

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: PRODEGE: POLICY TRANSFER TO SPARK EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Sonia del Socorro O'Connell, Doctorate of Philosophy, 2014

Dissertation directed by: Professor Nelly Stromquist
Department of International Education Policy

In 1968 the African country of Equatorial Guinea gained its independence after 200 years of Spanish colonial rule. Shortly thereafter it found itself under a difficult authoritarian regime which went as far as closing down its schools in 1975. When the schools were reopened in 1979 the devastated country left the schools languishing in disrepair. In 2006 a public-private partnership between the HESS Oil Corporation and the government of Equatorial Guinea proved a catalyst for an education reform entitled *Programa para el Desarrollo Educativo de Guinea Ecuatorial* (PRODEGE). The partnership contracted the Academy of Educational Development (AED) who designed a program of active learning based on the policy of *Escuela Nueva*. AED was given \$50 million dollars to implement the program in the country's primary rural schools.

This dissertation follows this transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* policy into Africa. Few researchers have been allowed into the country and as such this is one of the only dissertations written about the Equatoguinean schooling system. The study explores the current literature on policy transfer and seeks to expand the theories to encompass more complex endeavors as the findings of this study suggest is needed. Vertical case study methods lead to an analysis of how

the country's four decades under authoritarian rule have formed an unexpected cultural response to the transfer of this very democratically principled, bottom up policy.

PRODEGE: POLICY TRANSFER TO SPARK EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN EQUATORIAL
GUINEA

By

Sonia del Socorro O'Connell

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Nelly Stromquist – Chair
Professor Steve Klees
Professor Jing Lin
Professor Barbara Finkelstein
Professor Jennifer Rice

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ACRONYMS

AED – Academy for Educational Development

EIA -U.S. Energy Information Administration

EU – European Union

FYAP – First Year Action Plan

HESS – HESS oil corporation

IMF – International Monetary Fund

MECD – *Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Deportes* – Ministry of Education, Science and Sport

PRODEGE –*Programa para el Desarrollo Educativo de Guinea Ecuatorial* (PRODEGE)
Program for the Educational Development of Equatorial Guinea

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation studies a program entitled *Programa para el Desarrollo Educativo de Guinea Ecuatorial* (PRODEGE). Translated from the country's official Spanish language it means Program for the Educational Development of Equatorial Guinea (PRODEGE hereafter). A current development project, PRODEGE is based on the *Escuela Nueva* policy first tried in Colombia in the 1970s to solve the problem of the isolated rural one-room school house serving all five primary grades.

Context of Research Setting

The policy is being transferred into the unique setting of the country of Equatorial Guinea which is a small Central African nation with the distinction of being the only Spanish speaking country in sub-Saharan Africa. Smaller than the U.S. state of Maryland, it has a population of just 736,300 people (World Bank, 2014).

When Spain granted the country its independence in 1968, it handed over a country with one of the highest literacy rates in all of Africa. However, with independence, Equatorial Guinea lurched into an 11 year authoritarian regime which nearly destroyed the country's infrastructure and closed its schools in 1975 (Lipski, 2004). Most teachers left the country to work elsewhere. The schools were reopened shortly after a coup d'état in 1979 but they remain in poor condition (Krause, 2010). PRODEGE which started in 2006 is the first publicized effort at improving the national schooling system since the schools' reopening.

Life in Equatorial Guinea changed with the discovery of oil in the 1990s. Many transnational oil companies entered the nation with HESS oil becoming a major player six years into the development of oil production. According to public relations documents HESS oil supposedly had an eye towards the improvement of the country's plight, and in 2004 the head of

HESS Oil, John Hess, expressed interest to the president, Teodoro Obiang Nguema, in funding an education project for Equatorial Guinea. Since the government plans on nationalizing all oil plants but the industry has found that the work force needs more education in order to take over the plants, the president suggested an education project. The government and HESS both agreed to set aside \$40 million for a 10-year project, to be implemented in two five-year phases. The first phase would focus on primary schools and the second on secondary schools. Currently, the first five years of the project are completed and this dissertation will focus on this elementary school phase.

HESS initially agreed to provide \$20 million with the government matching the funding to total \$40 million. The amount would later be increased to \$50 million. The \$25 million that HESS gave to the project accounts for only a sliver of the billions of dollars the oil corporation has made exploiting the country's resource. The government's commitment was equally weak, evidenced by the fact that it did not pay its matching funds, until the project was well underway. It was three years down the road in 2009 that HESS saw the first of the government's matching funds. HESS also maintains complete control over the project's finances and rather than have money changing hands, the government pays for the project through payments of oil to HESS. This bypasses the Equatoguinean Treasury and the government bureaucracy, thereby saving time and potential government corruption (Kraus, 2010). PRODEGE is the product of this private-public partnership.

The Academy of Education Development (AED) was asked to implement PRODEGE. The organization operated for more than 50 years as a consulting firm working with education in the United States and abroad until it changed hands to become FHI360 in 2010. It self-identified as an non-governmental agency but was a for profit organization posed to work on PRODEGE

with years of experience on projects with major funding from USAID, the World Bank, IMF, etc. It had worked implementing the transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* policy in Latin American countries since the 1980s.

When HESS turned to AED for the implementation of PRODEGE it would not state the amount that it was prepared to pay for the project. Instead it instructed AED to conduct the initial project study's needs assessment and report how much money would be required and the budget was thus based on the actual need. AED is the sole designer and implements PRODEGE for HESS. The corporation planned to remain informed through monthly reports and a HESS committee planned to meet every three months in Houston, Texas to discuss the project's progress and challenges with AED (Kraus, 2010). During the first phase of PRODEGE AED dissolved and reemerged as FHI360¹. In 2011 PRODEGE management was being conducted by FHI 360, however all PRODEGE AED staff remained intact. The *Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Deportes* (MECD - Ministry of Education, Science and Sports) is the governmental agency in charge of implementation of PRODEGE as well. AED/FHI 360 has a panel of experts and education technical advisors with the program and has made it possible for ministry officials to shadow these experts in the day to day implementation of the program. The aim is to increase the capacity of the government officials to take over the project and continue its development once AED/FHI360 leaves. PRODEGE is currently considered a project under the MECD but the ministry is considering bringing it up to scale and making it a permanent program.

¹ USAID suspended AED from working on its projects based on an investigation that revealed "evidence of serious corporate misconduct, mismanagement, and a lack of internal controls, and raise serious concerns of corporate integrity" (USAID 2009). The head of AED also shockingly revealed his 2007 salary was \$879,530. All projects were sold to FHI and the head of AED then retired in 2010. Eventually AED ceased to exist and on July 1, 2011 became FHI360. This occurred in the last year of implementation of PRODEGE. However, the investigation surrounded projects in Afghanistan and Pakistan and did not affect the staff working on their implementation of PRODEGE.

Problem Statement

In 2004 UNESCO did a report on multigrade schools in Africa. These are the one room schoolhouses that have only one teacher for all four or five elementary grades. The report by UNESCO stated that Equatorial Guinea had 586 such multigrade schools which were inefficient with high repetition and dropout rates. The teachers were not highly qualified and not able to cope with the large class sizes of up to 150 students. The situation was critical in Equatorial Guinea, with schools with no electricity, no running water, or any bathroom facilities. At present there are some schools that did not even have their own building and could be found functioning in a chapel in a church (UNESCO, 2004).

When PRODEGE started, AED also found the situation dire. At the onset the country did not know how many schools it had or how many students attended the schools. No school map was available before PRODEGE actually mapped out all schools with a special GPS data based system which produced a map of the schools in the country as well as a listing of enrollment and teacher information for each school. Before PRODEGE there was no information system in place or any data to be used for the creation of education policy. For this reason very little information has been written about the educational system of Equatorial Guinea.

AED also found that many of the teachers were actually just village volunteers that had finished only primary school themselves and few teachers were certified. A two-year teacher training and certification program for 1200 teachers (almost half of the total teachers in the country) was instituted as part of PRODEGE and led to the certification of 982 teachers. University students were selected to train in Venezuela on an active learning practicum development in order to infuse active learning methodology in the University and a lab school

was attached to the University for student teaching. There was also a teacher tutor program to coincide with the active school facilitator program addressing teaching quality.

When AED started work more than one-third of the students repeated first grade leading to a 20 percent total elementary school dropout rate (PRODEGE, 2010). For this reason, as they mapped out the schools, they also gave out a survey for the predominately male teachers in first grade. The survey results revealed that the teachers had little knowledge of active school pedagogy, working instead with traditional practices of dictation, copying and little active participation. It was therefore decided to focus PRODEGE's first five years on active schools methodology, particularly in first grade. However, since most schools were multigrade, this first grade focus included all teachers. Initially the program started with just 40 model or demonstration schools to be infused with active learning. The active schools component of PRODEGE is the focus of this dissertation.

Action Plan

After the needs assessment was completed in 2005, work began on the ten year project. As mentioned above, currently, the first five year plan has been completed. A timeline included as Appendix C will help follow the implementation of this first phase. The second phase has been in the process of renegotiation for the last two years. PRODEGE's website is no longer active, however, according to the earlier PRODEGE's website (<http://redprodege.org/>) these are the goals of the program in their entirety:

Ten Year Strategic Vision for Education in Equatorial Guinea

AED's initial study of the education system in Equatorial Guinea concluded that teacher development and child learning are priorities for educational improvement. For this reason, the program's focus is on teacher development and child-centered active schools.

The plan for the second five years will enable the national expansion of successful experiences to reach all schools, and achievements in primary education will be expanded to post primary education and youth development. In ten years, the strategy for improving quality in education will bring together a variety of quality changes in child and youth learning, in the classroom, in schools, in the community, and in the management of the education system.

The Five Year Action Plan

The goal of the initial five year program is to launch the transformation of the nation's educational system, focusing on primary education, into a high quality source of educated young men and women, and to provide children and youth with the skills needed to succeed in the socioeconomic development of the country. During these five years hundreds of teachers were trained, active learning training materials were distributed and modern instructional methods were developed and adapted by local education professionals to meet school needs.

