shows that poverty remains a big challenge in spite of EDF interventions. It could further point to the fact that people still associate EDF as a provider rather than a partner.

The findings also indicated that communities that have been in partnership with EDF for more than three years do not want EDF to leave. In other words, the period of partnerships has not adequately prepared them to stand on their own. This attitude definitely points to a missing link in the strategies that EDF has adopted to promote sustainability. On sustainability, Menike (1997) notes that:

...NGOs, are based on false assumption that we, the Poor, do not know how to overcome our poverty and improve our conditions ... For us, all this is quite hilarious ... The poor have their own pace and own rhythm of empowerment: a rhythm that is born out of wisdom and experience and not out of planning on a drawing board, sitting under a fan in a comfortable urban office (Menike, 1997, p. 25).

According to Menike (1997), failure to realize the sustainability of programmes and skills could be associated with the limited involvement of beneficiary communities. Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) link the sustainability of development programmes to freedom and liberation of men and women.

Development brings freedom, provided it is development of the people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves ... he is not being developed if someone gives him these things ... A man develops himself by joining in free discussion of a new venture, and participating in the subsequent decision (Nyerere, 1973)

Freire (1972, p. 52) also adds that 'authentic liberation – the process of humanization – is not another 'deposit' to be made in men'. Therefore, hindrances to sustainability could be related to a limited engagement of beneficiary communities in the planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programmes. The failure, according to Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972), also points to the fact that the process prepares communities to benefit and change but not become an agent of this change. Freire (1972) would therefore recommend conscientization that leads to praxis. Menike (1997) also faults NGOs for the lack of sustainability being due to rushed development interventions in order to meet accountability deadline of donors.

Therefore, what are the options Southern NGOs such as EDF have when they rely entirely on donor funds from Northern development partners. This scenario is best explained through the political economy of adult education that Youngman (2000) engages with. These issues will be tackled in chapter 9.

## **8.3.2 Selection of CDWs in EDF**

### **8.3.2.1 Selection process and criteria used**

The selection of CDWs is managed through a voting process by fellow community members. The method of voting is usually by people lining up behind the preferred candidate. However, before the voting, EDF staff and local council officials guide the people on the criteria to be followed. The criteria include ability to read and write, past record of community service, permanent residence and exemplary life style. On the selection criteria for CDWs, one community member recounted:

They [EDF] chose someone who is exemplary in his home so that others can go and learn from his or her home because there is a possibility that you can go and study with EDF and you come back but you fail to put in practice what you were taught (Community member).

CDWs are therefore picked largely because of their prior record of success. It was noted that the knowledge and skills acquired by CDWs from EDF act in addition to their existing indigenous knowledge and skills. In all cases, past experience and indigenous knowledge are valued in the selection of CDWs.

EDF's strategy of working with people with respected knowledge and a track record helps them in a number of ways. It enhances the acceptability of programmes but also helps them to bond quickly with the communities. The following findings on the selection process of CDWs in EDF are significant for a number of reasons:

- i. I observed that although people democratically elect their leaders (CDWs), the criteria are set by EDF. In two selection meetings I attended, I observed that there was little room for community members to interrogate the criteria. On the surface the process looks democratic, but poor communities lack the capacity to challenge these set standards. EDF is a respected and trusted organization and people feel that their interests are well catered for. The passivity and silence of the people to question the process can be explained by (Freire, 1985, pp. 32-33) when he notes that:

Instead of stimulating the peasants' decision-making power the mechanists tend to act in a paternalistic manner, thereby reactivating the culture of silence and keeping peasants in a state of dependence. Mechanists do nothing to help peasants overcome their fatalistic view of limiting situations; ... Agronomists, agriculturalists, literacy educators, cooperative administrators, and public health officials should meet with peasants dialectically, letting the very real world of the *asentamiento* function as mediator.

It can be deduced, therefore, that EDF staff are not able to see the 'hidden' power they hold and its influence over the rural poor. EDF staff or educators try their best to bridge the power gap but without analysing the source of the power difference. The rural poor see and consider EDF staff as all knowing and consider their actions well intended for their well-being (See Chapter 9). Menike (1997) is in agreement with Freire (1985) that people's silence and approval without questioning poses a danger to the success and sustainability of projects. This challenge is evident in the case of EDF.

- ii. In spite of the stated attributes of the selection process for CDWs, Freire (1972) identifies a fault with the whole conception of the representation of many by the few. Freire (1972, p, 112) notes:

The same divisive effect occurs in connection with the so-called 'leadership training courses', which are (although carried out without any such intention by many of their organizers) in the last analysis alienating. The courses are based on the naive assumption that one can promote the community by training its leaders

– as if it were the parts that promote the whole and not the whole which, in being promoted, promotes the parts.

Freire (1972) further notes that:

The oppressors do not favour promoting the community as a whole, but rather selected leaders. The latter course, by preserving a state of alienation, hinders the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in a total reality. And without this critical intervention, it is always difficult to achieve the unity of the oppressed as a class (Freire, 1972, p. 117).

Freire thus considers the concept of CDWs, when used as selected leaders or ‘agents of change’, as an unhelpful tool in causing positive changes in the community as a whole. He argues that change should target the entire community through a process of conscientization where people as a whole become conscious of their limitations and in the process of engaging in reflection, they come to praxis, that is, reflective action. He considers the use of selected leaders as agents of alien ideology that is domesticating and a hindrance to critical innovativeness (Freire, 1972, 1973, 1978, 1985, 2004).

On the other hand, Nyerere wasn’t against the use of CDWs as agents of development, but stressed that they should be residents in the community and should respect the indigenous knowledge of the people. He equally asserts that if such leaders possess special skills, they have a duty to explain it to the people rather than impose it on them (Nyerere, 1966, 1968, 1973, 1980, 1982). Nyerere (1973, p.26) notes:

... And when the educated person has reasons for his different way of life which arise out of his greater knowledge then he must be willing to explain this difference to those among whom he lives and works, that is, to his equals

Freire’s view on role of CDWs above could therefore be misunderstood to mean that he was opposed to representative leadership. However, both Freire and Nyerere acknowledge the special

role CDWs play in rural interventions. However, the two radical education theorists are of the view that such leaders should not act as agents of an elite ideology but rather leaders of local initiative to address community problems. The case of EDF shows a continuous endeavour to make CDWs part of the local population. Other than the training, CDWs are selected from the community and live with the community as ordinary members.

### **8.3.2.2 Gender considerations in the selection of CDWs**

The literature indicates that although recent development concerns try to propagate gender equality, these efforts hardly address the underlying factors that hinder women's participation (Longwe, 1997; Preece, 2009; World-Bank, 2010). Rubin (2010, p. 7) notes that 'The hard work begins, however, in designing ways to encourage women's participation in the face of resistance from their spouses or other men in their households'. Preece (2009) further adds that dealing with gender issues in development perspectives requires engaging with intersecting issues such as ethnicity, culture and religion.

In tandem with government and major international development players, EDF has in place a gender mainstreaming policy. The number of CDWs for every community has been changing, depending on funding and the population size in every community. However, the current standard is that each community ought to have one CHW, one TBA and 4 CRPs. There is a gender-based affirmative action for women and it is a requirement that at least two of all CDWs in a community must be women. In all three sampled communities that have partnered with EDF, all TBAs were women. Culturally, the position of birth attendants is almost exclusively the preserve of women. In all the communities served by EDF, only two male TBAs were reported. In a photovoice session, the discussion that ensued provides a sense of local perspectives about male TBAs:

**Facilitator/PI:** Are there no male TBAs working with EDF?

**Noreda (female TBA):** they are there, one in Matala and another one in Kyebando. They trained with us here with EDF...

**Iruku (Male CRP):** such a male TBA cannot attend to my wife...

**Balifaijo (male CRP):** ... he can, I hear that even women prefer those men to women TBAs  
**Noreda (Female TBA):** ... He can attend to her ... laughter...

According to this photovoice discussion, it emerges that the position of TBAs traditionally belonged to women. This is different from Western medical practices where both sexes have equal opportunities to training as TBAs and gynaecologists. This further strengthens the view that EDF selects CDWs based on their previous knowledge and roles.

It also emerged that in spite of the fair representation of women on programmes and committees, their impact appears thin on the ground. Female CDWs reported that they need permission from their husbands to participate and yet the converse is not true. Secondly, during photovoice discussions, it was observed that women hardly contribute unless prompted by the facilitator (see Chapter 5). These findings are considered vital to this study due to a number of factors:

- i. From a close look at gender roles and relations in EDF, it can be deduced that there are inhibiting factors to women in leadership, particularly as CDWs. This is notwithstanding the fact that EDF makes an effort to provide environments conducive for women. However, it can be observed that the factors impeding and inhibiting the participation of women at leadership level are not being unravelled (Kasya, 2008; World-Bank, 2010). The World Bank (2010) throws light on what could be at play in such situations, when it notes:

The literature also points to structural tensions between the recognition of traditional authorities and the empowerment of women in rural areas ... More generally, tradition and patriarchy may be particularly strong in local politics. As a result, women who do break through the barriers into public life often face male ridicule, harassment, and even physical intimidation and violence for transcending conventional gender roles (World-Bank, 2010, p. 30).

The quotation above indicates that it is not enough to provide equal opportunities to women in development efforts. Equality would also imply addressing the factors that limit women's participation, such as culture and gender bias. The same is true in EDF.

There is a need to strengthen women's participation, including in community development work, by addressing factors that limit women's participation.

- ii. Although it was reported that men would be willing to allow their wives to participate in the development activities of EDF, nothing appears to show the degree of flexibility in the permission granted to female CDWs to fully attend their duties. Razee et al. (2012) notes that societal and family expectations around the role of women affect the demands made on female CHWs. Kasya (2008) therefore recommends that meaningful integration of women in local leadership demands an integrated approach: one that can engage with negative cultural values and beliefs, engage men and also organise special capacity building interventions for women. It can therefore be concluded that EDF ought to continuously engage with these issues in close collaboration with government, churches and other stakeholders to better tap into women's potential as CDWs.

### **8.3.3 Self-concepts amongst CDWs**

This section sought to understand the self-concepts of CDWs in EDF, that is, how they perceive themselves and their work, their selection, motivations and challenges. Most studies on CDWs have been done from an outsider point of view (Henderson & Glen, 2005; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006). This study provided an opportunity, through photovoice, for CDWs to describe their identity and work in EDF. Prior to joining EDF, CDWs occupied various positions in their community ranging from ordinary farmers to teachers and members of local government councils. CDWs therefore bring with them into the work of EDF, a stock of knowledge and skills (see figure 16 below).

Self-concept is a broad term and lends itself more to the disciplines of psychology and sociology (Shavelson & Bolus, 1982). Huitt (2011) defines self-concept as the perception of self. Although psychologists tend to engage with the concept by focusing on the 'I, me or self', sociologists contend that the self is influenced by its environments (Epstein, 1973; Gottfredson, 1985). Purkey (1988) holds that self-concept is learned and is largely drawn from one's experiences and

relationships with others. Therefore the exploration of the self-concepts of CDWs in EDF also draws from the environment in which they operate.

The way CDWs perceive their leadership is based on the exemplary lifestyles upon which they are elected. Although CDWs do not carry coercive power, some community members acknowledge them as leaders and therefore give them special recognition at all meetings and functions. Therefore, the way CDWs perceive themselves lies between being leaders on one end and ordinary people on the other. The voices below give a glimpse of how CDWs perceive themselves and their work:

I was trained as a community health worker (CHW) in this village and I have the responsibility to make sure that there is proper hygiene. I also ensure proper health of the people. When anyone is sick and I have any medicine then I give it to him or her. We teach the people on proper hygiene and about all the requirements that are needed in their homes (Nsemba, a CHW).

You cannot tell someone to build a pit latrine, a good kitchen or a dry rack when you don't have them at your home (Teri, Female TBA).

I work as a community resource person (CRP) in EDF and my work is to teach people in this village. EDF trained me and entrusted me with the duty of teaching people on farming and animal keeping (Balifaijo, Male CRP).

We are like other common people. Everyone is seen according to what they do, just like my colleague told you, someone who rears animals you see them according to how their animals look like (Iruku, Male CRP).

Central to the position of CDWs is that, just like the perceptions of the community they serve, CDWs perceptions of themselves oscillate between leadership and ordinary citizen. As a result CDW's service to the people involves guiding with 'expert knowledge' and working with them collaboratively. As ordinary citizens, they work with the people and live by example. As expert

educators or leaders, CDWs teach others based on their superior knowledge acquired both from past experience and from EDF.

As noted above, the aspect of education is central to the work of CDWs in EDF. Although CDWs are recruited and trained to give expert support to fellow community members, such support is expressed more so in the form of education. CDWs are largely known as *basomesa ba EDF* or, educators of EDF. CDWs are also known according to the specific roles they play. CHWs are called *basawo* (medical workers), TBAs as '*bazalisa*' (mid-wives) and CRPs as '*abalimisa*' (agriculture extension workers).

At the time of taking on these positions, CDWs usually associate leadership positions with power, money and certificates as a sign of accomplishment. However, along the way, these ambitions are met with a contrary reality. They later come to realize that their authority or recognition come from the guidance and service they give to fellow community members. It was further noted that due to these unmet expectations, some CDWs drop out along the way. CDWs, who remain, eventually re-negotiate their self-concept to the reality of being ordinary citizens.

The self-concept of CDWs has also been shaped by the negativity from a section of community members who ridicule them. Some people downplay their advice as 'just common knowledge'. Other community members, especially the rich and educated, were also reported to look down on them, their work and their advice. As a result, CDWs at times feel let down by the very people they sacrifice to serve.

It was also reported that CDWs themselves often misinterpret and exaggerate their mandates. According to medical guidelines in Uganda, TBAs are not supposed to attend to mothers with a first pregnancy and those with major ailments such as fits and the disabilities. However, some TBAs go against such guidelines, prompting government to severely restrict their services.

As noted above, the concept of CDWs is broad and sometimes context bound. The conceptual frameworks adopted for this study also helps to shed some light on the concept as:

- i. Nyerere (1982) and Freire (1978) give helpful insights for understanding CDWs in EDF and the implications of the stated perceptions to community development. Both educators note that CDWs occupy a special place as educators but caution that such leadership ought to meet peasants horizontally in a mutual relationship. Commenting on the role of CDWs as educators, Freire (1978) notes that:

If the educator takes refuge in his role as educator of the people without accepting his own need to be educated by the people, then his revolutionary oratory is counteracted by an alienating and reactionary practice ... many of these teachers are conditioned by their class position and the myths of their superiority in relations to the peasants and workers (Freire, 1978, p. 80).

In a related viewpoint, Nyerere notes that:

The teacher of adults is a leader, a guide along a path which all will travel together. The organizers and teachers in an adult education programme can be no more than that; to be effective therefore they have consciously to identify themselves with those who are participating in it primarily as learners (Nyerere, 1982, p. 43).

This means that community leadership ought to be exercised through collaborative guidance. Such leadership does not create overt influence over others. Equally, Freire holds that good leadership is like that of a democratic educator. Such leadership seeks to change others by first accepting to listen to their worldview. The relationship between democratic leaders and learners is dialectical and mediated by the world.

- ii. The concept of CDWs also brings to light aspects of what Freire (1985) considers the 'distorted vision of specialty' where leaders or educators meet with learners with 'the right knowledge' to people's problems. It was observed that some CDWs in EDF hold an aloof position and refer to themselves as caregivers, saviours, change agents and philanthropists of sorts. This attitude could further be explained by the influence of modernization theory which prescribes a generic approach to societal problems (Joshi,

2005; Youngman, 2000). Therefore the concept of CDWs in EDF lies between mutuality and superiority, a reflection of the clash between local and global views of community development (see Chapter 9).

### **8.3.4 Motivations for CDWs' position in EDF**

Appleford (2013) is in agreement with Razee et al. (2012) and Glenton et al. (2010) that voluntarism as a basis for rural community health workers is largely responsible for high attrition rates. However Razee et al. (2012) add that in the absence of structured wages, rural health workers tend to derive their motivation from social status bestowed by peers and the community. They too note that some rural health workers are motivated by community concern, desire to seek knowledge, self-esteem and non-financial benefits such as bicycles and access to medical care.

It was observed that community members express willingness to serve as CDWs with EDF, although the position is a voluntary one. This section serves to uncover these motivations. It emerged that people's motivations to serve as CDWs are based on a wide range of factors both personal and social. The image of EDF and what it stands for in the eyes of the communities plays a big motivational role. I have categorized the motivations for the position of CDWs into three categories based on findings presented below:

#### **8.3.4.1 Community spirit**

The philosophy of EDF espouses community ownership of the projects. The concept of participation and voluntarism is further discussed in chapter 9, as an aspect of power relations. Community members are called upon to volunteer in various capacities as a means of strengthening local ownership. The data generated in FGDs and the photovoice sessions highlight the aspect of voluntarism as a driver for community development workers in EDF.

I work as a community health worker for the betterment of our area ... And even to acquire knowledge, this time I could be helping a colleague and another time the problem could come to me (Poskali).

We help our village-mates especially the neighbours because for example when you keep your home very clean and your neighbours are not, the flies that come from their home to your home will affect you as well (Nsemba)

We do it for the betterment of our area ... There are times when someone can give you a token of appreciation which is also not bad (Nsemba, female TBA).

There are people who have a heart of voluntarism and such people even when they expect no payment or allowances they would never bypass you or pull out (Community member, Kidukuule).

CDWs attribute their spirit of voluntarism in EDF to factors such as community spirit and cultural values. Most CDWs argue that working for the betterment of the community provides them with a sense of satisfaction. However one community development worker added that: *oina okuculiraho ogu akweculiraho*, meaning 'You can only weep for one who is ready to weep for him/herself. The statement implies that they don't force anyone to join them. This is in agreement with Nyerere (1973; 1982), who holds that development cannot be enforced or imported. The spirit of voluntarism by CDWs in the work of EDF can be explained at two levels:

- i. Firstly it can perhaps be explained by the cultural values of the people that place a high regard on communal life and the common good. In the photovoice discussions, CDWs noted that group work is valued because it helps them to render a hand to the weak and elderly but also to pull up those considered lazy. It was also noted that community assets, such as feeder roads, are better maintained through shared responsibility. They also indicated that pursuing success at a household level cannot cause development. Using the example of sickness, they indicated that if one family has no latrine, flies can move from his home and infect other people. In similar philosophical terms, Nyerere (1968)

advocated for communalism built on African values as a mechanism to boost poor rural communities.

- ii. The community spirit can also be explained through the teachings of EDF, which emphasize group work as a means of achieving results quickly (see Chapter 5). EDF has built communal benefits into their approach to community development in support of group work. Benefits include shared equipment such as farming tools and seedlings, which are distributed for the benefit of group members. One cannot access these benefits unless one belongs to a group. These groups later become a support to members during bad and good times, such as the loss of a loved one. In tandem with Nyerere (1973), EDF holds that voluntarism goes with personal responsibility. Each benefiting member is expected to give back to other group members, although not necessarily in equal share.

Beneath the aspect of community spirit is personal benefit. As Nsemba above notes, in a bid to help other community members to improve cleanliness in their homes, she equally prevents disease from reaching her house. She noted that flies and disease cannot be confined to one homestead. The implication here is the contrast between communalism built into African cultural values and capitalism driven by Western ideology (Youngman, 2000; Babikwa, 2004). This contrast is also presented as a power struggle in chapter 9.

#### **8.3.4.2 Fame and integrity**

Some stakeholders of EDF believe that the position of CDW comes with fame and integrity from community members. The voices below refer to fame as one of the motivating factors for CDWs.

... when they go to the community after completing the training actually they are even more recognized by the community members than before the training... ... Also when it comes to study tours the focus is mainly on these leaders because when they move out to various places, they get exposed, have a lot to learn and in a way when they come to the community somehow their status will have raised (Paulo).

The CRPs work for free because they have a passion to lead but also for popularity (Community member).

However the issue of fame and integrity does not emerge at the point of selection and training. As earlier noted, selection is based on one's reputation and service to community. This is either as a model farmer, having better health standards or having a reputation as a traditional mid-wife. After training, CDWs acquire more recognition with added knowledge.

Fame is further acquired through the association with EDF. EDF is a highly regarded organization in this area and therefore whoever is associated with EDF receives public approval. All this raises the CDWs public image. It ought to be noted that most people who are served by EDF are illiterate and poor and CDWs thus come to represent the cream of this society.

#### **8.3.4.3 Monetary and tangible benefits**

Appleford (2013) asserts that different rewards to CHWs improve their retention and performance. Although the position of CDWs is presumed to be voluntary, there are some benefits associated with it that other community members envy and most expressed a desire to serve as CDWs if they could be selected. These benefits include allowances, learning tours, bicycles and water tanks. Facilities given to CDWs in aid of their work such as drug kits, mattresses and blankets are also considered a benefit, as one member of staff noted:

... we provide bicycles to aid their transport and usually encourage them to use the bicycles for their personal businesses like taking their produce to the market and helping them in taking their sick children to the health facilities among others... We give them a drug kit [CHWs] and it is not commercial but in one way or another it also helps them. Like if your child falls sick they get the chance to treat their own children from home and free of charge. Also the user fee we put there, there is a way how it helps (Sendi).

Also built into the policy and partnership with EDF is the opportunity for CDWs to be rewarded with a token of appreciation for services rendered to the community. This normally applies to the CHWs and TBAs. They render a service that would have otherwise been the responsibility of government. However, the challenge is that some community members are too poor to give this

reward. It remains at the discretion of a single CHW or TBA on how to deal with such situations, as noted below:

**Balifaijo (CRP):** But I see it is such a big task, keeping someone for 4 days, do they pay you any money?

**Noreda (TBA):** Yes, they sometimes give us a token of appreciation. But what if someone comes and you see that she has nothing at all, you just let her go.

EDF has recently spearheaded the formation of the Kibaale Community Health Volunteers Association (KCHVA). Through this association, EDF supports CHWs and TBAs with loans at low or no interest rate to boost their incomes. It is also proposed that in the near future, the same arrangement will be put in place for CRPs. As a justification for the idea of soft loans, one member of staff noted that:

... we have kind of helped them to form associations like KCHVA and supported by the EDF to start up income generating activities such that even when they are volunteers they can be able to earn something (Paulo).

It was noted, however, that not all CDWs appreciate the fact that their positions are voluntary. As can be noted from voices from the community and staff of EDF, some CDWs have a feeling that they deserve more for the services they render to the community:

EDF has got workers but those workers don't work for free and yet they also call us their workers and for us we work for free. So I was requesting that at least every year they should give us some allowance, so that we can know that we are their workers as well. It is wrong for them to ask us do some things under pressure yet they do not pay us or even appreciate us (Committee member of VDC).

The above findings regarding CDWs' motivations in EDF are significant in a number of ways:

- i. The notion of voluntarism upon which EDF anchors its concept of CDWs is reminiscent of the communal self-help and social support revered as an African virtue. This is aligned

to the *ujamaa* concept or family-hood (Nyerere, 1968). The concept of *ujaama* or African socialism was built on the spirit of family-hood where individuals are responsible for the community welfare and vice-versa (see Chapter 3). The choice of TBAs, for example, largely relies on and taps into the existing skills of men and women who work for the good of community. It was reported that payment is not a precondition, but a beneficiary can choose to bring a reward later, known as '*entashuro*' in the local custom.

It should be further stressed that the notions of communalism and the spirit of self-help among the local communities in this area are evident even outside the practice of EDF. As Brown (2007) notes, the conditions in which people in Sub-Saharan Africa live necessitate self-help projects organized on a communal arrangement akin to Nyerere's *ujamaa* philosophy (Che-mponda, 1984; Fatton, 1985; Jennings, 2007; Magesa, 2011; Major & Mulvihilland, 2009; Nyerere, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1980; Pratt, 1985). Therefore, the prevalence of communalism in rural African communities such as Kibaale, amidst capitalistic modes of production, is not by mere design but a form of survival amidst weak government systems. Unlike in Western societies where a sick person can call an ambulance or the police, in poor rural communities such as Kibaale, a sick person will instead shout out to the neighbours who will come to his/her rescue without asking for any payment or even tagging their assistance to a reciprocal arrangement.

- ii. The isolated voices of contestation against voluntarism by CDWs could possibly represent the dawn of Western capitalism, as a dominant ideology, in the new world order, as a determinant of social relations and modes of production (Babikwa, 2004; Youngman, 2000). What emerges from the case of EDF is that culture plays a significant role in development interventions and cultural values cannot easily be brushed away; but they are also not static (Freire, 2004).

## **8.4 Emerging insights from the exploration of CDWs in EDF**

### **8.4.1 Multiple perspectives of CDWs in EDF**

This section summarises the concept of CDWs as applied in EDF. As noted above, various stakeholders have come to conceive the concept of CDWs based on what they do or how they conduct themselves in the community. I have therefore identified four aspects that connote the meaning of CDWs in EDF. These include CDWs as extension agents, CDWs as first aid givers, CDWs as a ‘jack of all trades’ and CDWs as ordinary citizens.

#### **8.4.1.1 CDWs as ‘Extension agents’/change agents**

The concept of extension services is well established and is usually used in reference to technical assistance provided to rural people mostly in agriculture (Freire, 1972, 1973; Mbullu, 2004; Nyerere, 1973, 1980). However, such characterisation has been contested between the radical and the modernization schools of thought. Although the concept of CDWs is closely associated with extension agents, this is not a strong association in EDF. The concept of extension is often associated with conventional community development (Freire, 1972, 1973, 2004). In this section I bring out the aspects of extension work visible in the work of CDWs in EDF.

In a speech, while commissioning CDWs after completion of training, one member of senior management described CDWs as ‘*dogs*’, and the staff of EDF as ‘*hunters*’. The analogy was used to give a vivid explanation of why EDF embraced CDWs in their work and of the roles they are meant to play. In the local context, hunters use dogs to move ahead as they can easily track the hunted animal and even penetrate the thickest parts of the bush. Therefore, CDWs become indispensable as they can reach the grassroots where EDF technical staff may perhaps not reach. As extension agents, CDWs support the rural poor in various aspects of life, as noted above (8.2).

#### 8.4.1.2 CDWs as ‘first aid’

I also describe CDWs in EDF as ‘first aid’ because they act as the first level of support to the rural poor. In all the fields supported by EDF, they have gone ahead to train CDWs as first level support. Therefore CDWs in EDF are informed of their mandates and limitations.

The analogy of ‘first aid’ that describes the work and mandate of CDWs in EDF was used by a local government official, while officiating at the commissioning ceremony for CDWs. He described the role of CDWs as ‘*first-aid*’. This meant that CDWs are supposed to provide services where there are no qualified people in a specific area. He also used a Runyoro proverb to emphasize his point, stating ‘*enkoko eshonda aku eramire*’, which means that a hen will always pick what it is capable of swallowing. He specifically urged TBAs and CHWs to always refer complicated medical cases to health facilities staffed by professional medical workers.

#### 8.4.1.3 CDWs as “a jack of all trades ”

Although CDWs are trained to work in specialized fields of health, agriculture and TBAs, EDF also encourages them to be all-round workers. CDWs are urged to acquire small amounts of knowledge in all the areas of EDF foci. Other than the training they undergo, CDWs are also expected to be examples in the community in all aspects of life, particularly health and agriculture. In the following photovoice discussion, CDWs’ work and their expectations in society are revealed.

**Balifaijo (Male CRP):** ... and you see much as we specialize between TBAs, CHWs and CRPs, we still go ahead to work all round to reach the community in all aspects...

**Iruku (Male CRP);** You cannot tell someone who is sick to practice modern agriculture

**Poskali (Male CHW):** Now for us in health, we work as integrated CHWs because we work in the area of prevention but also curative. Someone can come when he [she] is sick, we treat them but also educate them how to keep healthy such as not sharing accommodation with animals, clean the surrounding, drinking boiled water ... and we even cross over to the work of CRPs.

As the saying goes: *'a jack of all trades, is a master of none'*. The above description of CDWs in EDF implies that as they try to be masters of everything, there is a danger that they may be found lacking in a specific field. I observed that community members too, expect CDWs to be of help in a wide range of issues. The high expectation of CDWs is also rooted in the special knowledge that they possess beyond the work of EDF. Both Freire (1972) and Nyerere (1973) applaud this notion of all-around leadership (see Chapter 7).