The Goals of the Five Year Action Plan (FYAP) include:

- A national active learning program based on the specific needs and aspirations of Equatoguineans.
- Forty model primary schools with teachers using active learning approaches in the classroom and improving girls' and boys' academic performance. Model schools remodeled and equipped with furniture, learning materials, and school supplies.
- An accelerated teacher certification program developed for upgrading the teaching quality of teachers in need of formal training.
- Two National Quality Teaching Laboratories in existing facilities of the National Teacher Development Colleges in Malabo and Bata. Laboratories focused on giving practical and effective teaching skills to new teachers.

- Twelve hundred teachers applying active learning principles and methodology in their classrooms.
- Capacity building of the MECD, including a policy planning forum that provides leadership in quality change and uses accurate education information system to plan for future reform efforts.

The implementation of this FYAP will result in a functioning model for education in Equatorial Guinea, which can be expanded nationwide. Progress on these activities will be monitored and evaluated jointly with the government and Hess Corporation

These goals led to an action plan for the PRODEGE project. The first two goals are the most important to my study of the transfer of policy. Active learning in primary schools is at the core of the *Escuela Nueva* policy that is being transferred to Equatorial Guinea.

Purpose and Significance of Study

This study will explore how Equatorial Guinea set about changing its school system with a transfer of policy first used some 40 years ago in South America. It will examine a private public partnership forged by an oil company and a government that set off the phenomena of educational borrowing in Equatorial Guinea by providing the opportunity for a for-profit educational consulting firm, Academy for Educational Development (AED) to use its expertise in designing the first primary school education reform in Equatorial Guinea's history since its independence from Spain in 1968.

The purpose of this dissertation is three-fold. The first purpose is to explore the transfer of policy theories in action. Does the literature on the transfer of policy address the transfer of policy that has been put into motion by outside forces with willing nations? Are the theories that center on policy transfer a key referent for the examination of policy implementation at every

level, especially reaching to the classroom level? According to the theories explained below, the very poor results from the needs assessment done in preparation of PRODEGE would supposedly cause a nation to be willing to adopt a policy proposed by outside forces. *Escuela Nueva* has been a very successful education innovation which has been transferred to many countries. Its adoption has been proven beneficial elsewhere and this success should serve to convince other host nations to accept the policy as its own, if the policies explained below hold true. However, this is the first time that *Escuela Nueva* has been transferred into an African setting. Equatorial Guinea did not find the policy on its own. The policy was possibly chosen by outside forces at a time that the government was grappling with an economic boom its educational system was unprepared for. This will be a study that explores the decision to take on *Escuela Nueva* as a case of policy transfer and its acceptance into a difficult context. The results of this exploration should serve to further the understanding of policy transfer and the theories surrounding it.

The second purpose is to follow the adaptation of the *Escuela Nueva* policy. This will require comparing the features of *Escuela Nueva* previously identified as required for success with those in place now in Equatorial Guinea. Studies show that the *Escuela Nueva* innovation has been successful in its transfer when it has been adapted by the country it is transferred to (McGinn, 1996; Schiefelbein, 2002). It must be molded to fit into its new context and it is an innovation that lends itself to this molding; yet, there are core features that need to be in place. These elements will be looked for in order to find adaptation.

Finally, Equatorial Guinea is an especially isolated and heretofore understudied African setting. Its educational system has rarely been examined. This study could serve as a point of reflection for a country that is quickly developing infrastructure and slowly addressing the social

services needed to sustain this rapid growth. The results of this study will inform national education authorities as well as all PRODEGE staff of the features necessary to sustain the policy transfer. All measures should prove useful to other African countries considering the transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* innovation into their educational systems.

Research Questions

This study was guided by three primary questions.

1. How was the *Escuela Nueva Policy* chosen for an education reform of the Equatorial Guinean Education System?
2. How were the essential elements of the *Escuela Nueva Policy* adopted, adapted or neglected in order for the policy to settle into the rural classrooms in Equatorial Guinea?
3. Who and what factors have been most influential in the possible indigenization/divergence of this innovation?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Policy Transfer Theories

The academic literature was reviewed to identify all potential reasons for borrowing or lending of educational policies or innovations in order to inform how it was done in Equatorial Guinea. The following theories emerge as the most important: Externalization Theory by Jurgen Schriewer; the Theory of Policy Attraction by David Phillips; Three Approaches by Gita Steiner-Khamis: The Consensus Approach, The Conflict Approach and the Culturalist Approach; and finally, the Theory of Certification and Decertification by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly. These are all very important theories in the field and will serve to guide my study.

Schriewer's Externalization Theory

Jurgen Schriewer developed a theory in 1990 to answer the question of why a country looks outside its borders to find a solution to its education problem. He starts with Luhman's reflexion theory written in 1997. This is where it is thought that an education system, or a country forming its education system, has a self-referential and reflexivity system that allows it to reflect on itself. The country looks within its borders for solutions to problems for self-control and self-knowledge. However, self-referential systems need some interdependence. They open up and look elsewhere for stimuli, international perspective and solutions. Schriewer (1990) believes looking outside the system stabilizes the system itself and makes it totally bounded as an autonomous system from other systems and the environment. He explains that looking elsewhere for policy happens when looking within fails to solve the problem. Schriewer also speaks of the interruption of the self-reflexivity of a country forming its education policy when a policy is imposed on it from somewhere else. The case of *Escuela Unitaria* tried several years

before in Colombia illustrates this point. Before it, few rural schools in Colombia had ever been given any trainings or materials. UNESCO was able to answer its needs with a policy formulated by experts from other countries all meeting in Switzerland. Colombia was willing to accept this policy as it had not formulated a solution on its own. This follows Schriewer's theory of externalization.

The theory seems fairly straightforward and leaves one with the sense that a transfer of policy follows a unilinear path. Externalization allows us to explore how and why a nation uses foreign policies and will prove useful to this dissertation. However, it does not account for the historical and cultural reference embodied in the policy being transferred nor how the borrowing nation may ignore that history and culture, instead enveloping the policy with its own culture and history. Luhman's theories of self-referential social systems take the internal historical and cultural factors into account when a country considers knowledge production. On the other hand externalization is more about reacting to an internal change and filtering the reception of an international environment once introduced to a given system to solve an internal problem (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

Phillips' Theory of Policy Attraction

Besides Schriewer's externalization theory explained above, David Phillips (2004) formulates a theory that he calls "policy attraction". He states that there must be a stimulus or catalyst that makes a nation look beyond its borders to find a solution to problems. This stimulus can be the end of a devastating war, political change, natural disaster, new alliances with other countries, or mounting internal dissatisfaction. Phillips then considers four stages in response to this catalyst. In stage one there is then an attraction to policies that have "externalizing potential". The borrower looks to a target country for its policy because of a desire for the same

level of development or a feel that the policy can fit in the borrowing country because the borrowing nation feels they are similar to the target nation or a policy itself can also be noticed for its success.

In Phillips' second stage there are decisions made. These decisions can be made with the true hope of finding guidance in the other nation's reform or they can be phony decisions just looking to the appealing features of the policy they are attracted to. The decision can be realistic with considerable planning for its implementation taken into account, or can just be acceptance of a quick solution. Phillips' third stage then is the implementation and subsequent adaptation done in the borrower nation including any resistance. And finally Phillips' fourth stage is the process of absorption into the borrower country's systems. This final stage may act as a stimulus for the reform process to begin again with different outcomes.

Phillips has diagrammatically presented his theory as a continuous circular progression as this theory focuses on the progression of the policy into its new environment. When Phillips arrives at the final stage of indigenization it is for a look at how the whole process would start again. Lingering in the complexities of a policy transfer is not called for.

The two theories of externalization and policy attraction both speak of countries that are ready for accepting policies elsewhere from the view point of people living in more developed and willing countries that can easily cross borders for ideas. The theories speak from a European perspective of close neighboring countries that are at the stage in development and reflection necessary for a country to successfully seek and implement policies on their quest for a better education system. This type of transfer includes an informed decision making which in reality does not always exist today.

Steiner-Khamsi is a foremost scholar on the transfer of policy. She has three approaches for people to use in analyzing the transfer of policies. In her consensus approach she includes the two theories above but develops these theories to the final outcome of an international model of education. She then also looks at transfer of policy from two other approaches: the conflict approach and the culturalist approach. These last two approaches include situations where policy transfer is imposed on a country which is much more complex. Imposition includes a variety of differing local reactions and problematic impact. The following are a summary of all three of her approaches.

Steiner-Khamsi's Consensus Approach

With the consensus approach Steiner Khamsi watches education systems developing along the same lines as global modernization; transcending nations and evoking the same response from educational systems. This leads to a convergent educational system that emerges as an international model. The idea is that nations look beyond borders for something that looks appealing. If it does not work it supposedly should not survive as a policy to be borrowed again later as only the successful policies should remain as part of the international model.

But the problem is that there are many examples of unsuccessful policies being transferred. For example, Thomas Luschei (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) chronicles the beginning of *Escola Ativa* in the Northeast area of Brazil. He states that it was ironic that Brazil's interest in the adoption of the *Escuela Nueva* Colombian policy grew just as doubts about the Colombian policy were increasing. The borrowing was more in tune with Schriewer's idea that governments borrow policies at times and in situations when an external reference is needed to bolster the legitimacy of the government and its policies. After a new president from the Northeastern part

of Brazil had just been elected *Escuela Nueva* was borrowed and thus also had to do with validating the most recent election while discrediting the work of prior regimes.

There are countless examples of nation states borrowing floundering policies. For example, when discussing British and American policy borrowing, Halpin and Troyna (1995) found that it rarely had to do with the success of particular policies in their countries of origin but rather had to do with legitimizing other related policies in the country.

Focusing on Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, Benveniste (2002) shows how various nations can borrow the same policy and then use a policy for differing purposes. In his article he shows how two decentralized nations (Argentina and Chile) and one centralized nation (Uruguay) use the policy of accountability differently. The two decentralized nations use the accountability policy to legitimize their regimes. Accountability can highlight the inequities in school districts and between marginalized groups. Therefore, after receiving high stakes assessment data, Argentina and Chile, widely distribute the data to parents and public communication media (newspapers and internet). Everyone, including the government, could then play the blame game. Support for the weakest citizens was rhetorical. It was not really the regime's responsibility anymore as the educational system had been decentralized.

In contrast, Uruguay's centralized system uses the policy of national assessment to reflect on their efficiency. Government officials in that country therefore disseminate the information only to education ministry staff; it was not distributed to the parents as in the other countries. Doing so would have undermined the government's legitimacy. Instead the purported use of the data was to aid in the decision making for supporting the failing students. Politics plays a considerable role in some policy transfer.

Steiner-Khamsi points out that the consensus theory lacks a contextual and historical dimension in its debate. She raises doubts about whether globalization necessarily leads to a world culture or international model in education and questions the international community of experts agreeing on a common model of education.

Steiner-Khamsi's Conflict Approach

Steiner- Khamsi's second approach, the conflict approach, considers that there is also borrowing that is imposed on nations by neocolonial imperialism. The borrowing is not voluntary. Again it leads to convergence, albeit with some countries always left economically, politically and educationally dependent. The developed countries become the model for the underdeveloped countries, regardless of failed policies. Many believe that instead of globalization here what is really at play is the Americanization or Westernization of other countries (Steiner-Khamsi, 2000). Steiner- Khamsi, as well as Schriewer above, both warn of the interruption of the self-reflexivity of a country forming its education policy which comes into play when a policy is imposed on it from somewhere else.

The literature on imposed education borrowing is quite comprehensive. The major policies have been pushed and propagated by the large lenders/funders on the world's stage such as the World Bank, USAID, IMF, etc. Bilateral Funding and/or loans are 'conditioned' to make certain kinds of educational reforms (Stromquist, 2002). Countries assure the receipt of funds only by agreeing to the use of these reforms.

For example, there is the policy of assessment for accountability purposes. Even though many researchers Tyack and Cuban 1995, Morrow and Torres 2000, Singh, Kenway and Apple 2005, Miller 2008) have found that accountability with high stakes testing has undermined education in the United States, conditionalities attached to government loans ensures that the

policy be borrowed by country after country. Lipman (2002) shows how the policy of accountability has left teachers of the poor, teaching to the test and undermines the teaching of critical thinking skills and problem solving for the very students who need those skills the most. And yet this is the policy that we are now exporting. Other countries borrow it because they are forced to endorse accountability norms and practices in order to get loans.

Another policy the neoliberals push is decentralization. Decentralization and its autonomous schools produce no significant student achievement gains in evaluations (Malen et al., 1989; Hannaway et al., 1993; Stromquist, 2002). Yet it has been extensively imposed as a condition to loans and as part of structural adjustment packages. When a school system is decentralized the more advantaged schools are successful with the advantageous community support they receive (McEwan and Carnoy, 1999). However, the more disadvantaged schools many times do not have the support necessary to operate without centralized funds. The needy are the most negatively affected. But the policy is borrowed in order to get more funds or as a requirement for debt relief.

Privatization is another policy pushed by conditions to loans. Couched in a rhetoric aiming at higher efficiency and equity, privatization's aftermath of higher user fees leads to less accessibility and the repercussions of less public expenditure often results in teachers without credentials, which then leads to teachers producing lower quality learning (Stromquist, 2002). This is not considered by the neoliberal organizations which endorse the borrowing of these policies in the name of cost effectiveness. Only those who can afford user fees can send their children to the private schools, even if the fees are very low. The rest remain in the public schools that have now had their funding given to the private schools in search of cost

effectiveness. This leaves the poorest with less (McEwan and Carnoy, 1999). However, the policy is borrowed as mandated.

Steiner-Khamsi's Culturalist Approach

Steiner-Khamsi's culturalist approach is the only one that does not believe that there is a convergence. With this approach she focuses on the reaction of the local to the cultural imperialism that comes with this type of educational policy transfer. It is not about convergence of education but rather highlights the interaction between the countries. This policy transfer comes with cultural imperialism and highlights differing local cultural reactions.

Appadurai's *Modernity at Large* (1996) chronicles how local cultures react to globalization. He explains how new cultures form to accept policies in ways never intended by the lenders. Homi Bhabha (1994) speaks of hybrid cultures forming as one such reaction. All of the diversity in nations now challenges the notion of a uniform reaction from a nation state's educational system. There are no longer national uniform education values reacting in unison to a policy that has been borrowed. Class, race, ethnicity and gender all enter into the reaction to education reforms. Steiner-Khamsi (2000) suggests further research on the local reaction to policy borrowing amongst the differing cultural factions of a country.

There is also the fact that the culture borrowing the policy must recontextualize the policy for it to fit in its new environment. Borrowing a policy cannot just be the simple act of copying it. Once it has been received it must be re-adapted to make it work in the new country. There is tension and nuance in its negotiations into the new country. Steiner-Khamsi says that it is "indigenized" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004 p. 59) or has to be translated so that in every country it will look differently.

Capacity should also be considered when answering the question of borrowing under pressure. Today underdeveloped countries may not be prepared to implement the critical parts of the policy in order to sustain it in the new environment. The new nation may not have the staff required to implement the policy or may need government training support in order to sustain the policy. If the government is incapable of giving the training, the transferred policy will flounder. Many policies end up leaving the nation states dependent on the organizations imposing the policy borrowing. Without the capacity to implement the policy, the borrowers need help and the lenders send in their “experts” to fix the problem. Current development discourse has “capacity building” on many expert’s agendas.

Steiner-Khamsi states that some organizations consider imperialistically adapting the education to limit the opportunity they are transferring. This special type of adaptation of policy before the transfer, where there is a watering down of the education provided by the policy, leads to a second rate type of education, more rural and non-academic. When the adaptation happens by the lender before it is transferred, it many times rightfully receives local resistance because it provides limited future study or access to urbanization (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

Research into the resistance to this type of adaptation leads one to the conclusion that all imposed transfer does not always get implemented. Steiner-Khamsi (2006) tells of the situations of resistance in several African nations. In Kenya and in Nigeria, the adapted colonial education system policy that was transferred with lower expectations was just ignored by locals. In Kenya, a group started its own schooling system outside the adapted schooling. This schooling system had the true English curriculum they sought to continue instead of the adapted watered down version. In Nigeria, there were protests when the colonial system was changed to the watered down adapted system. In the South of Nigeria, they urged the missions providing schooling

there to return to the more difficult colonial system. Steiner-Khamsi (2000) also found that in Ghana there were both traditional tribal chiefs as well as western educated Ghanaians lamenting the fact that the education transferred to their country did not allow for political, social and economic parity with Europeans so they fought to continue the colonial system's curriculum. The resistance to the watered down version shows that the imposition does not always get implemented by the local. However, the weaker state sometimes has but little chance of resistance with few alternatives and little funding available.

This theory is richer than those previously discussed. It allows for a deeper analysis of the actual transfer and acceptance process delving into both the cultural and historical aspects of a transfer and will prove the most useful to my study.

McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly's Certification and Decertification Theory

McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) look at transnational policy borrowing and lending in social movements and political struggle (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Certification happens when external authorities validate an actor, their performances or their claims. Decertification happens when the validation is removed by the external authorities. This theory lays the groundwork for looking at policy transfer in the time of political change. Politics has a strong influence on the implementation of education policy leading to specific local interpretations. When there is a new regime, self-reflection on past successes stops. Instead the new regime looks elsewhere for reforms that are more in compliance with international standards legitimizing their new policies.

For example, Silova (2004) explains that Soviet legacies and Westernization all came into play in Latvia as it included schools taught in the local Latvian language. In its quest to enter the European Union, Latvia was enveloped in international discourse on language of minority educational policies. It was considered a human rights issue that had to be addressed in

order to become members of EU. Latvia had separate schools for different ethnic groups and before their application for entrance into the EU; this was a policy that had been under attack. Now the new discourse allowed Latvia to reframe the issue and continue the separate schools. The new discourse had certified their separate schools without ever changing the ethnification issues with the separation of ethnic groups. This is an example of the phony borrowing of policy that both Phillips and Steiner-Khamisi speak of and was used for certification.

The certification decertification theory focuses on political change and local political reaction to the transfer of a policy. This promises to help in the analysis of a transfer of politically charged transfer of policy or into an environment that is tightly controlled politically.

In conclusion to my literature review on policy transfer theories I find that there are many policy transfer theories that can shed light on the beginning of the policy's life in a new context. They can be used to watch the adaptation and sustainability of a policy in a new country. My dissertation seeks to explore how these theories apply to the transfer of policy in Equatorial Guinea. When looking at how the *Escuela Nueva Policy* was chosen for an education reform of the Equatorial Guinean Education System I will be guided by the theories of externalization and policy attraction. The theory of culture and conflict will guide me in the exploration of how the *Escuela Nueva Policy* was adapted in order for it to settle into the rural classrooms in Equatorial Guinea. The question of whom and what factors have been most influential in the possible indigenization/divergence of this innovation will be guided by the culture and certification theories. However, the literature highlighted above does not develop a relationship between the theories. How these are further developed and interrelated is an area my research will focus on in my study of the transfer of policy in Equatorial Guinea. My study will be sensitive to the connections. And thus in my analysis, I will look closely at how the theories are linked and begin

to account for the processes of cultural transmission in local as well as global and national intersection.

The following is a literature review on *Escuela Nueva*. A search through the literature was done to understand the essential components of the policy that is being transferred and to see how it has been previously transferred.

Essential Elements of Escuela Nueva

Escuela Nueva was put together by former teachers working for the education ministry. They were trying to respond to their country's deficient rural education conditions. The remote schools of Colombia that they wanted to reform had one teacher with the responsibility of teaching all grades in one classroom. Teachers had few resources relying on hand made materials to teach with. Their student body lived in agricultural areas with families needing their children to leave school temporarily for help with harvests. The sons and daughters would miss large blocks of time returning out of sync with the rest of the class. There was a lot of absence causing a lot of repetition of grades and finally dropping out of school. The curriculum came from the urban areas of Colombia and was not relevant to the students in rural schools. *Escuela Nueva* innovators started to change the above conditions with help from UNESCO (Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon, 1988).

Constructivism

Escuela Nueva is a constructivist program. In my literature review it was first my intention to find literature that explicitly linked constructivist theories to the program. However, no literature on the program ever links it explicitly to theory. In an effort to remedy this lack in the literature and link this education reform to its very strong theoretical and sound pedagogy I will now explore the theories underlying constructivism. There is a link made between the

program that UNESCO first brought to Colombia in the 1960s called *Escuela Unitaria* and the *Escuela Nueva* program in the literature. This link is made by both the founders of *Escuela Nueva* and other writers (Schiefelbein, 1992; Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon 1988). It is therefore assumed in this dissertation that this sound pedagogy was in UNESCO's original *Escuela Unitaria*. However, the literature is never explicit in linking to this theory.