#### **8.4.1.4 CDWs as 'ordinary citizens'**

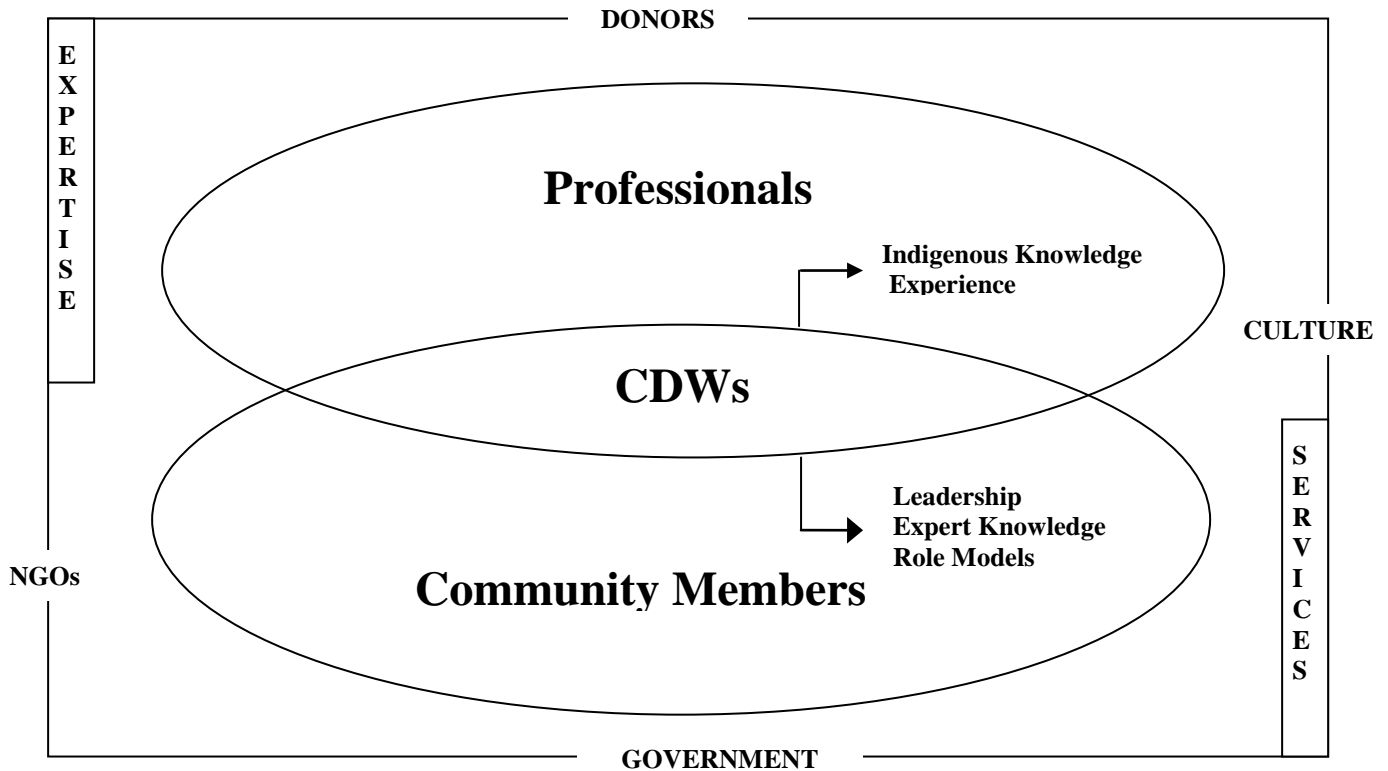
As discussed above, the concept of CDWs oscillates between perceiving them as being leaders and ordinary people. EDF notes that CDWs are not trained to lead but to work as role models among their peers in society. Indeed, CDWs are called upon to be humble and to work closely with others. A photovoice extract with Iruku and then an interview with Bintu below, illustrates this dual identity.

We are like other common people. Everyone is seen according to what they do, just like my colleague told you, someone who rears animals you see them according to how their animals look like (Iruku, Male CRP).

We don't train them to be leaders because we tell them they are under the leadership of the Local Council officials (Bintu).

CDWs are thus encouraged to lead by their exemplary lifestyles. Their special role is distinguished by what they do as farmers or owners of hygienic homesteads. I have developed the figure below to illustrate the position and work of CDWs in EDF.

**Figure 16: Community Development Workers' position and role in EDF**



The figure above describes the position of CDWs in a service delivery structure of EDF. CDWs are shown as part of a larger system of EDF in community development and service delivery interventions. This system involves the target community within which CDWs live and the professional arm of EDF that offers leadership and guidance. The arrows indicate that CDWs are a link between the community and EDF. They double as both consumers of EDF services as well as experts who provide services.

The two oval shapes represent two distinct actors, that is, professionals with expert Western knowledge acquired from schools; and local community members with indigenous knowledge rooted within local culture. The intersection between two Venn diagrams shows CDWs as a link between professionals in EDF and community members as consumers of EDF services. These CDWs are valued in either category because of the special attributes shown by the arrows. All this happens in a broader environment informed by donors, other sister NGOs in the district, culture and government.

## **8.4.2 Understanding CDWs in view of the theoretical framing**

EDF adopted the concept of CDWs as a quick, safe and expedient way of community entry and social transformation. In general terms, various stakeholders of EDF describe CDWs as a bridge, as educators, group leaders, and at times, link farmers (in the case of CRPs). The philosophical grounding of CDWs in EDF, as discussed above, is significant in a number of ways.

### **8.4.2.1 CDWs in view of the radical community development perspective**

The concept of CDWs in EDF conforms to the widely held view that community development, as a process, is better undertaken by insiders (Freire, 1972, 1973, 1978, 1982, 1985, 1998; McAreavey, 2009; Menike, 1997; Nyerere, 1973, 1980, 1982; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006). Nyerere (1973, p. 26) notes:

We have found that, if you want to introduce changes in a village more quickly, you do not necessarily go to the most educated person... You go to the person whom the people of that village respect and look to for leadership.

CDWs in EDF are not only part of these communities but are also elected by local people. In line with Nyerere (ibid) and Becker, Schwolsky-Fitch and Mantle (2013), the election of CDWs is based on tested roles, community spirit and exemplary lifestyles. It was also noted that the knowledge and expertise of CDWs is considered resourceful to the community and to EDF as an organization. Freire (1985) also holds that CDWs, as change agents, ought to be part of the people and willing to live and speak the ‘language’ of the people.

### **8.4.2.2 CDWs from the traditional development perspective**

The concept of CDWs in EDF is also associated with the traditional perspective of community development (Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006). The use of words such as change agents, extension agents and advisors presuppose that CDWs are para-professionals with something to give to poor people towards a ‘desirable’ direction (Mbullu, 2004). Menike (1997, p.25) notes that:

It is on this premise that many well-intentioned NGOs and government officials develop their programmes for empowering us ... For us, all this is quite hilarious. Those who plan their 'empowerment' interventions clearly do not understand our reality, our priorities, our wishes, our thought processes, our constraints and our needs.

Therefore, the role of CDWs in EDF is also closely linked to that of extension agents popular within agricultural programmes. Freire (1973) equates the work of an extension agent to cultural invasion that is, importing his /her world view to be imposed on peasants. According to Freire (2004), if the peasants were to properly implement a liberating education, then they would not have to succumb to the propaganda of the extension agents, as in the case of CDWs in EDF.

Equally, EDF's primary mandate is built on the principle of empowering the community to sustain themselves, and CDWs are agents of this agenda (EDF, 2010a). This sounds like a genuine concern but is premised on a questionable view that positions people as vulnerable and in need of external intervention to turn around their lives, as presented in Freirean critique, which relates the work of CDWs to that of extension agents (Freire, 1972). Ledwith (2001, p. 177) also notes that '... the community worker needs to be able to identify contradictions that are sold as real, neutral, logical, common sense by dominant ideologies'.

Freire further speaks of the detriments of using extension agents in community development projects, as is the case of CDWs in EDF. 'They do not listen to the people, but instead plan to teach them how to 'cast off the laziness which creates underdevelopment' (Freire, 1972, p. 124). In other words, professionals carry the 'right view of the world', which Freire considers dehumanizing and short of a liberating revolution.

A critical analysis of the work of CDWs and various village committees shows that there is a close relationship with what Freire (1972) describes as 'agents of the oppressor'. Most CDWs are too obsessed with the language of 'mere messengers' that is from EDF to the people. Their expressions seem to indicate that their work is largely to act as conduits of 'right information' from EDF to the people. This is what Freire calls a 'right message' from a superior and powerful

source to a ‘hapless audience’ who must swallow it wholesale without question. They also sound as if they have the key to the solutions of people’s problems.

### **8.4.2.3 CDWs in view of globalization**

It emerges from the case of EDF that the philosophical grounding of CDWs is a confrontation of ideologies. EDF’s philosophies, including CDWs’ fall between radical community development practices espoused by the NGO movement (Freire, 1972, 2004; Nyerere, 1973, 1980) and the Western ideology of modernization (Youngman, 2000). The notions of CDWs in EDF as extension agents draws from modernization theory backed by the Western model of development that seeks to ‘develop the backward’ hapless rural poor people in countries of the South (Freire, 2004).

Therefore, both Freire and Nyerere were more concerned with a pedagogical approach as an encounter between community development agents as educators and poor people. Nyerere (1973, p.25) asserts that ‘Educated people can give a lead – and should do so ... But they can only succeed in effecting changes ... if they work from a position within the society’. As noted above, EDF espouses this notion of CDWs, though is uncritical of its shortcomings in terms of implementation.

## **8.5 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the concept of CDWs as it is understood and enacted in EDF. It was noted that the concept was brought on board in the early days of EDF as a coping and sustainability strategy for reaching out to the grassroots. It also emerged that although CDWs trained as para-professionals in various fields, their major preoccupation is adult education. In spite of the noted benefits, the concept of CDWs in EDF is shrouded by inconsistencies and contradictions. Some of these inconsistencies relate to recruitment and training, remuneration and ways of working with local people.

## CHAPTER NINE

### 9.0 EMERGING ISSUES, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 9.1 Introduction

Rule and John (2011) talk of the purpose of the concluding chapter of a case study as closing and opening the case. This chapter serves both purposes. Chapters 6 to 8 highlighted the multiple perspectives of adult education in the community development work of EDF. This final chapter summarizes these perspectives by way of pulling the strings together to underscore the interconnectedness and tensions therein. Given the findings discussed in the preceding chapters, in this chapter, I engage with the same findings but use the lens of *power dynamics*.

The chapter is structured into four main sections. The first section describes the relationship between EDF and her partners as a form power dynamics. The second section also derives from the first one and diagrammatically describes the dynamic relationship between various actors in EDF. The third section is a reflection on the methodology used in the study, highlighting the major lessons learnt, its strengths and weakness and provides recommendations for future research. This section also provides a summary and overview of the entire study by revisiting the key research questions and pointing out how these have been addressed in different chapters. The fourth and final section of this chapter offers recommendations and conclusions. I will first discuss the power dynamics in EDF and then go on to show how they interact to shape the nature and character of EDF.

#### 9.2 Power dynamics as a lens of EDF

The concept of power dynamics emerged in this study to describe relationships between stakeholders of EDF. Power as a relationship concept is extensively explored by various theorists. Kim, Pinkley and Fragale (2005) define power as the ability to execute own will despite resistance. Witkins and Tisdell (2006) while quoting Foucault stress that power is not a

stationary condition but ever shifting based on the position of the holder in relation to a network of others. Therefore, ability to influence others may be based on consultation, coalition, pressure, exchange and personal appeal among others (Kim et al., 2005).

The Oxford English dictionary defines '*dynamic*' as a process or system characterised by constant change. According to Bourdieu as quoted by Witkins and Tisdell (2006), power dynamics or power relations are built on economic, social or cultural capital. Therefore a shift in any of these forms of capital has a potential to shift power relations in society. The concept of 'power dynamics' in this study is discussed through the theoretical frameworks of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972).

In chapters five, six, seven and eight, the case of EDF is described as an organization sitting at an intersection of multiple forces with varied interests and ideologies. A closer look at EDF shows a dedicated and charismatic organisation, with a heart for the people, in charge of EDF affairs. It further reveals a government failing in the provision of social services and spearheading of development, but taking on a supportive role for the success of EDF programmes. At the other end lies the donor community with a passion for making a difference in the lives of poor communities in Kibaale through partnership with EDF. The beneficiary communities, as they are known in EDF, have also revealed their stake by trying to engage with other stakeholders.

Having located this study in the critical paradigm, it's important to look beyond the surface and analyse the deeper meaning of asymmetrical power relations in EDF. The lens of power dynamics emerged from observations of stakeholder relations but was further sharpened by the educational theories of Nyerere (1973, 1980) and Freire (1972, 1973, 1978, 1985, 2004) guiding this study.

I will now discuss the forms of power relations identified from the case of EDF and later show how these relations have shaped the philosophy and modus operandi within EDF. Although the case of EDF revealed multiple power dynamics and forces, I will limit myself to just six of them, that is, individual personalities, EDF as an NGO, government, international development

partners, the community and gender. In a special way, I will also highlight the gender factor as the sixth form of power dynamics in EDF.

### **9.2.1 Individual personality as a power centre**

The case of EDF revealed that some individuals hold substantial power within the organization. Although EDF is a big organization with streamlined structures and policies in place, the personal human element came through as a strong influence in the work of EDF, including its understandings and practices of adult education. Individual influence at times goes beyond the formal positions and status held, as portrayed in the cases of Kwaga and Sendi, both members of senior management (see Chapter 5). Individual power and influence over others, and at times the organization, may be attributed to special knowledge, creativity and gender. Kwaga for example was mentioned by most staff members as having played a key role in mentoring them in adult education facilitation skills, although he himself lacks formal training in adult education. However, bearing in mind that both Kwaga and Sendi hold senior management positions, this perhaps speaks of the link between position and power (Kelly, Luke, & Green, 2008, p. ix).

However, the questions that remain unanswered and perhaps are of interest to future research, is whether we should celebrate or worry about such extraordinary talents and individual influence in the growth and management of NGOs in relation to issues of sustainability. For example, what chances do NGOs such as EDF have to continue in the event that such multi-talented, visionary and compassionate leaders leave? It is noted that unlike governments that have better systems for succession of leadership, the same is not true with NGOs. Power dynamics in relation to personality traits, in the study, is also associated with source of knowledge and age, as discussed below.