The constructivist perspective as described here can be linked to the program as it is evident in the *Escuela Nueva* program. This constructivist perspective is formed by more than one renowned pedagogical theorist. Piaget was one such theorist. The construction of knowledge for Piaget could not be seen as existing apart from the learner (as a copy or imitation of reality) but knowledge was instead arrived at anew in each situation; thus the principles of adaptation, accommodation and reflection replace the notion of given truths. Therefore, Piaget's idea of constructivism abandons the notion of the passive observer. He encourages learners to pose and test new hypotheses in response to new situations. This is manifested in an active classroom with the student in control of his learning, starting from what he knows and adding to that knowledge daily. This active learning is one of *Escuela Nueva's* essential elements (Peterson, 2012). Another theorist, Vygotsky, adds to the pedagogical theory of constructivism by focusing in on the social and cultural aspects of knowledge construction. Vygotsky believes that knowledge cannot be separated from context and thus community should participate. A teacher, then, serves to create activities that will guide a learner to subject mastery and cultural assimilation including the community in the lessons. Adding to Piaget's vision of a classroom we now have an active classroom with relevant curriculum and the community participating as was present in the Colombian innovation. Another theorist that adds to this constructivism pedagogical theory is John Dewey. Following his democratic and self actualization goals, he

adds the element of self instruction to the constructivist classroom. Dewey believes that learning conditions should permit students to pursue essentially independent objectives based on their own experiences, interests, and concerns. Dewey's model of constructivism situates the teacher as a classroom facilitator whose role is to help students, as autonomous agents, design their own learning experiences in response to personal priorities and objectives (Hyslop-Margion, 2008). The democratic principles of critical thinking and reasoning, problem solving, conflict resolution and self-determination amongst a group of equals are all present in the Dewey classroom. These democratic principles are all present in the innovation and there are also different levels that a child may achieve on a subject, based on his interests in the curriculum guides which are another essential element of *Escuela Nueva*. Montessori is another theorist that adds even another layer to the constructivist perspective. In Montessori classrooms child centered learning allows for child sized furniture for group work and Montessori allowed students to choose and carry out their own activities at their own pace and their own inclinations. The four theorists all lead to the a constructivist perspective included in the *Escuela Nueva* program's classroom with an active classroom learning relevant curriculum, using the teacher as facilitator guiding the child through self instruction and individualized promotion. As this is a description of the *Escuela Nueva* program it is evident that it is rooted in sound pedagogical theories. The vision of a constructivist program incorporates all four of the theorist. These theories came to rural Colombia in the form of a program that had a major impact on rural schooling.

Escuela Unitaria

In the 1960's UNESCO had been propagating a program called *Escuela Unitaria* in Latin America. UNESCO first set out in Colombia to certify teachers in methods of teaching all

grades in one room and then sent experts to get the program started through a teacher institute. Oscar Mogollon worked under these experts as he became the director or principal of the first model *Escuela Unitaria* to be annexed to the teacher institute. Later, he helped the program expand to include all 150 schools in the Pamplona Region (Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon 1988).

Escuela Unitaria was so well received the country tried to take it to scale. However, even though *Escuela Unitaria* was considered a good program it had issues come up that did not allow it to take hold when trying to nationalize it in Colombia. According to the originators of *Escuela Nueva* each UNESCO expert had a different element that they emphasized. One would focus on the active schools pedagogy; another would focus instead on allowing the community to rise up through the school. Yet another expert would focus on flexible and individual student promotion. This hampered the program from being nationalized as there was not a consensus amongst experts defining the *Escuela Unitaria*'s solution to Colombia's rural schools (Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon, 1988).

The education ministry staff in Colombia (Vicky Colbert de Arboleda, Oscar Mogollon, and Hernando Gelvez) came up with some solutions to the *Escuela Unitaria* program (Schiefelbein, 1992). They changed it to make it work with their country's realities and rural school constraints and renamed it *Escuela Nueva*. The basic tenets of the *Escuela Unitaria* remained in the new program:

- Relevant Curriculum
- The Teacher as Facilitator
- Active Learning
- Community Participation
- Individualized Promotion

- Focus on Rural Schools with Disadvantaged Students.

Escuela Nueva

In 1975 *Escuela Nueva* was formed with the expressed interest of nationalizing the sound pedagogy of *Escuela Unitaria* once weeding out the difficulties it had had in Colombia over the course of the 10 years that it was in existence there. The major changes came in the form of mechanisms and materials and operating strategies of the program. In order to realize the goal of taking the innovation to the child and classroom the *Escuela Nueva* program focused on 4 main components: curriculum, teacher capacity training, training for administration officials and community participation. Also, all four stakeholders were considered: children, teachers, administration and community members (Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon 1988). The changes made to *Escuela Unitaria* are explained below:

Relevant Curriculum

An obstacle to the diffusion of *Escuela Unitaria* was the fact that the knowledge conveyed in the upper grades was brought from Cuban text books which were not relevant to Colombia. There was little direct relation neither between the local environments nor with the community. All learning was done in the classroom with little application to the Colombian community or family relations outside of the classroom. *Escuela Nueva* made guides as text books relevant to the Colombian rural child's life and community.

The Teacher as Facilitator

Guides

The *Escuela Nueva* team tweaked the operational strategies of the *Escuela Unitaria* program and included materials that allowed for an easier diffusion (Torres, 1991). For example; the *Escuela Unitaria* plan included an idea that each teacher should make discussion and activity

cards for the students to use independently. This freed the teacher to watch each group progress at their own level and speed. These cards allowed the teacher to become a facilitator rather than the authoritarian lecturer of the past. However, when Colombia tried to duplicate *Escuela Unitaria* into more schools, the expansion produced a lot of complaints from teachers about these hand-made activity cards. Not all teachers had the time or the desire for such labor intensive lesson planning. The production of the cards was the most difficult and produced the most outcries (Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon, 1988).

Escuela Nueva kept the teacher working as facilitator but changed the cards, transforming them into ready-made published guides. These were provided by the government as well as the initial materials needed for the activities. Teachers were no longer expected to make the cards or shoulder the costs for the materials for the activities (Colbert and Mogollon, 1990).

First, there were guides for the teacher explaining the concepts that the students needed to complete their activities. This assured the concepts were taught correctly. The activities were in ready-made teacher lesson plan in the guides. There were also guides for the students to use themselves without the teacher having to tell them what to do. Rather than a text book provided for every child, one guide was given to every four students working in a group. The guides were not consumable, proving cost effective. Since there was no individual material provided it was possible to keep the classroom well equipped (Colbert and Mogollon, 1990).

Active Learning

The plan was for the students to enter the class, get their guides and the materials needed for the activity (also now provided) and independently do their activities in groups with student government facilitating their staying on task. Various teams worked on different activities at the same time. The learning was active and engaging and thematically linked around science and

social learning lessons. Infused in every aspect of the classroom was an active learning approach from *Escuela Unitaria*'s sound pedagogy. Students spoke and reasoned with each other as they solved curricular problems. The ease of the guide use ensured a positive change in the classroom (Edgerton, 2005).

Community Participation

Learning materials were found in the community and many community members were taught how to replenish learning materials for the school as part of the *Escuela Nueva* school-based trainings. A strong connection between community and school was encouraged and fostered. Parent groups were formed to participate in programs aligned with the teacher centers. Families were encouraged to come to the schools to add to the curriculum and advise on ways the schools could teach more relevant materials to their children. The community as a whole was brought in to enrich the curriculum as well (Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon, 1988). Parents were called to the schools for more than negative comments and the community as a whole became a partner with the schools. Parents had trainings at the schools at which they were encouraged to help their child at home.

Individualized Promotion

Escuela Unitaria also had a special promotion system that allowed students who were absent for a long period of time to return to class and continue their work at the point they had ended working in the guides before they left. This is called a "working at your own pace" (towards promotion) and kept students who were absent from having to start all over again the next year. They continued to work from where they had last been in class and possibly could catch up to the rest of the class with extra time put into their studies. Repetition of grade was reduced. With self-esteem intact the students were able to continue on a trajectory that would

allow them to complete primary school. In Colombia, however, with *Escuela Unitaria* this individualized promotion became more of an automatic promotion with teachers just passing students on to the next grade which allowed students to advance through the grades without having mastered all of the material and caused great problems in the schools. This individualized promotion was included in *Escuela Nueva* but it was explained through a work at your own pace in the student guides. The child who had been absent had to return to where he left off in the guide. One activity followed another through a unit. Teachers could then keep track of how the child was progressing and not just send him onto the next grade for the new school year. He would complete the previous work before moving onto the next grade's guides.

Assessment. Assessment of student work was also different in the *Escuela Nueva* program. At the end of each activity the teacher was given the authority to decide whether the child had mastered the material. The child remained on the activity until exhibiting mastery or was given a new reteaching activity. It was the activities that formed the formative assessment. A summative written assessment was only given at the end of the unit, included with a few of the answers so that the student could evaluate his own learning. Reteaching activities were included after each incorrect response so that the student could continue onto mastering the objectives. The students were given three grades with a specific number of activities tied to the three grades so that they knew exactly how many activities they would have to complete to be considered an excellent student, a medium student or a low student and could plan their school day accordingly. This also allowed the students to work at their own pace within their abilities and special interests. A student could therefore go faster or slower than his classmates in a subject, depending on his capabilities or motivation, as well as his absences.

Teacher Training and Support

Training of the teachers under *Escuela Unitaria* was inconsistent and there was little support in the classroom to ensure attitude changes in the teachers. Supervising administrators were also not supportive. For example, approval of all innovation was required before a teacher could change curriculum and method to include the new *Escuela Unitaria* method. However, because they had not been trained in the new methods, few supervisors supported the change to *Escuela Unitaria* suggested (Colbert, Gelvez & Mogollon, 1988).