#### **9.2.1.1 Knowledge source and power**

It was observed that adult education skills acquired from formal training institutions, was given more credence than that acquired informally through experience and mentoring by colleagues. Educators in EDF with formal qualifications in adult education consider themselves better in

both training and community development work. They also believe that fellow staff members who have learnt through informal means are inadequate when it comes to teaching adults. This is despite the observation that showed that both categories of educators had fairly good skills in adult education facilitation.

The tendency by individuals with formal training in adult education to discount the knowledge of those with informally acquired knowledge reflects the political economy of knowledge that places more value on formal education as the major means by which knowledge is acquired. It is a Western kind of mentality relating to knowledge acquisition and certification, which ultimately places less value on informal learning and indigenous knowledge systems. Kelly et al., (2008) note that:

*...what counts as knowledge, who has access to such knowledge, and whose knowledge counts are interactionally accomplished and are potentially subject to questioning, critique, and change depending ... on the rules and regularities of the institutional, political, and economic fields where knowledge is constructed. Knowledge is not held in the “official” curriculum, although such curriculum supports and constrains the possibility of access to particular types of knowledge for all students (Kelly et al., 2008, p. ix).*

In the same way, some actors in EDF look down on indigenous knowledge and culture. Whereas some consider it a great resource, others think it is the cause of backwardness and lack of progressiveness. It is perhaps this thinking that justifies adult education from a Western perspective being promoted as a ‘key’ to socioeconomic transformation in Kibaale by EDF, as argued in chapter 6.

### **9.2.1.2 Power in relation to age**

*“When an old man dies, a library burns to the ground” (An African proverb)*

Leadership positions in EDF are offered based on individual attributes and commitment to serve the community. However, there seems to be an unwritten view that age comes with valuable knowledge. I observed that during community meetings, older people’s views are always sought especially on controversial issues. Age was also further valued when combined with the male gender.

In photovoice discussion, for example, participants mostly referred to the older men in the group to clarify issues that would appear contentious. This could partly be attributed to the common belief in this society that ‘*obukuru magezi*’ meaning, age is knowledge. This view is contrary to the Western knowledge systems, described above, which places more value on knowledge acquired via academic schooling. These contradictions therefore point to an ideological conflict within EDF.

## **9.2.2 EDF as a power centre**

The case of EDF revealed the power and influence of EDF as an organization among its partners, namely, the community, government and development partners. There was noted power by EDF over communities and power over and with government. The following section explores EDF’s power relations with the communities while the relations with government are discussed in the subsequent section.

### **9.2.2.1 Power relations between EDF and the community**

Through observations, FGDs and interviews, it was noted that the relationship between EDF and community members is characterized by asymmetrical power relations. Chapters five to eight showed that EDF and its staff endeavour to empower communities to have a voice in the affairs of the organization through consultations. These efforts, however, do not necessarily diminish

the power of EDF over the communities. This power is notably located in the education status of its employees, control over resources and the urban location of the organization. More often, there is reference to “beneficiary communities” rather than “partner communities” in the discourse and documents of EDF. Likewise, communities tend to use expressions such as ‘*EDF ekeija kutuyamba*’, implying EDF came to save us (see chapters 6 to 8). EDF is vividly portrayed as a saviour and provider not only of resources but also of the ‘right knowledge and ideas’.

### **9.2.2.2 Voluntarism or lack of options**

The concepts of participation and voluntarism in EDF, as presented in chapter 5 and discussed in chapter 8, were also seen as indicators of asymmetrical power relations. EDF promotes participation and voluntarism as grounding philosophies in their community development work. Although participation is assumed to be voluntary, there is no consultation with communities when projects are being written or funding is being sought from donors. Consultations were observed at implementation stage where communities are asked to cooperate and participate through voluntarism. CDWs are asked to volunteer for the good of the communities. In a FGD with members of a village health committee, members noted:

R1: Okay what I would say is that EDF would be giving us some reasonable facilitation [money] at least to buy a bottle of water as we walk in the sun

R2: Walking is not easy; some of us come from as far as three miles to the meeting place. It would be better if they gave us some allowance because we are also EDF workers.

The above assertion presents a contradiction in the understanding of roles among stakeholders of EDF. Whereas EDF management and staff refer to CDWs as volunteers, they [CDWs] look at themselves as workers. As seen in Chapter eight, the philosophy behind voluntarism in EDF is highly questioned. Some community volunteers largely feel that they ought to be rewarded just like full time staff of EDF. It appears that voluntarism is not a negotiated action but rather imposed from above. This suggests that perhaps voluntarism is located in power dynamics between EDF and the communities. The acceptance to volunteer could be a sign of vulnerability or limited options by the poor rural folk.

Therefore, the case of EDF provides a sense of the delicate relationship of working with poor communities (Razee, et al, 2012). The dilemma is about how to handle power imbalances with poor communities. Although organizations such as EDF go into partnerships with the communities to empower them in the development process, the issue of power relations ought to be carefully analyzed and managed. Freire (2004) is in agreement with Nyerere (1980) that community development begins with the people. This means that community development should be a peoples' project. Situations where poor people might feel that they are being exploited or used by the powerful alien elites, as could be argued in the case of EDF, should be avoided.

### **9.2.2.3 Power over and with government**

EDF has positioned itself as a partner with government in development interventions in Kibaale. As a result, the two institutions have come to respect and symbiotically relate with each other. EDF earns respect from government by virtue of its ability to deliver social services to the people but also to engage in development ventures such as supporting schools and health facilities. At a function to commission a group of CDWs, EDF donated five bicycles to the police force as a contribution towards fighting crime in the district. In other words, EDF has become a para-government of sorts. It is from such gestures that EDF has come to exert some power over government.

The case of EDF also highlights the growing influence of NGOs in adult education and development. Local people are at times more comfortable addressing their needs to EDF than to government, as noted in a photovoice discussion below:

**Balifaijo (Male CRP):** But government has not helped us much like EDF ... (chorus agreement) ... EDF has helped us more than government because their [EDF] programmes are brought close to the last man.

**Iruku (Male CRP):** ... the other good thing with EDF is that whenever they start a programme, they follow it up to the very end, but for government, when they talk they just stop at that. And people also give up because they expect little from the government.

EDF is also credited for transparency and being responsive to people's problems. As a result, most local people prefer to address their problems to EDF than government. One wonders what the implications of such a trend might be. Although some voices in EDF praise government for creating stability and hence creating confidence among development partners, Makoba (2002) and Muhumuza (2005) attribute the growth of NGOs to the collapse of government as a provider of social services to its citizens. Therefore, NGOs can only act as a stopgap measure and not a permanent solution to development challenges in the South (see Chapter 2).

### **9.2.3 Government as a power centre**

As noted above, the relations between EDF and government are characterized by power imbalance. Although in the above section, I stress the power of EDF over and with government, the reverse is also true. EDF seeks the goodwill of government at all levels of operation, that is, local councils 1 to 5 (see Chapter 5). EDF's collaboration with local officials is driven by the desire for the goodwill of government structures and the elected leaders at the grassroots. In an interview, one member of senior management in EDF recounted:

At first, we were using our own structures ... alongside the parallel structures of government. However, somehow some government officials felt that they were being left out and somehow you would find some of them trying to sabotage. Like when you mobilize the community for an activity, for them they work against you. So we have had such cases in the communities until such a time when we realized that there is need to involve these leaders especially the LC-1 [local council 1] chairpersons.

The above extract depicts the power of government over EDF. At a more strategic level, all NGO activities in Uganda are monitored by government through the NGO board under the ministry of Internal Affairs (see chapters 2 and 5). This is reportedly meant to ensure that NGO activities are

not in conflict with government development priorities or posing a threat to national security. It is from such controls that government exercises its power over NGOs, including EDF. Given such control and surveillance by government, one wonders how NGO work in Uganda can meaningfully spur development as independent bodies. As noted by Shivji (2004), other than being unevenly distributed, NGO services are duplicated and lacking peoples' mandate.

Government officials also participate in the training of CDWs in EDF, as a means of strengthening the cooperation (see chapters 7 and 8). Government participation in the training of CDWs also helps to ensure credibility of EDF training courses. All health related courses are approved by government and certificates have to be signed by the District Health officer. The implication here is that what would be assumed to be 'non-governmental' in EDF, becomes governmental. This poses a challenge to the autonomy, independence and distinctiveness of EDF from government.

The interesting scenario between EDF and the government is that both entities exert some form of power over the other, driven by their unique interests. Therefore, the relationship between government and EDF is symbiotic as they share a common interest, that is, working towards improving the lives of the people. The two institutions exist to enhance each other and their nature is shaped by this common agenda.

#### **9.2.4 The international community as a power centre**

One of the major stakeholders of EDF is the donor community, commonly referred to as development partners. Although this group is not reflected in the management structure of EDF (see Chapter 5), their influence in the affairs of EDF is substantial. EDF boasts of having about twenty different funding agencies, all from Western countries. The power of the donor community over EDF and consequently the poor communities in the South could be seen in two ways, that is, economic power and ideological superiority.

The analysis of EDF shows that while knowledge is put forward as the 'missing link' and therefore the major focus of their programmes, financial resources are equally a major factor. It

is therefore from these funds that donors derive their power over EDF and consequently the community. Therefore the design and nature of EDF programmes and projects reflect the ideals, priorities, demands and interests of the donor community.

Information from documents and websites of some development partners of EDF (Aidlink, 2012; Akvo, 2000; Simavi, 2009), reveals that each one of these donors have predetermined areas of focus. This means that for any NGO to benefit from such funding they need to align themselves to the prescribed conditions and priority areas of donors. In addition, beneficiary NGOs such as EDF must keep a cordial relationship in order to stand a chance for continued funding. As Menike (1997) notes, we could as well say that Southern NGOs such as EDF are transmitters of Northern partners' ideology and influence.

### **9.2.5 The community as a power centre**

Despite the importance of the stakeholders described above, the community is the anchor of EDF's work. The power dynamics described above seem to place the community in a rather weaker bargaining position. The presumed weaker position of the community is perhaps located in the lack of awareness of the power and influence they hold in the partnership (see Chapter 5). More often, community members describe EDF interventions as a privilege rather than a right, by using phrases such as: *EDF ekeija kutuyamba* or EDF came to help us.

However, on closer scrutiny, one realizes that the community as a stakeholder wields substantial power. The power of the community largely lies in the fact that it [community] gives all other players a reason to exist and act. In chapter 6, it was noted that the local community is also respected because of the indigenous knowledge that is considered vital in community development interventions. The selection of CDWs, discussed in chapter 8, also takes cognizance of community power based on local resources used in the process. Chapter 7 also indicated that adult education practices have over time have been anchored in cultural beliefs of the people. Nyerere (1980) stresses people's power when noting:

If the people are to be able to develop they must have power. They must be able to control their own activities within the framework of their village communities ... The people must participate not just in physical labour involved in economic development but also in the planning of it and the determination of priorities (Nyerere, 1980, p.53).

Similarly, Freire (2004) locates the power of the community in the knowledge and context in which they are situated when he notes that: 'Respect for popular knowledge, then, necessarily implies respect for cultural context' (Freire, 2004, p.72). Therefore the tradition of community development largely advocates for people power (Brennan, 2009; Campfens, 1997; Cinneide, 1987; Frank & Smith, 1999; Shaw, 2008; Swanepoel & De-Beer, 2006). EDF has accordingly tried to enlighten the community of their rights by involving them at various levels in community development work.

### **9.2.6 Gender as a form of asymmetrical power relations in EDF**

As noted in chapters 5 to 8, gender stands out as a source of asymmetrical power relations in EDF. The imbalances appear not because one sex is given special attention over the other but because the forces that are responsible for gender imbalances are not properly addressed (Longwe, 1997; Preece, 2009; World-Bank, 2010). In the first place, Kibaale in particular and Ugandan society in general, remain highly patriarchal. Therefore the superiority of men is an accepted norm amongst Ugandans. The asymmetrical power relations between women and men are built within the cultural and social structure of this society (Tuyizere, 2007; Kasya, 2008). Women recognize this relationship at both the family level and in public spaces such as community meetings (see Chapter 1 and 5). The question that emerges here is whether the existent gender imbalances can allow women to harness their full potential through the programmes of EDF.

EDF as an organization is hailed for having inspired both men and women to participate in development by taking advantage of their local resources and technology. Some projects such as the integrated community health programme (ICDP) give more focus to issues affecting women. However, voices from the communities indicated that the participation of women in EDF

programmes rests on the good will of their husbands. The majority of women who participate in EDF activities reported that they do so because their husbands approve of EDF's integrity and what it stands for.

Uganda has been hailed as one of the countries in Africa that has done well in promoting gender equality over the last quarter of the century (Kasya, 2008). In line with government's policy of affirmative action, all local development committees and health committees in EDF are required to have at least 40% of positions occupied by women. In every village where four CRPs are elected, two of these have to be women.

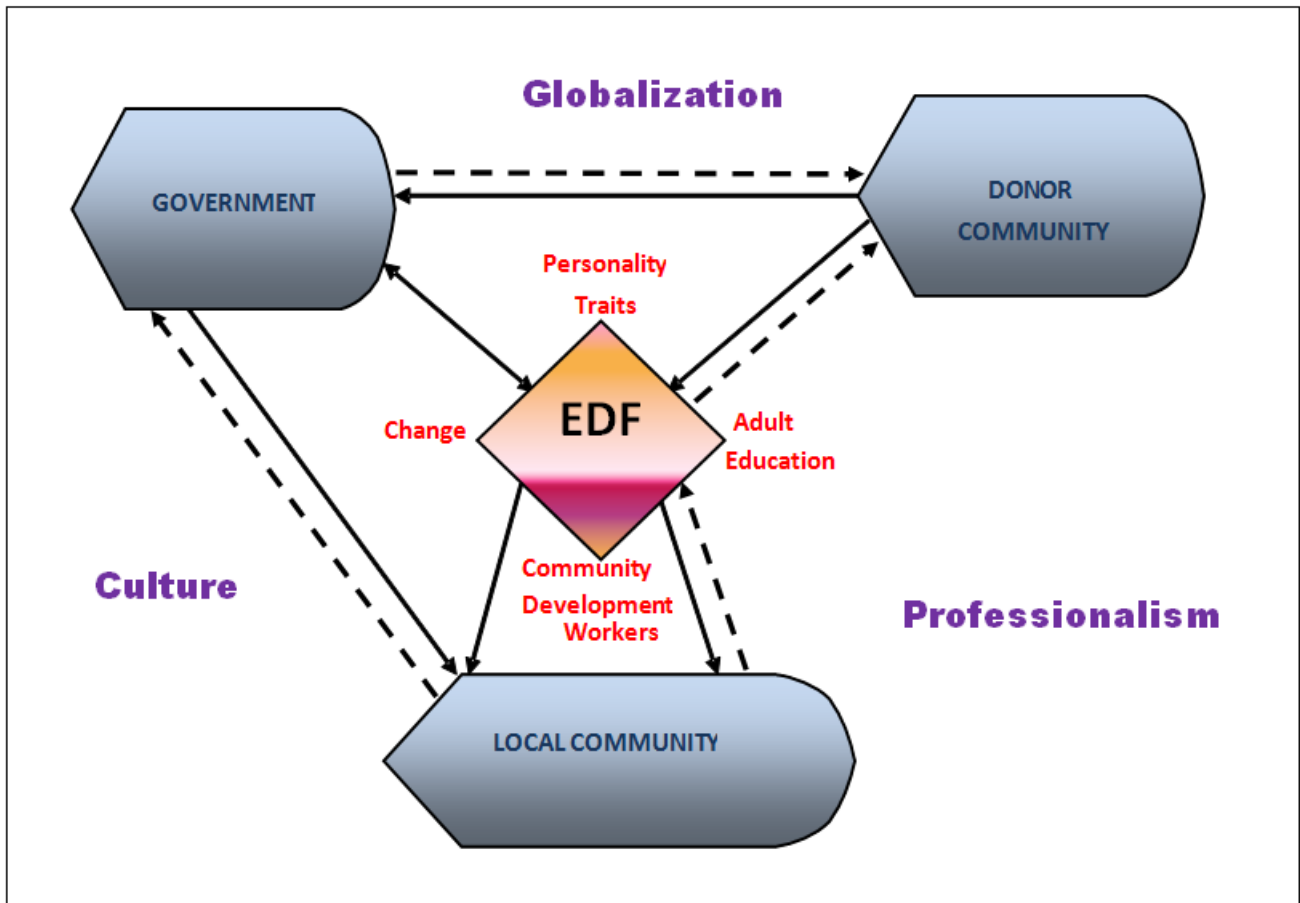
It could be observed from group interactions and discussions that women seldom interjected during discussions to advance an opinion or argument. Women's silence in focus group discussions and community meetings could therefore be attributed to the cultural and social structures that place women in subservient positions. It would appear that EDF is oblivious of the inherent barriers to women's participation within the social structure. It is this state of affairs that place women in EDF in a disadvantaged power position.

As Wyrod (2008) stresses, it is difficult to measure the degree of gender relations in Uganda based on Western standards. Tuyizere (2007) also notes that gender relations in Uganda are guided by cultural and religious traditions and therefore the society has come to appreciate certain standards. Accordingly, a rushed approach in issues of gender without paying much attention to these local values may cause a backlash. Therefore, although EDF efforts in flattening gender power relations are commendable, more can still be done.

### **9.3 A contextual relationship of EDF and its partners**

The power relations presented above seem to follow a pattern based on the different entities and the context of EDF. The diagram below provides a summative view of the case of EDF as discussed in this chapter. The diagram also serves a heuristic role whereby it builds ground for further research by the derivation of policy implications for practice. The patterns described below are emergent both from data and theoretical frameworks informing this study.

**Figure 17: Diagrammatical representation of EDF in relation to partners, context and power dynamics**



### 9.3.1 Linking the dimensions of the diagram

The above diagram illustrates the power relationships of EDF and her partners. EDF as an independent entity operates as a system but also part of a larger (global) system. It is this position of EDF within the larger system that has come to define its character. The arrows show power relationships between major stakeholders or partners with EDF (as explained below). The solid arrows depict strong and effective power relationships while the dotted lines show weaker relationships. All the noted relationships take place within the socio-political contextual environment of culture, professionalism and globalization.

The arrows indicate power relationships between the four partners in the work of EDF, that is, EDF, local community, government and donor community. The arrows also show the direction of power. One-directional arrow shows power from a single source while two-directional arrows show greater mutuality and two-way relationships, that is, power over and power with. Dotted lines show weak influences or relationships.

This diagram is composed of three layers, that is, the identity features of EDF strongly shaped by individual personalities such as Kwaga and Sendi (see Chapter 5), community development workers (Chapter 8), change and adult education (Chapter 6 and 7). The second layer consists of the main partners of EDF, which include government, local community and donor community. The third and final layer consists of the context of EDF, which is composed of local culture, globalization and professionalism (see Chapter 6). I will now explain these three layers as they help into looking into the past, the present and the future of EDF.

### **9.3.1.1 Identity of EDF**

The four edges/corners of the inner diamond depict the four aspects that have come to characterize the workings and image of EDF, which are, personality traits, change, adult education and CDWs.

#### **9.3.1.1.1 Personality traits**

Personality traits or drives were seen in chapter 5 as a force behind the initiation and transition of EDF from a social enterprise to a development organization. Since its inception, EDF has endeavoured to build an image of purpose propelled by individuals of distinguished acumen. It was therefore of interest to this study as to how such individuals emerge, build their image and that of the organization in different attempts at survival. As such, the personality factor has come to define the identity of EDF and what it stands for.

#### **9.3.1.1.2 Change**

Chapters 5 to 8 also highlight the concept of change that has characterized the life of EDF. The changes that EDF have gone through are linked to other layers of the diagram, namely, the socio-political context and different partnerships developed. EDF is continuously changing as a means of coping and ‘fitting-in’ to the context characterized by asymmetrical power relations. Therefore in a bid to cause change among the local people, EDF has had to change to keep abreast with changing times, interests, ideologies and conditions.

#### **9.3.1.1.3 Community development workers (CDWs)**

The ideological and situational changes in EDF necessitated the introduction of CDWs as grass-root community educators (see Chapter 8). CDWs have since come to characterize the identity of EDF in a sense that they enrich expert advice from technocrats with indigenous knowledge and serve as front-line workers and representatives of EDF. CDWs stand out at the intersection between the local community and EDF, thereby helping to attenuate power relations.

#### **9.3.1.1.4 Adult education**

Adult education has over time come to define the nature and character of EDF. Although EDF broadly described their major agenda as community development, their focus has increasingly been on adult education. Adult education has been described as the ‘missing link’, in relation to socioeconomic transformation. All major actors in EDF are literally seen as *abasomesa* or adult educators irrespective of their professional backgrounds and roles.

#### **9.3.1.2 Partnerships of and with EDF**

The second layer of the diagram is composed of EDF partners, that is, government, local community and donor community. The partners, as earlier discussed in chapter 5, have had tremendous impact on the image and character of EDF.

#### **9.3.1.2.1 The local community**

At one end, EDF is described as a community project where community members are encouraged to take the lead in initiating project goals. However at another end, the community describes EDF as an external force that has come to “save them” and help them address their socioeconomic challenges. In either case, the community is seen impacting on EDF, although from a weaker position.

#### **9.3.1.2.2 The government**

In discussing government as a power base, it was observed that such power in relation to EDF is both ‘over’ and ‘with’. It was noted that both EDF and government draw funds from Northern development partners, an implication that both entities are subjected to the same conditionality. It was also observed that both government and EDF serve the same community and offer more or less the same services.

#### **9.3.1.2.3 The donor community**

The donor community stands out as a critical partner in the work of EDF. Although donors are located some distance away from Kibaale, their influence in EDF is enormous. Donor influence can be seen in the programmes that EDF runs. Furthermore, inferences such as empowerment and transformation in relation to adult education in EDF could be attributed to the modernization development concept originating from the West.

#### **9.3.1.3 Contextual influence on EDF**

Chapter 5 discussed the contexts impacting on the work and philosophy of EDF. In the diagram above, I have summarized the key contextual features of EDF, as an outer layer, to include three components, namely: culture, globalization and professionalism.

#### **9.3.1.3.1 Culture**

Although EDF started as an independent entity with a mission and philosophy to improve the living conditions of the people of Kibaale, the culture of the people continues to exert some influence over EDF. In this diagram, culture constitutes factors such as patriarchy, religious beliefs and indigenous knowledge. The influence of culture of the people in Kibaale is noticeably fused with the work and philosophy of EDF (see chapters 6-8).

#### **9.3.1.3.2 Professionalism**

EDF operates in an environment characterized by professional fondness. EDF professes their focus as integrated community development that is, touching all aspects of the people. As a result, EDF employs and relates with a variety of professionals ranging from engineers, to social workers, health officials and medical workers, agriculture officials, environmental officials and adult educators. These professionals continue to impact on the work and philosophy of EDF. This is perhaps one of the contributory factors to the unstable and shifting ideology in EDF.

#### **9.3.1.3.3 Globalization**

Castells (2000) notes that globalization has come to signal a dominant culture positioning itself as being universal. Therefore, globalization presents itself as the new ideological mechanism through which societies around the world can best promote their socioeconomic interests. Although globalization has been presented and marketed by the Northern ‘development partners’ as the best development approach, its assumed benefits are highly inclined to benefit Northern partners (Castells, 2008; Steger, 2002; Sumner, 2008). Therefore Southern development partners such as EDF are caught within this universalistic development ideology while being in a weaker bargaining position.

### **9.3.2 Implications of power dynamics for policy and practice**

The concept of power dynamics that was adopted in this chapter as a lens was based on data but is also central in the frameworks of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972), which guided this study. The noted power relations help explain the changes or ideological shifts, programmes and practices in EDF. However, having worked from the critical paradigm, it is necessary to further interrogate the implications of these power dynamics beyond the sphere of EDF and to explore their broader impact for development policy and practice.

Of particular interest to policy and practice is how EDF has learnt to cope within the noted power dynamics. I will now use two metaphors or symbolic illustrations to explain how EDF has tried to cope within the power dynamics. A close analysis of EDF, her partners and contexts reveals two coping mechanisms, which can be represented by the concepts '*power-broker*' and '*fitting-in*'.

#### **9.3.2.1 EDF as a 'power-broker'**

The concept of a *power-broker* emerges from the position that EDF occupies in the diagram above and the power dynamics described therein. As noted in the diagram, the work of EDF involves several stakeholders with multiple interests. EDF stands at the centre linking these interests. The *power-broker* position of EDF is similar to that of a music conductor. Estrella (2013) describes the role of a music conductor by noting that: 'He [she] chooses and studies the music score, may make certain adjustments to it and relay his ideas to the performers so that when the music is played, there is unity and harmony' (Estrella 2013, online). In the same way, EDF serves to synchronize various players in order to produce a good melody or song for its diverse audiences.

The context of EDF discussed in chapter 5 and the findings in chapters 6 to 8 shows that EDF plays a harmonisation role of various power centres. EDF has over time built an identity of a broker of interests between the community, government and the donor community. It is therefore

these attributes of EDF in linking the needs of the community to donors at the other end of the world, which make EDF indispensable and such a powerful actor.

In terms of need, EDF is located in and also realizes the dire conditions in which people of Kibaale live, characterized by poverty, low agricultural output, ill health as a result of preventable diseases, lack of clean water and environmental destruction. At another end is the global context within which donors or development partners are located. EDF as a *power-broker* or *music conductor* recognizes the global conventions and commitments such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA). The international declarations and conventions re-direct resources in priority sectors for both governments and non-governmental organizations (Steger, 2002; Sumner, 2008 and Castells, 2006, 2008, 2010). It is in local-international resource gaps that EDF locates itself. EDF closes this gap by carrying out baseline surveys, which document the level and degree of need as a basis for fundable proposals that fit within the guidelines of donor agencies.

### **9.3.2.2 “Fitting-in”: negotiating the traps**

The concept of *fitting-in* emerged during data analysis in relation to how EDF has over time tried to align themselves to the context or environments in which they operate. Microsoft thesaurus dictionary uses a number of words and phrases to describe “*fitting-in*”. These include: assimilate, blend in, integrate, go well with, suit, squeeze in and cope with among others. Since its inception, EDF has transformed itself to align with the power centres, impacting on them as an organization. This has consequently influenced policy, programmes, foci and staff recruitment. This perhaps explains the continuum of views and practices on a range of issues such as curricula and pedagogy of adult education. In chapter 6 and 7, these contexts were also described as traps as they pose a challenge for EDF to negotiate. These traps can be categorized as either contextual or ideological traps.

#### **9.3.2.2.1 The Contextual trap**

The case study of EDF portrays context as a crucial factor concerning the changes that EDF has gone through over time. Most of these changes were necessitated by a desire to fit within the contexts so as to operate harmoniously and serve the people. In an interview, a member of senior management describes EDF's relationship with government by noting that:

So, at one point we came to realise that in communities where the local leaders are not supportive of the programs, they tended to lag behind. However, in areas where the local leaders were cooperative, you would see very quick results. So we realised that there was a need to bring these people [local government leadership] on board. We were using our own structures ... so; there were some conflicts (Paulo)

As noted by Paulo above, although EDF is aware of the challenges involved with partnership with government [perhaps with Northern donors as well], EDF still has had to bring them on board. There is noted effort by EDF to address local needs as perceived by the communities while at the same time being conscious of global influences. I therefore called this contextual relationship, the local-global trap. Therefore, EDF has had to make compromises or '*fit-in*' with these contexts in order to serve the people.

#### **9.3.2.2.2 Ideological traps**

One of the traps that EDF has had to negotiate in order to '*fit-in*' is ideological. An ideology can be said to be a specific world-view (Youngman, 2000). One such dilemma is the training of TBAs as a safeguard against maternal mortality. Although EDF still believes in the value of TBAs, the Ugandan government on the advice of WHO decided to halt the services of TBAs (see Chapter 8). This is now ultimately affecting the planning and programmes of EDF. The decision of government is obviously not in the interests of the local people in a situation where more than 50% of rural mothers still deliver with the assistance of TBAs (Ayebazibwe, 2012; Emurut, 2013; Kityo, 2013; Lanyero, 2012; Lirri, 2011).

Other ideological dilemmas relate to the way time and resources are deployed in the community development process. Freire's (1972) concept of conscientization and Nyerere's (1980) people-driven development are difficult to achieve, given the strict reporting procedures set by development partners. In the process, EDF has had to succumb to external pressures in the form of expert driven curriculum, expert knowledge and models and rushed interventions as opposed to a truly conscientization process.