Escuela Nueva had a more comprehensive training for the teachers. It was much more supportive of teachers than any other program in Colombia had been. An especially important element in this programs teacher training was that the training continued in the teachers' own classrooms. After large trainings *Escuela Nueva* trainers went back to the classroom with the teachers and helped them implement what they had been trained to do. To combat old attitudes there were also teacher circles which were formed so that teachers could talk with other teachers about problems arising. There were guides to facilitate the discussion in these circles with examples providing discussion topics allowing for one to share with colleagues and better one's craft with suggestions from others who had been in similar situations. The emphasis was on supporting the teachers as they changed their ways. Supervisors were included in the trainings and were schooled on how to be supportive of the teachers (Edgerton, 2005).

For the teachers, the materials were introduced in workshops focused on four stages of training teachers how to handle five grades simultaneously in one classroom. The first was an orientation workshop explaining the program and how to organize the classroom, school and community into the program. The second stage was how to use the materials and how to adapt them for their particular students and context. Teachers were asked to actually do the activities in

their students' guides so that they would see what was expected of their students. The trainings were active and not the usual classes given to teachers (Colbert and Mogollon, 1990). The third stage of training was on the library and how to organize and use it. And finally the fourth stage had to do with the model schools, demonstrating the new active learning pedagogy. Through these trainings a sense of community was fostered amongst teachers in *Escuela Nueva* schools. Supervisors attended the trainings with the objective of learning how to replicate them in the future (Colbert and Mogollon, 1990).

Materials. The education guides for the students contained the national Colombian curriculum, but adapted to the rural environment. Methods for adapting the guides further were included in the second stage of the teacher training. A basic library was provided for each classroom with supporting materials for active study. The timing of the delivery of the materials was coordinated with the timing of the trainings so that they went hand in hand. Training in the teacher's own classroom was timed shortly after receiving the materials. This allowed for continuity (Colbert and Mogollon, 1990).

Pioneer Group/Steering Committee

A separate department for the administration of *Escuela Nueva* was established in the ministry offices to deal with the problems that the administration encountered regionally in support of the administration of the program. This regional department was also responsible for changing the attitude of supervisors from one of criticizing teachers to that of supporting the teachers (Colbert and Mogollon, 1990).

Both Oscar Mogollon and Vickie Colbert de Arboleda worked in the ministry during the 10 years that *Escuela Unitaria* was in existence in Colombia and then were also the founders of *Escuela Nueva*. Oscar Mogollon was especially instrumental in adapting the policy to make it

work in Colombia. Colbert also became a strong advocate for the program and the two ended up working to diffuse the program all over the world for most of their lives. Oscar Mogollon died of cancer while working on the PRODEGE program in Equatorial Guinea which was modeled on *Escuela Nueva*. Vicky Colbert de Arboleda continues to work in Colombia with her *Escuela Nueva* Foundation.

In summary these are the essential elements of *Escuela Nueva*:

- Relevant Curriculum
- The Teacher as Facilitator
- Active Learning
- Community Participation
- Individualized Promotion
- Focus on Rural Schools with Disadvantaged Students
- Pioneer Group
- Teacher Training and Support

Materials included with the *Escuela Nueva* are: learning corners with resources needed for lessons, classroom libraries with 100 volumes, mathematic manipulatives, guides for each student group, and group work type of furniture.

The basic tenets of *Escuela Unitaria* still remain as part of the *Escuela Nueva* program today. The sound pedagogical theory that formed the constructivist perspective has helped the program to succeed as it has been transferred elsewhere. The *Escuela Nueva* innovators were able to make this pedagogy work in their country by adding or changing things just enough to allow the teachers to successfully implement the program. The most important changes listed above are: 1) the creation of guides with relevant curriculum that can turn the teacher into a

facilitator and allow a student to take control of his or her learning; 2)) the creation of a pioneer group or steering committee to advocate for the program and 3) the increase in training and support for the teachers teaching under the difficult conditions of multigrade rural schools. The program put a focus on the teacher. Teachers are supported through trainings; help in adapting the program; provided with materials; linked to the community; allowed to assess their student's progress and given the responsibility of writing the guides; supporting other teachers and ultimately expanding the program. This focus on the teacher is key to the success of the program. All of the changes helped *Escuela Nueva* to become one of the most important education innovations in rural schooling in developing countries. It has had far reaching impact around the world.

Escuela Unitaria was brought to Colombia with the hope of making it a nationwide program. However, as mentioned above, there were obstacles to that aim. Vicky Colbert de Arboleda in her book *The Transferring of Educational Technology in Colombia* (1979) shares her lessons learned when transporting techniques, methods or procedures generated in another context. The pioneer team took all these lesson learned into account when they nationalized *Escuela Nueva* as well. She states that when one transfers policies one should keep the following six features in mind:

- With the introduction of a methodology one must consider the capacity of the implementers to implement said methodology.
- To carefully consider the introduction of elements that take into account the working conditions and political context of those set to execute the new policies.
- The administrative structure necessary may not be the same as the structure the policy is being transferred to.

- There must be an analysis of the pertinence of the particular context to the imported policy before implementing it.
- Being wary of trying scientifically interesting experiments with little potential for generalization.
- Before converting the transferred policy into a national policy, first constitute the policy into a systemized and evaluated program. In other words, try it out as a small pilot program and evaluate it before scaling it up.

Today, some 30 years later Colbert de Arboleda's words ring true. Issues around capacity and context play an important role in the success of policy transfer. *Escuela Nueva* has been transferred frequently. It first was taken to scale from a 150 schools pilot program to become a national program. Currently it is no longer in existence in Colombia, however after its nationalization the program was and continues to be transferred to many countries.

Method for Diffusion of the Vision

There was a precise method of implementation for the nationalization of *Escuela Nueva* in the rural schools of Colombia. This method has been turned into an "ideas kit" and followed in other countries.

In Colombia the program was diffused bit by bit and that is now part of the procedure for the diffusion abroad. As the innovation went from region to region model schools were set up first. Initially the teachers for 70 model schools were trained on the active school methodology. The guides and learning materials were distributed to those schools. Then the creators of the reform followed the teachers back into their classrooms and spent days in their classrooms guiding them into the use of the reform. This went on for many weeks. Weekly discussions with the creators and the model school teachers were held. The teachers were asked about concerns.

The concerns were acknowledged and advice on how to solve the problems the reform was posing for the teacher was given. There was constant feedback (Edgerton, 2005). Once the teachers were sure of themselves and the creators of the reforms felt that the teachers had internalized the active school methodology, then the model schools were turned into places other teachers could come to observe. Neighboring school teacher trainings were held. These teachers then came to observe the model school teachers. Then, instead of the creators, the model school teachers now followed the neighboring school teachers back into their classrooms and stayed with them until they were sure of themselves. The neighboring schools were then turned into model schools and the reform continued to fan out throughout all of Colombia (McEwan, 2008).

In other countries, as stated above, for the purposes of diffusion, the main components of this innovation have been turned into a type of “kit” of ideas. Successful transfer comes from adherence to the precise method of fanning the program out throughout all of the country’s rural schools. As in Colombia, the program is diffused in the adopting country bit by bit (McEwan, 2008). First there is a team chosen that includes Education Ministry officials and special teachers chosen for their success in the classroom and their links to community. They visit a country that has already started the reform and observe their model schools with active schools methodology in action. The team then meets with people who have written the guides in the country they are visiting. They are taught how to infuse their country’s curriculum and knowledge of teaching into guides for their country together. They write the first grade student learning guides with the original team teaching them how to infuse the curriculum into project based learning. The team then returns to their country to meet with a larger group of teachers in their country. Together the chosen new country teachers write the guides for second and third

grade and guides for fourth through sixth grade are many times borrowed from another country (Kraft, 2004).

For the teacher trainings, specially chosen teachers are trained and then become the future trainers. Model schools are established and equipped with the materials necessary. They do not start being observation schools until they have gotten the teaching method correct. The implementing agency diffusing the program follows the teachers from their trainings back into their classrooms and guides the teachers in placing the program into their daily practice.

Observations are then done by neighboring schools teachers. The model school teacher trainers then go into the neighboring school teacher's classrooms and spend a lot of time with the neighboring school teachers. They encourage them, showing them how to teach the new active school methodology in their own classrooms. All of teachers involved, the novice learners and the teacher trainers coming from the original observation model schools are empowered with new teaching methods and support and camaraderie. The innovation then fans out in the new country (Edgerton, 2005).

In summary the steps to the method of diffusion are:

1. A special team of teachers are chosen to be guide writers.
2. This team goes to visit a country that already has *Escuela Nueva* in place.
3. The team learns how to write a guide in the other country and writes a first grade guide with the teachers from the country they are visiting.
4. They write all the other guides with teachers in their own country.
5. A special team of teacher training facilitators are chosen.
6. Model schools are chosen, equipped and trained to be models.
7. Neighboring schools come to observe the model school.

8. Neighbor schools are trained by model school teachers.

Factors for Successful Transfer

Over the years *Escuela Nueva* has been transferred to many countries. The essential elements of *Escuela Nueva* are important to the successful transfer of this program. Beyond those elements, these have also been found to be particularly essential elements to a successful transfer: Teacher Support leading to a bottom-up adaptation and expansion process in the hand of teachers; Community Participation; Adequate Funding; Timing of distribution of materials; Teacher training on active learning; and finally, a Pioneer Group to help form social consensus.

Teacher Support leading to a bottom-up adaptation and expansion process in the hand of teachers. *Escuela Nueva* supports teachers. The guides with readymade lesson plans were a hit with teachers. Guides took work away from the teachers, rather than add more to their workload. The ministers were mindful of the need to support rather than burden the teachers and this was one of the reasons that *Escuela Nueva* was so readily accepted in the classroom, no matter the country (Levin, 1992).

The teacher empowerment is the key. There is a lot of capacity building and training involved in teaching the teacher how change national curriculum to handle a rural multigrade class. The feedback in the actual classroom of the teacher is important. Training continues until the teacher can feel successful regardless of the fact that the teacher is still teaching all the grades at the school. That is empowering. It leads to a reform built from the bottom-up. If a teacher needs to further adapt a program that empowers, the teacher will find a way to not lose its basic elements. No matter what she has to do to make the program fit in her classroom the students will be active participants in the learning she is facilitating. This flexibility of the program allows for its sustainability, no matter the country.