John (2008) notes that researchers working from the critical paradigm do not stop at knowing but go further to question the status quo. Given the noted contextual and ideological dilemmas in which EDF operates, a number of questions arise, which include: What are the bigger implications of EDF being a *power-broker* and endeavouring to '*fit-in*'? What do these dilemmas mean for development and adult education in the South? How does EDF as a '*power-broker/music conductor*' go about promoting the voice of the people, and is this truly an African song? What does this mean for Southern NGOs if they have to please so many masters? Although I cannot fully provide adequate answers to these questions in this report, there are noted indicators that are worth mentioning. I will now try to respond in the section below.

### **9.3.2.3 A critical reflection on NGO-led development in the South**

Based on the above discussion, the following critical reflections are presented in relation to policy and practice of NGO-led development in the South based on the case of EDF. The reflective assertions below are guided by Youngman's (2000) political economy framework discussed in chapter 3, where he holds that the concept of adult in the Southern is driven by the concept of development as perceived from the North.

- i. As noted from the case of EDF, NGO-driven community development work in the South is characterized by power dynamics. According to Youngman (2000, p. 47), 'Different classes have different interests, and conflicts arise as they pursue these interests'. Therefore the power dynamics in EDF and perhaps other Southern NGOs are due to diverse partner interests that give rise to some form of conflict.
- ii. Although Southern NGOs have positioned themselves as voices of the powerless people, their missions are controlled by external, contextual and ideological forces. Youngman

(2000, p.47) notes that ‘the dominance of capitalistic mode of production at world level means that socioeconomic development in peripheral capitalistic countries of the South must be located within the context of the global political economy’. Therefore, the North-South partnership has tended to minimise the local *tune* while promoting the Northern *tune* as the development *song*.

- iii. EDF’s work and orientation is characterized by compromises of local and global perspectives and then modern and traditional practices. Although EDF prides itself in local knowledge and initiatives, there is equally high reliance on Western knowledge and technology. According to Youngman (2000), the existence of a conflict necessitates a compromise to ensure stability. The process of compromise usually favours the stronger party, and in this case, it is the Northern development partners over the Southern partners.
- iv. Amidst the compromises, EDF has tried to promote the local voices of the people. This is evident in a number of ways such as consultations before programme launch, incorporation of indigenous knowledge and the concept of CDWs, which serves as a link between the local people and EDF. What remains in doubt is the extent to which Southern development partners can stand to defend the rights of the vulnerable poor community members.
- v. Adult education in EDF is strongly characterized by the concept of development rooted in modernization ideology from the North. It is noted that poverty and ill-health are associated with ignorance and lack of skills (see Chapter 6). As Youngman (2000) notes, most adult education programmes supported by Northern development partners in the South are driven by the concept of development. Although the emergence and growth of adult education in EDF is described as the ‘*missing link*’ and is therefore situational, continued funding is linked to the Western ideology of modernization. Therefore Southern NGOs are left with limited options regarding the purpose of adult education, as discussed in chapter 2.
- vi. Southern NGOs such as EDF have to continuously negotiate what I called the contextual and ideological traps. Using the metaphor of the *music conductor*, Southern NGOs ought to be more mindful of the local *tune* or interests in the ensemble of local development. It is important to allow in voices of donors but the ultimate *tune* should reflect local interests and rhythms.

- vii. The case of EDF points to the fact that each Southern NGO, just like a *music conductor*, adopts a *unique ideology* or musical genre to move forward. Beyond being a broker, EDF has strived to also develop a corporate image. EDF has distinguished itself as a body with a unique ideology and purpose. It is from this image, that EDF commands respect from its partners to push its agendas. In other words, Southern NGOs should have limits to how far they can bend to accommodate external interests and ideology.
- viii. The struggle for development that reflects a true African *song*, as envisioned by Nyerere (1973, 1980), continues until development actors take full charge over financial and ideological decisions. This begins with an endeavour towards levelled power relations (Contu & Girei, 2013). These efforts also involve positioning the community not as a victim, but as an equal partner.

In a nutshell, EDF and perhaps other NGOs from the South, who rely heavily on support from the Northern partners, are constantly facing dilemmas of loyalties between local and global perspectives. This consequently affects their visions and how such visions are executed.

## **9.4 Reflections on the methodology**

### **9.4.1 Introduction**

This study was a qualitative investigation employing a case study research design within a critical theory paradigm (see Chapter 4). Case study research design is known for providing in-depth and holistic accounts of *phenomena within their context*, taking note of events and relationships (Bassegy, 1999; Baxter & Jack, 2008; Rule & John, 2011; Yin, 2009). The critical paradigm strengthened the design by allowing me to fully immerse myself in the study without fear of bringing my values into the study. Although I cannot claim that my research necessarily empowered the research participants and stakeholders in EDF, I can still highlight a few contributions and impacts of this study.

The critical paradigm allowed me to share ideas and reading materials with staff and management, especially articles that stressed good practices on adult education and community development work. I was able to share findings with key stakeholders and research participants both at a personal level (for key respondents) and in workshops that were organized specifically for this purpose. During a meeting with stakeholders, Kwaga, a member of senior management, recounted to colleagues ‘let’s pay attention carefully to these research findings because they are like an evaluation to us, and it is the first of its kind’. Based on the open communication policy of EDF and the spirit of a learning organization, I believe that some of the recommendations may be taken up and used to improve adult education in EDF.

While multiple methods of data collection were employed in this study (see Chapter 4), photovoice will be emphasized here for the particular value it brought to the study. Photovoice suited the case study research design very well because of its strong alignment to the critical paradigm and the theoretical frameworks that informed the study. The education theories of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) promote participatory and democratic ways of working with the people, and photovoice allowed for this to happen.

Photovoice availed participants/CDWs more space to name their world in a safer environment (Bananuka, & John, 2014; Freire, 1972; Stegenga, & Burks, 2013). The key concept in the educational theories of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) is dialogue. When I reflect on the findings generated through photovoice, as discussed in Chapter 8, I can identify five types of dialogue that the photovoice methodology fostered, that is, dialogue among participants, dialogue between participants and researcher, dialogue between participants and stakeholders, dialogue with self and community-wide dialogue (Bananuka & John, 2014). These are briefly expounded below.

#### **9.4.1.1.1 Dialogue among participants**

Photovoice allowed for participants to engage with each other in making meaning of their roles and experiences as CDWs. This engagement was, however, very much under the direction of the researcher. Photovoice released researcher-control and engendered a level of freedom amongst

participants in a way that none of the other methods could. It allowed for participants/CDWs to speak to each other with authority about their lives, work and experiences in the community and to flatten gender status and hierarchies. It was particularly encouraging to witness women CDWs showing levels of confidence, not seen before, as they presented, debated and challenged others' views about their work. The following extracts reveal the types of educational dialogue amongst participants:

**Iruku (Male CRP):** I have a small question to these TBAs, when these expectant mothers come for antenatal care or delivery, do you ever give them some lessons on family planning? Maybe telling them that there is a need to limit the number of children they can produce or that it is your liberty to produce as many as you want?

**Noreda (Female TBA):** Now, those are coming too. Just hold on ... but I strictly advise the man to care for his wife after delivery ... but we also talk to them about sex after delivery ... We normally tell the men that they need to give their wives time and not to hurry to be united again.

**Balifaijo (Male CRP):** But I see it is such a big task, keeping someone for 4 days, do they pay you?

**Noreda (Female TBA):** Yes, they sometimes give us a token of appreciation. But what if someone comes and you see that she has nothing at all, you just let her go.

The discussion above clearly shows the research participants moving to another level as they question and dialogue with each other. Not only did the photovoice discussions become a data gathering process but a learning process too, for the researcher and participants.

#### **9.4.1.2. Dialogue between participants and researcher**

Generating good quality data requires a productive rapport between researcher and participants (Castleden, Garvin, & First-Nation, 2008; Stegenga, & Burks, 2013). This can be achieved through skilfully conducted interviews and focus groups. Photovoice, however, was able to open up new dimensions of rapport and dialogue between researcher and participants as noted below:

**Balifaijo (Male-CRP):** I took the photograph on a road junction in the morning. I found two young men playing cards in morning hours. This means that it is a problem to development in our area. It also depicts a bad image to our community, just waking up to play cards instead of going to work ...

**PI:** It reminds me of an incident when I visited Buyaga in company of EDF staff and development partners. Someone made a comment that it looks like there is little attention by EDF to engage the youth in their activities. What do you think?

**Iruku (Male-CRP):** that's true ... (many voices agree) ... The youth appear largely nowhere in the activities of EDF. You see the youth tend to prefer things which bring in money so quickly such as '*bodaboda*' (commercial motorcycles), saloons and things like that ... there is need for EDF to engage them through things they like.

As noted from this dialogue, the researcher had earlier observed the low involvement of youth in EDF programmes. Photovoice provided a visual cue to pursue the issue further and this time in dialogue with the CDWs, who are critical stakeholders at the grassroots in the work of EDF. In addition to benefits of triangulation, this photograph fostered dialogue, which helped to fill gaps that had remained unanswered through observations, interviews and FGDs and ultimately to generate knowledge collectively. It should be observed that the main focus of EDF is agriculture, health, water and environment, which seems not to appeal to the youth.

#### **9.4.1.3. Dialogue between participants and stakeholders**

Photovoice has been reported as serving as a catalyst to action and change (Castleden et al., 2008; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012; Kramer et., 2013; Wang & Burris, 1994; Wang & Burris, 1997; Wiersma, 2011). Although there were no direct links to action in this study, it has been noted how the discussions opened up ideas on whom EDF was targeting and who they were not, for example the youth. It was further noted that such analysis has potential to lead to new interventions. In this study, photovoice also opened up a communication channel for participants with policy makers. Communities however seem to target EDF leadership rather than government and other stakeholders. Participants argued that government has in the past been inactive in addressing their problems. One participant noted that:

I think these photographs will help us to highlight the challenges we still face in our work. We would indeed be glad if EDF staff would occasionally join us when we are doing our work in our communities. Our people sometimes get used to us and take our messages for granted ... (interjection)... but EDF has largely been close to us whenever we call on them. But talking to government ... I don't know ... (interjection by CRP) ... but government has not helped much (**Iruku, Male CRP**).

The photographs were displayed at EDF head office and thus could be seen as opening up a dialogue between participants and EDF, as a key stakeholder. Such dialogue is a necessary precursor for change and action. As Wang and Burris (1994) note: photographs, unlike spoken words present both evidence and validation of shared concerns.

#### **9.4.1.4. Dialogue with self**

I am calling the fourth type of dialogue, which I identify in this study, dialogue with self. Here I see potential for photovoice to stimulate critical self-reflection at various points in the process. The example of self-reflection below illustrates this form of dialogue with self. It is noteworthy that this dialogue with self, on the part of a CDW and a community member, shows the potential of photovoice to also serve goals of educating and transforming practices:

Balifaijo (CRP): the photograph shows someone's homestead who is affiliated to EDF.

The goat's shelter shown was even built with the assistance of EDF and acts a demonstration to other farmers ... however; there is a saying that wherever there is a good thing, there is always a bad one too. This man was keeping unprocessed beans in the veranda instead of a store.

Researcher/PI: So, how did you help him? Did you advise him before leaving?  
(prolonged group laughter)

Balifaijo (CRP): Even he himself realized his mistake, because after taking other photographs, I also requested to take that one too. However, he first objected saying that it would depict badly on him ... however, when I explained the

purpose and the anonymity of his name, he accepted but we both agreed that it was indeed a mistake

The above example shows the CDW acting as a researcher as he is seen negotiating research ethics with community members. Not only did he ask for permission, he also explained the purpose of the photographs. It can also be observed that the research process moved beyond understanding, to attempting to foster change. The CDW-researcher challenged the community member to quickly put in place a food store. The initial objection for the photograph to be taken shows that the farmer had had a dialogue with self. This is in line with Mitchell (2011) who notes that visual research interventions play a critical role in educating and empowering communities (Castleden et al., 2008).

#### **9.4.1.5. Community-wide dialogue**

This is the final type of dialogue that the use of photovoice helped bring to light. While not evident in the present study, it could be important for deepening the participatory and consultative nature of photovoice research. I believe there is value in taking the photographs back to the community members, the people involved in the photographs taken by CDWs, for their input and analysis to stimulate dialogue and seek local solutions to their problems (Stephenson, 2012). This community-wide dialogue is recommended to researchers as a way of furthering the democratisation of knowledge making in community development research.

The use of photovoice with CDWs, who are a key group in the work of EDF, enhanced the critical paradigm lens and the theoretical lens from the frameworks of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972). This is also much in line with the tradition of adult education as a field of practice, which seeks to empower research participants in defining their world (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Usher, et al., 1997). Therefore the five forms of dialogue that emerged from this case study are considered vital for actors in adult education and community development work (Bananuka, & John, 2014).

## **9.4.2 Review of responses to key research questions**

Rule and John (2011) note that one good way to conclude a case study is by way of linking the findings to the research purpose or questions. In this section, I make an effort to link findings in the case of EDF with the research purpose and key research questions. This study was guided by four key research questions. These questions can be summarised into two main ones, that is, understanding and practice. The first question explored EDF's understandings of the role of adult education in community development, with specific focus on how adult education has emerged, the factors which have influenced adult education understandings, and stakeholder perspectives regarding interventions of EDF.

The literature indicates that there is a strong link between adult education and community development (see Chapter 2). The case of EDF helped to elucidate how the said relationship comes about from a contextual setting of a rural-based Ugandan NGO. Although EDF's agenda was primarily focused on community development through a social enterprise, this has changed overtime necessitating a shift in focus to adult education as a key means to enabling community development. As a result, actors in EDF have had to re-negotiate their expertise and roles to position themselves more as adult educators. The change in focus came about when actors in EDF realized that the 'missing link' in the fight against poverty and ill health in Kibaale was not resources but knowledge. One can say that the understanding of adult education in EDF has been context-driven and situational, based on needs of the time. Furthermore, EDF is currently largely known as an educational organization among its stakeholders.