This adaptation of a policy happens all the time in teaching. A teacher is not being successful with her students and does not like it. Everyone likes to be successful in their work. So, the teacher tries to make everything work for her and her students. She changes the mandated policy just enough to be able to truly teach the curriculum in her classroom and really reach her particular students. In the end, teachers are street level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2010). They take a policy and implement it their way. If a teacher is not comfortable with the policy it will not take hold. When this organic way of reforming schools takes hold, the reform's diffusion begins in whatever country it is being transferred to. The creators of *Escuela Nueva* understood that focusing on the teacher's acceptance of the policy was very important. The whole program is about supporting teachers. This helped in successful implementation.

Community Participation. The community was involved. For example, the program was also expanded to include resources for the activities in the guides in kits. An original set of manipulatives kits was given but more important for its sustainability a procedure was provided for involving the community in replacing the manipulatives with natural resources readily available to the community. A strong collaboration between community and the school was thus established and nourished. In fact, the coffee growing association in the first area to implement *Escuela Nueva* became strong supporters of the *Escuela Nueva* format of the reform and sustained the reform in the schools by committing resources to the schools for future manipulative purchase and trainings and over all expansion. Community involvement also is seen as an essential element to successful implementation.

Adequate Funding. Colbert, Chiappe, and Arboleda (1993) state that having funding for a larger effort was also important. And that administration of the expansion must be appropriate for the program to expand nationwide successfully. Looking back to the precise method, one

sees that the program will always be started out bit by bit. But if the goal is to expand for an entire country's rural schools funding, administration and the things that made it work on a small scale must all be in place. This includes the demonstration model schools and all the trainings follow-up back into the classrooms. All are considered essential to successful implementation.

Timing of distribution of materials. The ease of transportation was also essential in its successful implementation. *Escuela Nueva* had a kit of materials and lessons that were transported easily from school to school. Teachers were willing to listen to the trainings about such a program since they had heretofore not been given resources. Correct implementation of the program also includes timely resource distribution as the classroom needs all of the materials to arrive shortly after the training. The ease of transport allowed for the materials to arrive at the same time as the trainings were given. If there is a long lag time between the trainings and the receiving of materials a teacher will continue doing what she has been doing in her classroom and is less likely to incorporate the innovation into her classroom when it finally arrives. By the time she receives the materials she has forgotten the important points made in the training or no longer is convinced that the reform matters. The timing of the arrival of the materials is an important element of successful implementation (Colbert, 1990).

Teacher training on active learning. The innovation, however, focused on processes instead of products. The materials were important but the process of training the teachers and process of giving feedback to the teachers in their own classrooms were the most important elements of the program. Also, another process of infusing active learning and incorporating into every facet of the program was extremely important.

When the reform is put into another country the new context must be infused into the program. Local context provides a backdrop to better understanding and memory. Oral

traditions of folklore and history of the area, old proverbs, artwork and other local information should be included in the guides written for the new country. The context taught must be relevant to the student. The program's flexibility allowing for these changes creates a successful transfer. This adaptation of guides is an essential factor for successful transfer.

Pioneer Group to help form social consensus. A social consensus must be achieved before the program can enter into a new country. The Colombian education ministers involved in the formation of *Escuela Nueva* formed a steering committee. They stayed together as a team and continued to work on the expansion of the program. They moved up to leadership roles in the ministry and remained together throughout. As *Escuela Nueva* was expanding the steering committee was able to convince its critics to accept the program. The steering committee convinced curriculum experts that *Escuela Nueva* could be used by teachers that had not been trained on individualized instruction methods. This team also convinced these experts that the non traditional methods did in fact allow for learning of all the curriculum objectives. They were also able to convince the powerful teacher unions that the program was not going to reduce the numbers of teachers with its multigrade system. They publicized their success and had other teachers in Colombia soon calling for the program as they heard of the success *Escuela Nueva* teachers were having. The steering committee was also able to convince text book publishers that there would still be a need for books. The 100 book library that was provided to each school as part of the program made up for the fact that the state was now printing its own textbooks with the guides. They also explained to the publishers that the students were being given a love of reading and an interest in buying more books. Whatever problem came up was dealt with as time went on. A social consensus requires many facets to be addressed over a long period of time, but a social consensus is critical for successful transfer. The steering committee ended up

working for the program's acceptance and its constant refinement for 15 years and as mentioned above, went on to diffuse the program in many countries throughout the world with UNICEF, USAID, AED and FHI 360.

In conclusion, for a successful transfer of this policy elsewhere all of the essential elements of the program must be implemented, with close attention given to these elements as well:

Teacher Support

Community Participation

Adequate Funding

Timing

Teacher Training on Active Learning

Pioneer Group.

The literature on the successful transfer of *Escuela Nueva* has been generated by its founders with lessons learned from their vast experience in transferring this program all over the world to better the education of rural students.

Name Changes

Escuela Nueva has been adapted to various degrees in many countries. The name has changed along the way. But it is still *Escuela Nueva*. In Brazil it is called *Escola Ativa*, in Guatemala it is called *Escuela Unitaria*, in Panama it is called *Escuela Activa*, in Chile it is called *Mece Rural*, in El Salvador it is called *Aulas Alternativas*, in Nicaragua it is called *Escuela Modelo*, in Honduras it is called *Escuela Activa Participativa/Escuela Nueva*, in the Dominican Republic it is called *Escuela Multigrado Innoada*, in Paraguay it is called *Mita Iru*, in Mexico it is called *Interactiva Comunitarian*, in Peru it is called *AprenDes*, in Guyana it is called New

School, in the Philippines it is called Active School/ Child Friendly School and in Equatorial Guinea it is called PRODEGE. Currently the World Bank reports that three countries in Africa are experimenting with improving their multigrade rural schools model but only Uganda is using the *Escuela Nueva* guides. The program there is called the New School. In the World Bank study done in 2009 the Ugandan program had eroded and had few teachers trained in multigrade teaching (Mulkeen, 2009).

Evidence

In Colombia the evidence that the policy produced was mixed. In 1992 Psacharopoulos, Rojas and Velez did a quantitative report on the achievements of *Escuela Nueva* in Colombia. They looked at 1987 data that measured third and fifth grades in Spanish, Math, Creativity, Civics and Self-Esteem. They found achievement to have increased in all areas except fifth grade math. A closer look at the scores finds the highest achievement in any category, a mere 50 percent average. Nonetheless, the increase in *Escuela Nueva* scores over traditional school scores was statistically significant. The study stands as evidence that the program advanced the education of rural students in Colombia and the world immediately took note. When other studies later found less enthusiastic results they could all be linked to problems in the implementation of the program. In 1991 Loera and McGinn did a study of first and third graders in Colombian rural schools. They found their data was skewed because of all the different variations they found to be titled an *Escuela Nueva* school. In some cases, traditional school teachers were using the self-instructional guides with their students and *Escuela Nueva* school teachers were not. Therefore, this 1991 study found no significant difference in the scores of the students in a traditional school and an *Escuela Nueva* school. In 1998 another study and the first international comparative study done by UNESCO's Latin American Laboratory for Assessment

of Quality (LLECE) found that in rural school in Colombia there was higher than expected outcomes than those found in urban schools in that country. According to the study this indicates that even in unfavorable contexts, the application of appropriate and consistent measures such as *Escuela Nueva* can significantly improve student outcomes. After Cuba, Colombia was the only country of the region where the rural sector outperformed the urban sector, except in megacities, mainly due to the *Escuela Nueva* program (LLECE, 1998). Regardless of the effect of expansion on the program's implementation in Colombia, and the somewhat inconsistent evidence, the program was found to be an important step in introducing quality education to rural areas. For this reason the policy began to be transferred to other countries. The evidence in these countries again is mixed. However, when evidence is negative there are always problems with implementation involved.

A study was done in both Guatemala and Peru. It found that there was positive correlation between *Escuela Nueva* participation in small group work and achievement (Kline, 2000). Both the Guatemalan and Peruvian *Escuela Nueva* programs had more small group work and thus more achievement in language and math (Chesterfield, 2004). In Guatemala a further study was done on the democratic and non violent behaviors present in *Escuela Nueva* students vs. traditional students (De Baessa, 2002). They measured leadership (directs lesson) sense of equity (takes turns and shares) and interpersonal effectiveness (helps others and expresses opinion). Another study was done in Guatemala alone looking at academic achievement (Chesterfield, 1996). This study compared 1996 to 2001 scores on a national achievement test and found a higher gain in math, reading, concepts and resolution of problems in children that attended *Escuela Nueva* schools.

Internal efficiency rates show less dropping out in *AprenDes* schools in Peru (Chesterfield, 2005). The rates continue better than in the traditional schools but over the years seem to be decreasing. The thought is that the decrease is due to attrition in teachers trained in the *Escuela Nueva* active methodology. In a national exam on the mastery of communication curriculum, *AprenDes* schools consistently had higher overall mastery levels than the traditional schools.

Problems found with Policy Transfer

There have been problems with the transfer of this policy. Even though it has been transferred to so many countries it has not always been successful. The first transfer of the policy took place from just the region of Pamplona in Colombia to the entire country. This happened as the country decentralized and there was a massive transfer of teachers trained in *Escuela Nueva* active methodology so that some schools could not sustain the reform. The *Escuela Nueva* Schools then received new teachers without adequate training. Some trainings received were improvised and not the same as in the very beginning of the program. Then, the timing of the delivery of materials and the trainings was not coordinated. Municipalities had not been told that the schools would change to *Escuela Nueva* and therefore did not support the change. Some schools were *Escuela Nueva* in name only, the teachers did not implement any of the strategies and all the components of the reform. The trainings were shortened and there was less feedback and time spent with the teacher when first implementing the program in their classroom. Finally, it was found that mismanagement led to the weakening of the program (Colbert, 1993).

In Honduras, they first sent teachers to visit the *Escuela Nueva* demonstration schools but never had the guides adapted when they returned. They also never had trainings. Both of these elements have been found to be essential.

In Venezuela no demonstration schools were established. The guides were also not adapted. In Ecuador the guides were adapted and the subjects were updated, but when they were adapted they lost some of the *Escuela Nueva* methodology. In Bolivia the guides remained in traditional mode and are missing the instructions for the students. Students had to then wait for teacher instruction which was counter to the program. The teachers were trained but there were no demonstration schools from which to sustain the reform.

The elements that were mentioned above as necessary for successful implementation of the policy in a new context are crucial. Even though the policy of *Escuela Nueva* has been turned into a materials kits and an ideas kit with a prescribed procedure and actual guides written on how to expand nationally or transfer to another country, the guides and procedures do not always work. The key to the success of this policy seems to be that it grows organically. *Escuela Nueva* was home grown. It started from the bottom up in the classroom making teaching a multigrade classroom easier for a teacher. It gave resources and trainings to teachers who were hungry for both and then it allowed those same teachers to adapt the program to fit their classrooms. As the steering committee saw what worked in some classes and did not work in others they continued to refine the policy. It was growing one step ahead of the designers. They too had to adapt to the policy taking on its own life. It would take such a passionate steering committee to do the same in another country. They would have to ensure that all the elements were in place and then constantly work with them.

In conclusion, this literature review of the studies available on the *Escuela Nueva* program give an understanding of the sound pedagogical theories and processes and materials included in the *Escuela Nueva* program. The literature review also explains processes and then the obstacles and challenges faced in previous transfers of this policy and this information will serve in the analysis of the implementation of a transfer of this policy into Equatorial Guinea.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This inquiry aims to increase our social understanding of the little studied education system of Equatorial Guinea. A policy transfer has infused an educational innovation from a different context into the crippled Equatoguinean education system. The original country setting of the innovation is an ocean away rendering close contact with the original context of Colombia difficult. While exploring the transfer of policy theories we will follow the adaption of this policy into its new context. Close attention will be paid to the multiple forces that have been at play guiding and shaping the policy being transferred, adapted and shaped both from above and below. Horizontal forces come together with the vertical both in local reaction and as global outside forces joining together in shaping the transferred policy into the isolated rural classrooms. The policy has been transferred into the African setting in order to transform the education of disadvantaged rural Equatoguinean students. This study will inform implementers of how to improve the implementation in order to sustain the program and increase the quality of education for these rural students.

The methods chosen for this study are the best at unpacking a complex process. The transfer of this study has many actors and decision makers with different motivations and backgrounds. I have chosen methods that will best allow for description and analysis of this complex social endeavor.

Qualitative Study

Qualitative research methods were employed to get a more comprehensive and dynamic picture of this complex transfer of policy. Researchers using qualitative methods use field notes,

document analysis, observations with planned protocols keeping focus on the theoretical framework of the study, interviews with semi structured protocols that allow for a narrative to form, focus group protocols that help weed out confusion, audio and video recording and pictures and drawings in order to analyze and create a holistic picture of the transfer of a policy (Merriam, 1988). The researcher gathers triangulated data from various sources in order to describe the phenomena being studied from all angles and perspectives. Member and cross checking between layers of actors allows for answers to be compared for a more valid, reliable and credible analysis (Yin, 2009). The descriptive nature of qualitative research allows for a better understanding of the complex rebirth of the *Escuela Nueva* educational innovation. Qualitative methods will paint a comprehensive, holistic and natural picture of the policy transfer (Stake, 1995). It is for these reasons that my study specifically uses the qualitative method of case study.

Vertical Case Study

This study more specifically uses vertical case study methodology. A case study delves into a case to qualitatively explain a bounded system. A vertical case study sets the analysis to stop at layers of influence on the way down to the classroom (Vavrus, 2009). There are macro, meso and micro levels that are all looked at across each level and down the different levels. These levels are detailed in the table below. This type of vertical case study allows for a study of the PRODEGE education program with an analysis of how the *Escuela Nueva* innovation it replicates has been handled at each layer on its way down into the classrooms of Equatorial Guinea. Special attention is given to the negotiations and adaptations of the policy at each layer of decision making. There are three main levels with subgroups within explained in Table 1 below and the description below it.

Table 1 *Vertical Case Study Levels*

Levels	Decision Makers	Secondary Players
Leaders	Global – Presidents of HESS Oil and AED Local – President of Equatorial Guinea	Global – HESS Staff and AED Staff in United States Local – Education Minister
Implementers	Global – AED in country PRODEGE staff Local – Adjunct PRODEGE staff	Global – Teacher Trainers Local -Special Teacher Team and Teacher Guide Writers
School Staff	Local - Education Ministry Supervisors Principals at School	Local - Teachers Students Families

This table has three rows placing the three levels of the vertical case in decision making order, First leaders, then implementers and finally school staff. The row further splits into two horizontal parts; thus further splitting the decision making order. For example the President of Equatorial Guinea is on a higher level of the Leader level than the Education Minister. However, both are in the leader level when compared to the staff in the Implementer level. All of the levels are comprised of both a global and local section which is present in each box of the table above.

Within the Leader level I start with the global presidents of the US Oil Corporation HESS and the president of AED who first met to talk about active learning. The local counterpart would be the president of the country of Equatorial Guinea who met with the president of HESS. Place to the side, are the global HESS staff on the ground in Equatorial Guinea; who met with the US based staff of AED, and then met with the local Education Minister in charge of all schools in Equatorial Guinea. These actors are under the presidents in stature but are still very important in the Leader level. Both horizontal boxes display all the actors that make up the Leader level with global and local counterparts in each. The leaders are the first level that my vertical case study addresses.

Within the Implementer level the first box starts with the global AED staff living in Equatorial Guinea such as the Director of PRODEGE embedded in the local ministry offices. Local Equatoguinean adjunct PRODEGE education ministry actors are the counterpart of this global group. Displayed on the side of this first box and under this first box's group in hierarchal stature are the global teacher trainers that came from Latin America. The local counterparts are the team of special teachers to be trained to be future trainers and the teacher guide writers also considered the pioneer group. All of these actors comprise the Implementer level and are the second level that my vertical case study addresses.

Within the School Staff level I start with the supervisors working in the local Education ministry and the administrators of schools and under them the local teachers, students and families. The study will explore the global reach being less in the schools. I looked at the flow down the levels and then back up.

General Data Collection Strategy

In order to accomplish this vertical case study I employed as wide a variety of data as I could. Each level had various data sources in order to create reliability, credibility and the validity of the data. I planned to use interviews, observations, focus groups and document analysis. However, as with any study there were constraints explained in a constraint section below each data source. Due to these constraints only interviews, observations and document analysis were included in this study.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with loosely and semi structured protocols allowing for rich narrative coming from open ended questions. If time permitted an interviewee was just asked what their experience was with PRODEGE and this sole question would produce a two and a half hour taped narrative with few interjecting questions on my part. The questions on the interview protocol designed before the study were answered in the narrative. Therefore those questions from the protocol were only asked if the narrative did not naturally provide the answers necessary to understand how the policy transfer was accepted and changed by the interviewee. Of the twenty five interviews conducted for this study only four were one hour interviews, the rest were from two to two and a half hour interviews. The respondents were eager to speak about their experience to someone who had been studying the program. In the field, all interviews were conducted in Spanish (the official language of Equatorial Guinea). Some of the interviews conducted on Skype or in the offices of FHI360 were in English, others in Spanish. Transcription of all interviews was done in the original language of the interview.

Teacher interviews were conducted on site during breaks. My experience as a teacher allowed me to quickly bond with the teachers I was observing and interviewing and a thick

description has thus been created from my time in Equatoguinean schools. My interviews with staff took place during breaks in school hours and if needed follow up phone interviews continued after the two day observations. The interviews were longer more loosely structured narrative type interviews to make up for the limited time spent in the classroom. Teachers were very willing to share their experience with a fellow teacher.

Respecting anonymity, I interviewed 4 Leaders, 11 Implementers and 10 School Staff for a total of 25 people. Protocols are included as Appendix B.

Interview Constraints

The official school start date in Equatorial Guinea is September 5th, however once in the country I discovered that the actual start date for most of the schools was on October 14th, the Monday after Independence Day celebrations. This timing limited who I was able to interview as the ministry officials were involved in the beginning of the school year with a new minister. I repeatedly went to officials' offices only to wait entire days to then be told there would be no interview possible on that day. Appointments are not made in advance. I spent approximately between 25 and 30 full days waiting for interviews I was not able complete. Instead I interviewed those who had been in the ministry when PRODEGE first started and now work in other capacities. I also deconstructed information from the implementer level to reach a thick description of what happened with the Leader level and with ministry officials at the beginning of PRODEGE.

Document Analysis

Document analysis from FHI360 and government documents were also used to gather information on PRODEGE. The program had a component of reinforcing the education ministry's data collection which by all accounts was nonexistent before the commencement of

the program. AED/FHI360 was very helpful in sharing the baseline documents they produced with the government and all other documents and statistics compiled by the government under the guidance of PRODEGE while the program was in effect.

Observations

Observations were originally planned in four rural schools for two full weeks but because of the constraint below were only done in three schools for two full days. A preliminary visit of introduction and explanation of my need for an interview and observation was conducted without notice. Oral permission was given by each principal in advance. Once, arranged for the next day, each school visit was for two full days. I used my 22 years of experience as a school teacher to focus in on the learning of the child in order to understand the quality of the teaching. This experience also allowed a thick description to be obtained in two days time. Since the rest of the observation time planned was going to focus on an analysis of the guides I asked for and was able to receive from FHI360 in Washington D.C. a complete school set of guides and studied them over Skype with the writer of guides at FHI360 during her time in Colombia and Peru. Also, the use of the guides was observed in classrooms and explained by Equatoguinean writers in interviews in Equatorial Guinea. This allowed me to observe and analyze all the planned elements.

Observations in the classrooms were done with strict adherence to the protocol (See Appendix D). Photographs of the schools and research drawings were done to help in the description of the settings. Field notes went on during the entire observation. This allowed for a thick description of the policy in action in the schools. After the observation, a summary of the experience tying the observation to the theoretical framework was included in a chronological log. I drew on my 22 years of classroom teacher experience to allow for credibility.

Observation Constraints

Two full weeks of observation at each of four schools had been planned assuming that school started on the official start date of September 5th. However, since school started on October 12th I could not visit four schools for two full weeks during my visit

Focus Groups

Focus groups with both parents and with children were planned but due to the constraints no focus groups were done in this study.

Focus Group Constraints

Because the school year actually started a month and a half after the official start date the ministry was just starting its initial school meetings in the schools after hours. The ministry was visiting the schools at the time I was observing schools and I had to plan my visits around their meetings with staff. No visitor could be on the school grounds while the ministry was at the school. Since the focus groups could only be arranged after school hours and on school grounds it was impossible to organize either focus groups with students or with their parents.