The second research question sought to explore how EDF's understandings of adult education inform its programmes and practices. Findings indicate that adult education practices in EDF are influenced by the contexts, that is, culture, local and international policy, and ideology. Locally, cultural and gender considerations in Kibaale were noted as major influences on adult education practices. It is clear, for example, that the concepts of adult education and CDWs, discussed in chapters 7 and 8, were adapted in EDF as a sustainability strategy. It was also noted that adult education understandings and practices in EDF are influenced by government policy and priorities, as well as international agendas such as the MDGs. Two key metaphors were therefore

discussed in this study to illustrate the emergent position of EDF in relation to stakeholders and contexts, that is, EDF as a *power broker* and fitting-in respectively.

However, findings in this study pose further questions to the field and practice of adult education. The study adopted the concept on novice educators to describe various professionals and non-professionals engaged in adult education, albeit that they do not see or consider themselves as adult educators (Openjuru, 2004). Despite the qualifications they hold in disciplines other than adult education, their major roles and responsibilities focus on educating adults in various aspects of life. It is for this reason that community members refer to them as ‘*abasomesa ba EDF*’ or educators of EDF.

However, observations indicated that there was no remarkable difference in practical skills between trainers with formal training and those that have learnt informally. All educators, irrespective of the delivery mode through which they had acquired adult education facilitation skills, show good knowledge when it comes to practice, that is, curricula, pedagogy, learning environment and dealing with issues of power.

Questions that emerge from these findings relate to who defines the standards in adult education or whether adult education practice has definite standards. How can ‘novice’ adult education practitioners like those in EDF be accommodated in the ‘profession’? Does it make sense to categorize adult educators as novice and professional? If so, what then distinguishes adult education from general education practice? It is argued that adult education by nature is not a static discipline but varies according to context. Proponents from a progressive and radical school of thought argue that there can never be a standard approach to adult education practice (Freire, 1972, 1973, 1998; Giloux, 2010; Nyerere, 1973, 1982). Lindeman (1926) argues that adult education is an attempt to break the pattern of conformity. Therefore, good practice in adult education remains relative and diverse in view of context and prevailing circumstances.

It ought to be noted that the desire to over professionalize adult education has led to the isolation of good cadres such as EDF educators. Therefore adult education has fallen into a trap of what Finger and Asun (2001) call ‘learning our way out’. The more the field gets professionalized,

the more it shifts away from its target audience. Adult education is principally meant to target those neglected by the mainstream educational systems.

### **9.4.3 Review of the theoretical framework**

This study had adopted the educational theories of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) as frameworks to explain the dynamics in the case of EDF. Youngman's (2000) theory of political economy of adult education and development was subsequently adopted to explore issues of partnerships and globalization.

The theories of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1973) were particularly helpful in explaining the power relations that emerged between EDF and its stakeholders. Nyerere's education theory was helpful in explaining the evolvement and growth of understandings of adult education in EDF. Nyerere argues that adult education is coterminous with life; hence, its emergence is a sign of a person's endeavour for a better life. Adult education in EDF is therefore described as situational, having been identified as 'the missing link' in community development (see Chapter 6). Nyerere's (1973) position is further enhanced by Freire (1972) when he describes adult education as a liberation tool. During interviews most actors in EDF describe their educational programmes as an empowerment and transformational tool, a view propagated by Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972).

The theories of Nyerere and Freire helped to explain the practical application of adult education, covered in Chapter 7. Findings indicate that the delivery of adult education in EDF is largely guided by what could be considered the Freirian or Nyerere purview of adult education and community development. The two theories also provided a good lens for looking at the concept of CDWs, which is a core aspect of EDF work and philosophy. The concept of CDWs in EDF is a close equivalent of extension agents, who are comprehensively discussed by both Nyerere and Freire. Although Freire's early writing had blamed extension agents for being agents of an alien ideology, his later writing concurs with Nyerere that extension agents could play a vital role in community development work as long as they limit their contribution to that of a guide.

Youngman's (2000) framework, which was adopted later in the study, helped to explain adult education in EDF from a political economy perspective. The vitality of this perspective lies in the fact that adult education is viewed from a production perspective. This view seems to tie well with modernization theory, which has dominated development debates from a Western point of view (see Chapter 2). Given the power attributed to the donor community as a partner with EDF, Youngman's framework explains the interest of Northern development partners in the funding of adult education activities in EDF.

In spite of the noted strength of the frameworks used in this study, there remain unexplained issues pertaining to specific roles of individuals and organizations such as EDF, as independent entities. The case of EDF brought to light the critical role of individual actors, but also the growing influence of NGOs in development (see Chapter 5). The theories used in this study couldn't adequately explain these two aspects. Therefore Nyerere and Freire's vision for community development work still remains illusionary. The view that development begins with people has remained more rhetoric than reality, while the expert-driven approach is promoted in practice. One wonders what Nyerere and Freire would say about development work in Uganda today? If expert-driven development has not delivered the much desired results, who then is benefiting from this development? Could it be that development itself has become an enterprise? These questions could indeed warrant further research to unravel the development paradoxes in the South.

#### **9.4.4 Proposed areas for further research**

From a humble beginning, EDF has in one decade established itself as a critical player in socioeconomic development in Kibaale District. EDF has built a brand name in development work earning respect from both government and development partners. It is from such a niche that I describe EDF as a *'power broker'* in this study. The case of EDF therefore highlights the growing influence of NGOs in shaping community development work and service delivery. This trend seems to be setting a new agenda and relationship between NGOs and key development players. The growing influence of NGOs as a major broker of development work especially in

the South warrants further research. Such research could help in theorising NGO-led development work in the rural areas of the South.

EDF describes itself as a participatory organisation driven by people power. As to whether EDF's practices honour the tenets of Nyerere (1980) and Freire (1972) on participatory community development work could not be fully explored in this study (See chapter 9). A key question here is why is participatory approaches given so much rhetorical attention in community development interventions when in reality expert-driven development is practiced. Furthermore, if expert-driven development has not delivered much desired results, why then does it remain too strong on the ground? But more important questions are: "Who benefits from this type of development?" Could it be that expert-led development has become an enterprise in itself? These questions warrant further research.

This study also opened up another area of contestation as to whether credible adult education should be the preserve of pedagogy specialists or subject-area specialists in areas critical to community development such as agriculture, health, social work and environment. The question about the value of specialist as opposed to generalist adult educators, raised in EDF and noted by Nyerere (1980), still remains a point of major contention in the training of adult educators (Youngman, 2000). Further research could probe this issue and thus guide the training of adult educators.

## **9.5 Conclusions**

This chapter helped to illuminate power dynamics as lenses for understanding the nature and relationships of actors in EDF. The emergent lens of power dynamics aligned well with the educational theories of Nyerere (1973) and Freire (1972) used as frameworks. In the case of EDF, power dynamics are located within the interests and ideological orientation of stakeholders. Youngman's (2000) concept of political economy of adult education and development explains the basis of such interests in the neoliberal socioeconomic dispensation. The case of EDF has also provided multiple lenses for looking at adult education through the perspectives of a local non-governmental organization in Uganda. It had earlier been noted that NGOs engage in a lot of

adult education, although this role is hardly documented or later recognized. This study went some way to document adult education in EDF, but also the instances when various actors and professionals in EDF have had to learn to be adult educators in order to suit the community development agenda.

It has been observed that EDF sits at an intersection between the desire to contextualize a development strategy based on local needs, while trying to '*fit-in*' the national and international context. In either case, there are challenges and opportunities. Currently, the forces of globalization seem to pit the ideology of Northern partners against the local. When one reads funding guidelines from Northern donors, one notes common terms such as empowerment, sustainable development, gender focus and so on (McAreavey, 2009; Menike, 1997). However, from a critical analysis of partnership memoranda of association, one also notes limiting clauses to the realization of such values. These include time factor, reporting channels, budgeting processes and most importantly identifying what people need. Worse still, these standards are applied as a one-size-fits-all among funding beneficiaries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Therefore, the metaphor of EDF as a power broker and '*fitting-in*' are survival strategies amidst multiple interests and power dynamics.

The case of EDF also showed that adult education emerged as a situational need in community development. As noted from the literature, adult education is coterminous with life and cannot be separated from a person's endeavour for a better livelihood. The simple message emerging from the case of EDF is that community development is better tackled from people's own *world* in a rather slow and conscious process, with adult education at the heart of it all.

All in all, this case study has shown the emergence, growth and practice of adult education in EDF as a situational process propelled by multiple interests and ideological orientations. The asymmetrical power relations, which are non-coercive, covert and interest-driven, have gone on to shape the nature and character of EDF. Therefore EDF serves as an arena where multiple forces and interests are played out. The survival and image of EDF depends on how best these forces are managed.

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## 9.6 APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

- EDF Strategic plans: 2006-2008 and 2010-2012
- Reports on stakeholders sensitization workshops (several)
- Baseline study report on the socio-economic situation of rural households in Buyanja county, Kibaale District (2004)
- Monitoring and Evaluation Policy and guidelines by one of the donors (Aidlink) 2010
- Partnership approach to development 2010 (Aidlink)
- TOR Civil society Fund Block Grants Field Assessment (Aidlink)
- A number of facilitation/teaching aids
- Funding proposal, school water and sanitation programme, Buyanja county (2008)
- EDF newsletter Volume 1, Issue 1 (December, 2010)
- Newspaper articles on EDF in particular and Kibaale in general (several)
- Training manual for community health workers (2009)
- A Report on a series of monitoring visits conducted by the Programmes Director and ICHP Staff, in Kyebando and Matala Sub Counties (8<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> June 2010).
- Organizational website (<http://www.emesco.org.ug/>)
- Websites of selected donor agencies:
  - Aidlink-Ireland; (<http://www.aidlink.ie/>)
  - Gorta-Ireland; (<http://www.gorta.org/>)
  - LandsAid-Germany; (<http://www.landsaid.org/>)
- Other documents included: Minutes of staff meetings, reports to donors, monitoring and evaluation reports notices and posters, letters, pictures & drawings, memoranda, written curricula and timetables.

## Appendix 2: University of KwaZulu-Natal ethical clearance



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

Research Office, Govan Mbeki Centre  
Westville Campus  
Private Bag x54001  
DURBAN  
4000  
Tel No: +27 31 260 3587  
Fax No: +27 31 260 4609  
Ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

26 November 2010

**Mr. TH Bananuka (206526526)**  
School of Adult & Higher Education

Dear Mr. Bananuka

**PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/1337/010D**

**PROJECT TITLE: Adult Education for Community Development?: The case of a Ugandan non-governmental organization**

**EXPEDITED APPROVAL**

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process:

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....  
**Professor Steven Collings (Chair)**  
**HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

cc. Supervisor – Dr. V John  
cc. Mr. N Memela

## Appendix 3: Ethical clearance (Uganda National Council for Science and Technology)



### Uganda National Council For Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Your ref: ..... SS 2437

Date : ..... 04/11/2010

Our ref: .....

Mr. Hannington Bananuka Twine  
Institute of Adult and Continuing Education  
Makerere University  
P.O Box 7062  
Kampala

Dear Mr. Twine,

**RE: RESEARCH PROJECT, "ADULT EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT?: THE CASE OF A UGANDAN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION"**

This is to inform you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above research proposal on **October 20, 2010**. The approval will expire on **May 20, 2011**. If it is necessary to continue with the research beyond the expiry date, a request for continuation should be made in writing to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Any problems of a serious nature related to the execution of your research project should be brought to the attention of the UNCST, and any changes to the research protocol should not be implemented without UNCST's approval except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the research participant(s).

This letter also serves as proof of UNCST approval and as a reminder for you to submit to UNCST timely progress reports and a final report on completion of the research project.

Yours sincerely,

Leah Nawegulo  
for: Executive Secretary  
**UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

**LOCATION / CORRESPONDENCE**

Plot 3/517, Nasser Road  
P.O. Box 6884  
Kampala, Uganda

**COMMUNICATION**

TEL: (256) 414-250 499, (256) 414 705 500  
FAX: (256)414-234 579  
EMAIL: [uncst@starcom.co.ug](mailto:uncst@starcom.co.ug)  
WEBSITE: <http://www.uncst.go.ug>

## Appendix 4: EDF acceptance letter

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### EMESCO DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

P. O. BOX 32 KARUGUZA  
KIBAALE DISTRICT - UGANDA  
Telephone: +256-751-051182 • Email: [emesco@iwayafrica.com](mailto:emesco@iwayafrica.com)

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16<sup>th</sup> April 2010

Mr. Hannington Bananuka Twine  
C/O Dr. Vaughn M. John  
Centre for Adult Education  
Faculty of Education, UKZN  
Private Bag X01, Scottsville, 3209  
South Africa

Dear Mr. Twine,

Re: **Acceptance to Undertake Your Doctoral Research with Our Organisation**

We are duly in receipt of your letter in relation to the above subject dated 15<sup>th</sup> March 2010 for which we acknowledge receipt.

We are pleased to write accepting you to undertake your doctoral research with our organisation. We assure you of every possible support during your research work.

Sincerely yours,  
Emesco Development Foundation

Emely Kugonza (Mr)  
Executive Director

## Appendix 5: Clearance from office of the President



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

# OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PARLIAMENT BUILDING P. O. BOX 7168 KAMPALA, TELEPHONES: 254881/6, 343934, 343926, 343943, 233717, 344026, 230048, FAX: 235459/256143  
Email: secretary@op.go.ug, Website: www.officeofthepresident.go.ug

**ADM 154/212/01**

November 24, 2010

**The Resident District Commissioner**  
Kibale District

This is to introduce to you **Mr. Twine Hannington Bananuka** a Researcher who will be carrying out a research entitled "**Adult education for community development: the case of a Ugandan Non-Governmental Organization**" for a period of **06 (six) months** in your district.

He has undergone the necessary clearance to carry out the said project.

Please render him the necessary assistance.

By copy of this letter you **Mr. Twine Hannington Bananuka** is requested to report to the Resident District Commissioner of the above district before proceeding with the Research.

Alenga Rose  
**FOR: SECRETARY, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT**

Copy to: Mr. Twine Hannington Bananuka

## Appendix 6: Clearance from the office of the Resident District



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA  
**OFFICE OF THE RESIDENT DISTRICT COMMISSIONER**  
KIBAALE DISTRICT  
P.O. Box 2  
Karuguuza

---

8<sup>th</sup> February 2011

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:**

The bearer of this letter **Mr. Twine Hannington Bananuka** is doing research entitled "*Adult Education for Community Development: the case of a Ugandan Non-Governmental Organization*" for a period of six (06) months in Kibaale District.

Please accord him any necessary assistance.

Thank you.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Adrian Mbabazi'.

Adrian Mbabazi  
**RESIDENT DISTRICT COMMISSIONER - KIBAALE**

**Appendix 7: Draft consent letter**

**University of kwazulu-Natal  
Faculty of Education**



**Draft Consent Letter**

I ..... agree to participate in this study by Mr. Hannington Bananuka Twine of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (student Reg. No. 206526526) titled “*Adult Education for Community Development?: the case of a Ugandan Non-governmental organization*”. I do understand that:

1. The information I give will be used as part of the data needed for Mr. Twine’s Doctoral thesis
2. The data will be kept with the highest degree of confidentiality and that the right to remain anonymous in the course of reporting the findings of the study will be observed
3. My participation in the study is voluntary
4. I have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime of my choice
5. I am entitled to question anything that is not clear to me in the course of the interview, discussion or any other form of participation
6. I will be given time to understand and where necessary consult other people about certain points expressed in this document
7. I will be given chance to cross-check the resultant information before the final report on findings is written; and
8. I will be provided with feedback from this research, should I request such; and
9. In the event of wanting more clarification concerning my participation in this study, I can refer to the supervisor of the research project, Dr. Vaughn M. John of the University of KwaZulu-Natal on Tel. +27 33 260 5069 and Fax. +27 33 260 5756

On the basis of the above points, I hereby give my informed consent to take part in this study.

Signed.....Date.....

**Appendix 8: Draft consent letter/ Ebaaroha yo'kweyikiririza (local translation)**

**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL**  
**Faculty of Education**



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**  
Twine H. Bananuka  
Esimu: 0757-088258 /0772-515912  
Email: twineb@gmail.com

**Ebaaroha yo'kweyikiririza:**

Nyowe .....naikiriza kwetaba mukuseruliza kunu okwo'munyoro Hannington Bananuka Twine owa University eya KwaZulu-Natal (Enemba ye 206526526) okuseruliza kunu kuli ha *“Okusoma kwa abantu abakuru habwenkurakurana ye'kicweka? Ekyokuroraho ekitongole ekitali kya gavumenti mu Uganda”*. Nyetegerize nti;

1. Ebindagamba nibigenda kukoze sibwa omukusoma no'kuseruliza kwo'munyoro Twine.
2. Nibigenda kulindwa kurungi muno omunsita kandi nobutoleka ibara lyanze omukuranga eburugire mukuseruliza kunu.
3. Nyegondize kwetaba mukuseruliza kunu.
4. Nyine obugabe kurugamu rundi kwanga obwire bwona obundayenda
5. Nyine obugabe kukaguza ekikaguzo kyoona ekintetegerize mubwire bwokuseruliza kunu rundi mukwetaba mukintu kyoona.
6. Nja kuhebwa obwire kwetegeriza kurungi kandi obu kirayetagisa kukaguza abantu abandi ha bintu ebimu ebiri mukihandiko kinu.
7. Nja kuhebwa omugisa kuroraho ekihandiko kinu obu ekyokumalirra kitakahandikirwe.
8. Ninyijja kuhebwa omugisa gw'okumanya ebinyakurugire omukuseruruza, naba nkinsabire
9. Kakusinga nyenda kusoborolerwa okundi habikwatiraine no'kwetaba mu kuseruliza kunu, nsobora kukaguza omukuru wokuseruliza kunu, Dr. Vaughn M. John owa University eya KwaZulu-Natal ha simu +27 33 260 5069 na Fax. +27 33 260 5756

Kusigikira ha nsonga ezigambirweho eruguru, nyikirize kwetaba omu kuseruliza kunu.

Omukono.....Ebiro.....

## Appendix 9: Field questions

# Field Questions

### A semi-structured interview schedule for Executive Director/Programmes Director of EDF

#### **Introduction (purpose of study, interview format, duration etc)**

This interview is intended to generate information on how EDF understands the role of adult education in its community development work. The information will be used by Mr. Twine Bananuka, a student of the above named University, **Reg. No. 206526526**, to write a thesis that he will submit for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Your responses will be kept with the utmost degree of confidentiality it deserves and strictly used for academic purposes. Pseudonyms will be used during the time of reporting the study findings. Your cooperation in this study will highly be appreciated.

#### **Sectional A: Personal information**

Position in EDF	
Sex	
Age	
Duration of involvement with EDF	

#### **Section B: Main interview**

##### **1. Historical background of EDF**

- i. Tell me about the history of EDF as you know it? [Probe for origin, purpose, programmes, context etc]
- ii. What programmes and strategies are used to obtain your goals?
- iii. Tell me about the education component of EDFs work?
- iv. [Probe for origins, rational, purpose etc]
- v. How has adult education evolved in EDF work over the years?
- vi. What factors do you think have been responsible for such development?

##### **2. Employment of Programme officers and facilitators**

- i. When hiring staff, what skills and attributes do you normally consider? Is ability to deal or relate with communities as adults one of them?
- ii. Is there training or workshops offered by EDF to help facilitators to relate with adult community members?
- iii. I understand that in addition to local facilitators from EDF, you sometimes employ the services of external technical persons to facilitate training of CDWs. What criteria do you use when selecting such external facilitators? [Probe, if Knowledge and experience in

dealing with adults as learners is one of the criteria? E.g. is there an orientation course or professional development training for facilitators?]

- iv. What challenges does EDF and its staff face in execution of educational roles to CDWs and community members?

### **3. Community Development Workers selection, training and responsibilities**

- i. How do you select CDWs?
- ii. What level of education do you require of CDWs?
- iii. What are the main roles of CDWs?
- iv. How do these roles relate to education work?
- v. What training is provided for CDWs?
- vi. What challenges do CDWs face and how does EDF deal with these.
- vii. Other than the training, are there other ways in which CDWs are prepared by EDF on how to cope with their work and relate with community members?

### **4. Adult Education philosophy**

- i. On average, what percentage of your work is considered educational?
- ii. On average, what percentage of your budgets goes to educational materials and processes?
- iii. Do your funding proposals normally incorporate “adult education”? (Why and how?)
- iv. To what extent is your philosophy on adult education shared by your funders?
- v. Other than the technical support to rural communities (farmers, pregnant women and communities generally), how do you ensure sustainability of programmes you start in communities?
- vi. In general, how would you rate the role of adult education in the success of your work?

### **EDF and the Community**

- i. How are communities members referred to by EDF? i.e. beneficiaries, dependants, partners, stakeholders or etc. Why is such terminology used?
- ii. How do the communities relate to EDF? [probe; partner, provider of goods & services, educator etc]
- iii. How do they understand CDWs? [Probe; Do they look at them as community development agents, adult educators, resource persons or technical specialized persons in health/agriculture and birth attendants respectively?]
- iv. How has CDWs and community members influenced EDFs programmes and teaching?

### **Adult Education practice:**

I have observed that EDF is involved in various trainings, awareness-raising and sensitization campaigns at various levels. Can you tell me how about your activities and processes regarding Curricula, materials, assessment, learner support, pedagogy [probe for production, form/type, person responsible, when, why etc]

Is there any other information, you would like to share with me about your work with EDF?

**Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Cooperation**

## **Semi-structured interview schedule for EDF members of staff**

### **Introduction (purpose of study, interview format, duration etc)**

This interview is intended to generate information on how EDF understands the role of adult education in its community development work. The information will be used by Mr. Twine Bananuka, a student of the above named University, **Reg. No. 206526526**, to write a thesis that he will submit for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Your responses will be kept with the utmost degree of confidentiality it deserves and strictly used for academic purposes. Pseudonyms will be used during the time of reporting the study findings. Your cooperation in this study will highly be appreciated.

### **Sectional A: Personal information**

Name (Optional)	
Position at EDF	
Sex	
Age	
Time spent with EDF	

1. Education background
2. Employment background

### **Section B: Main interview**

- 1) How do you describe your main duties and responsibilities with EDF? [Probe and query Adult educator roles and identity]?
- 2) Have you heard about adult education? Do you have any training in adult education? Where and how long did it take?
- 3) I have observed that EDF is involved in various trainings, awareness-raising and sensitization campaigns at various levels. Can you tell me how you deal with issues of; materials, assessment, learner support, learning environment, pedagogy [probe for production, form/type, person responsible, when, why etc]
- 4) How do you ensure that your learners/stakeholder communities learn best?
- 5) Do you always follow a particular curriculum? Who decides and develops the learning curriculum? What process is followed in the development of this curriculum?
- 6) How would you describe your relationship with CDWs and stakeholder communities [Probe; in relation to AE]
- 7) How do you ensure that CDWs and stakeholder communities sustain the knowledge received on CD
- 8) Is there any more information, you can share with me about your work with EDF?

**Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Cooperation**

## **Semi- structured interview schedule for External Resource Persons**

### **Introduction (purpose of study, interview format, duration etc)**

This interview is intended to generate information on how EDF understands the role of adult education in its community development work. The information will be used by Mr. Twine Bananuka, a student of the above named University, **Reg. No. 206526526**, to write a thesis that he will submit for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Your responses will be kept with the utmost degree of confidentiality it deserves and strictly used for academic purposes. Pseudonyms will be used during the time of reporting the study findings. Your cooperation in this study will highly be appreciated.

### **Sectional A: Personal information**

Name (Optional)	
Organization	
Position	
Sex	
Age	
Time spent in partnership with EDF	

- 1) Education background
- 2) Employment background

### **Section B: Main Interview**

- 1) Which areas/modules do you facilitate at EDF?
- 2) How did you begin to offer services at EDF (who or how were you identified?)
- 3) How often do you facilitate at EDF?
- 4) To whom are you accountable as you execute your duties at EDF?
- 5) Have you ever heard about adult education? Do you consider your work with EDF as adult education? Do you have any training in adult education? Where and how long did it take?
- 6) To what extent do you see what you do as adult education or other ways? [Health education/Agriculture /gender etc], [probe for AE role/identity]
- 7) Is there any way your work with EDF has challenged you to learn/develop educator competence? [Probe whether this is ongoing].
- 8) How do you ensure that your learners (CHWs/CRPs/TBAs) learn best?
  - a. Learning environment (physical, social and psychological)
  - b. Facilitation style/methods
  - c. Learner assessment
  - d. Participation
  - e. Relationship/power dynamics in the classroom

- 9) Do you always follow a particular curriculum? Who decides and develops the learning curriculum? What process is followed in the development of this curriculum?
- 10) Can you tell me how you deal with issues of; materials, assessment, learner support, learning environment, pedagogy [probe for production, form/type, person responsible, when, why etc]
- 11) How do you find your participants (CDWs) as learners?
- 12) Is there any more information, you can share with me about your work with EDF?

**Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Cooperation**

## **Guiding points for Focus Group Discussions with selected community members**

### **Introduction (purpose of study, interview format, duration etc)**

This discussion is intended to generate information on how EDF understands the role of adult education in its community development work. The information will be used by Mr. Twine Bananuka, a student of the above named University, **Reg. No. 206526526**, to write a thesis that he will submit for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Your responses will be kept with the utmost degree of confidentiality it deserves and strictly used for academic purposes. Pseudonyms will be used during the time of reporting the study findings. Your cooperation in this study will highly be appreciated.

### **Sectional A: Personal information**

Names (optional)	Age	Sex	Community	Time spent with EDF
1)				
2)				
3)				
4)				
5)				
6)				

### **Section B: Discussion points**

- 1) How can you describe the work of EDF in your community? How much of this work can be considered educational?
- 2) How were you selected to participate in EDF programmes? Which programmes are you involved with?
- 3) Is there a situation where, some members of your community are not involved with EDF programmes?
- 4) I understand that occasionally, you attend educational programmes organized by EDF staff and CDWs concerning the development of your community. Tell me about;
  - a. The frequency of meetings
  - b. Language of instruction
  - c. How do you get informed
  - d. Where do you meet and for how long and which days and time?
  - e. Who determines what to discuss? Are you consulted on the topic?
  - f. What do you like most about these meetings?
  - g. What do you dislike or feel should be changed [ probe for materials, sitting arrangement, duration, venue, facilitation strategy etc]
- 5) How do you see your role in EDF work/programmes for your community?
- 6) How would you describe the benefits of EDF to your community?
- 7) What more do you think EDF can do for you?
- 8) What else do you think is important for this discussion in relation to your roles with EDF?

**Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Cooperation**

## Photo-voice method with CDWs

1. Use the cameras provided to take a number of pictures in your community that:
  - Shows what being a CDW (CHW, TBA or CRP) with EDF means
  - Shows the work you do for EDF
  - Reveals any fond memories and motivations for your work
  - Shows any object or equipment that you use in your work as a CDW.
  - Take any photo of your choice that you feel represents something dear about yourself as a CDW
2. Such pictures can be of;
  - A person or persons
  - Places or neighbourhoods
  - Meeting of sorts
  - Situation
  - Object(s) or equipment(s)
  - You are free to choose what pictures you want to take
3. Technical guidelines
  - Avoid facing the sun as you take photographs as light will affect the quality
  - Re-set the Camera, every after taking a photograph before taking another one
  - Keep the Camera away from children
  - Keep the Camera in a cool dry place (do not leave outside in the sun or rain)
  - It should not be in contact with water
  - Do not entrust the camera or photo-taking task to other people (unless you ask somebody else to take your own photo)
4. Presentation and discussion guidelines
  - Where did you take this photo from?
  - Why did you take this photograph?
  - What does this photograph remind you about your responsibilities in EDF?
  - What do other members think of the photograph
  - How do you/colleagues deal with opportunities and challenges emerging from the scenario presented by the photo in question
    - What advice can you/we give to EDF in handling the arising scenario?
    - What else do you think is important for this discussion in relation to your roles as CHWs with EDF?

## **Observation schedule**

### **Curriculum**

- Are there curricula for different learner groups?
- How is it organized?
- How and who develops it and why?
- Curriculum sequencing
- Is it content based or problem based?
- How flexible is it in terms of accommodating learner interests and emerging ideas?

### **Pedagogy**

- Problem-posing versus banking
- Power relations in learning
- Sequencing of learning ideas
- Applicability of learning to daily life of CDW trainees and community members

### **Learning environment**

- Sitting arrangements
- Use of learning aids
- Social interaction
- Learning direction (source of learning triangle i.e. Student, facilitator and environment)
- Learner support services (audio-visual aids, follow up, motivations, feedback etc)