Language of Data

In the field, all interview and observation comments were conducted in Spanish (the official language of Equatorial Guinea). Some of the interviews conducted on Skype or in the offices of FHI360 were in English, others in Spanish. Transcription of all interviews was done in the original language of the interview. Most documents were in Spanish. Only pertinent excerpts of documents or interviews were translated into English for inclusion in this dissertation.

Unit of Analysis

The vertical case study is on the bounded case of the program PRODEGE. The first five years of PRODEGE's focus was on the primary schools of Equatorial Guinea. Fifty four model

schools were remodeled and infused with the *Escuela Nueva* active learning. Model schools were the schools that first received all of the program's resources, materials and in-classroom trainings. PRODEGE and the innovation transferred into the schools serve as the whole unit that is bounded by those forty schools. As explained in chapter two, model schools serve as observation schools for the neighboring schools, central to the program's expansion. In preparation of the field visit the implementers were asked which schools were most successfully operating as model schools and efforts were made to include two in the sample in order to watch the transfer of policy. The other school that was not on the list of most successful schools was randomly selected; however, the criterion used in selection of all three schools was that they must be rural and multigrade schools. FHI360 only had 5 total multigrade schools included in the 54 PRODEGE model schools. Rural multigrade classrooms were chosen for the study of the transfer of *Escuela Nueva* into PRODEGE model schools because they were what *Escuela Nueva* was originally designed to support. For this reason three rural multigrade model schools were observed and analyzed.

Also, at first the plan was to focus more on the first grade levels but the study ended focusing as much as possible on the whole school including all of the grades at the three schools visited. The program's success presupposes that students learn to read in first grade in order to be able to read the guides used for independent group work for second to sixth grades. Originally it was assumed that there would be many obstacles for the country's first graders reaching this goal. For example, reading AED's assumption that there were no pre- kindergarten or kindergarten classes available which would allow students to learn the letters, shapes and socialization in preparation of learning how to read it was assumed that no child would be reading in second grade. However, there is a very popular preschool program in every school in

Equatorial Guinea. UNICEF was instrumental in its implementation right after the call for Education for All. The quality of the preschool program is outside the scope of this study, however, after five years in preschool and one year in first grade I observed all second graders reading in the classrooms that I visited. More on how I came to this conclusion will be in the School Staff Level findings. The fact that the students were reading changed my focus from first grade class to the whole school with all grades observed.

Also it was assumed that there would be a great language barrier. Most students come to school speaking tribal languages, encountering Spanish for the first time in their lives at school. However, language is not as large an obstacle, again with the five years of the Spanish preschool program addressing the problem before the child enters first grade.

Since this study focused on schools with disadvantaged children of rural poverty, the sample of the study started in classes for those exact rural students. Again, I chose schools for these students to see the policy transfer in action. I wanted to watch how the policy was being received by the students and how it was being adapted by their teachers.

Figure A below shows how the base of the classroom was used to look at all the levels involved in the decision making for the adaptation of the policy. The middle circle represents each school. The boxes on the side represent the other levels mentioned above and their influence on the schools.

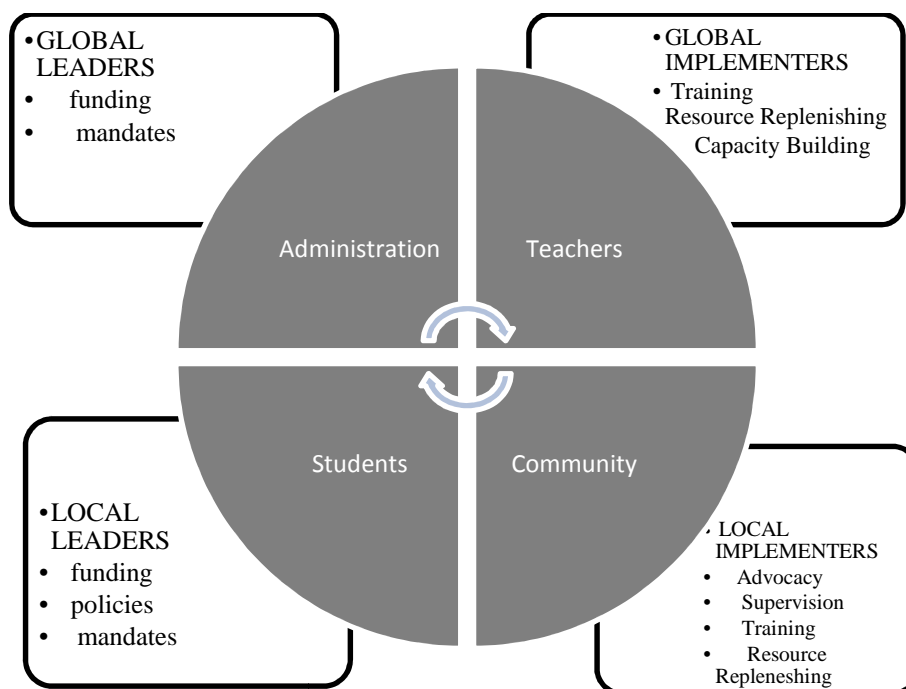


Figure A – Illustration Showing Connection between Classroom and Case Study Levels

Data Analysis

The analysis of data commenced with the first interview and first observation conducted. The analysis continued throughout the entire study and then continued on after the data collection had ended. First a daily log of memos explaining where the study took me and what data I was able to collect was kept in a chronological journal (Creswell, 2007). I dated the data to match this log. All the day's data was placed in a separate dated electronic file. The memo written about this data collection includes a summary of what I learned on the specific day and how the information all ties back to the research questions and theoretical framework. This kept my study focused. It also led to analytical insights that could be tested the next day. I used the memos for the purpose of finding codes. Daily the data was read, transcribed and categorized into frequent codes and recurring themes. All themes were noted in memo form in the chronological log.

According to Strauss in qualitative research coding is done to fracture the data and rearrange them into categories that facilitate comparison between things in the same category and that aid in the development of theoretical concepts (Straus, 1987).

Transcribed daily, codes emerged from daily readings with comparison between other interviews and observations on the same level (leader, implementer and school staff levels). Interviews transcription were electronic with easy comment addition. All observational notes College ruled notebooks contained all observational notes with wide margins and written in short paragraphs, answering observation protocols in pen (See Appendix A). This allowed for codes to be written right on the notes (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984). There were both substantive and theoretical codes that linked the data to a larger picture. The literature review has made explicit the desirable features that have made previous transfers of the *Escuela Nueva* innovation successful. Categories were formed from the data. A search for relationships was conducted as data was read and reread. Once the categories came from the readings, the data was categorized under the codes of top down, bottom up, outside forces, timing, training, adaptation, curriculum, remodeling, pioneer group, etc. Once the data had been broken down into categories by broader codes then sub codes were formed within each category if necessary. For example, the code guides, had sub codes of: curriculum, local context, and active direction. The goal was to get down to the smallest unit of the data and the relationship between the data and the interviewees across each level. This added to the validity of the analysis of data studied.

Limitations

This study was approved by the University of Maryland at a time that the United States did not have an ambassador from Equatorial Guinea. Purificacion Angue Ondo was transferred to Spain after serving in Washington D.C. from 2005 – 2012. The new ambassador did not

arrive before I left for Equatorial Guinea to do my study of PRODEGE. I therefore was unable to receive permission from the government to do my study before leaving. I was told by the embassy to go to the ministry offices in Malabo to receive permission. When I arrived there was a new minister of Education. PRODEGE has seen six new education ministers since it was inaugurated. Each time a new minister arrived he or she had to be brought up to date on the project. I arrived in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, just as the new minister was being brought up to date and the second phase of the program was being negotiated with HESS representatives. It was for this reason that I was told that only oral permission would be granted during my stay in the country at the beginning of the school year.

Equatorial Guinea is a very difficult country to travel in. It is not used to foreign visitors outside of the major urban areas and does not have travel systems in place. Lodging is extremely expensive and there is no public transportation in the country and it is again very expensive for travelers to get from one town to the next. Travel by foreigners is also tightly controlled by the government. It is necessary to have written permission to travel out of the larger urban areas. On the island of Bioko I was able to find a taxi driver who was willing to take me to the villages. In order for a taxi to drive me to the schools I visited, it was necessary to pay for a license. Large stickers were placed on the side doors as proof the taxi had received this proper permission to travel outside the city. Beyond the license, a weekly letter had to be filled out by the licensing office explaining the route to be travelled. All stickers, documents and this letter were checked every day by various military check points along the route to the schools. I was thus able to visit three schools on the island of Bioko. However, the house I was living in lost power for five days and also water for two weeks. In trying to remedy my situation I thought to travel to the mainland and continue my observation of schools on the continent. However, once off the island

and on the continent side of the country, I could not find a taxi driver willing to take me into the interior of the country to visit schools. There are few hotels outside of the main urban area of Bata and therefore travel to and from schools in the interior was impossible. Therefore no schools were visited on the continent. However, this should not discredit the observations done at three schools on the island of Bioko. The island of Bioko is the most developed part of the country. It is heavily populated. Because of the cocoa plantations there it was where the Spanish first developed and where the capital of the country still stands. Today, Bioko is an important area of the country where many oil companies have their offices and thus most major business transactions take place. The observations done for my case study never were intended to generalize to the whole country but rather in true case study form, delve into the uniqueness of each school. Thick description remained the focus of my visits and observations.

There are expected limitations to this study that stem from the knowledge that there has not been much recording and reporting of educational data before the PRODEGE program. The government was not sure where all of its schools were and there were no attendance or data systems before the project. As part of the needs assessment AED found the schools and added them to a GPS data system so that the government could start maintaining records on its schools. Because previous data was not available it was difficult to find baseline information or historical records. It was for this reason that the study focused on the policy transferred in 2005. There is another limitation in that I draw on a very small number of writers for information on the country. I looked for common threads from previous researchers to come to a credible description.

PRODEGE is being implemented under difficult political and material circumstances. A consequence of this is that critical problems may not have been reported in some interviews. The

implementers in D.C. (judged from previous interviews with them) also tended to paint a rosy picture. To counter this, there was substantial cross checking of the information given by different levels vertically as well as horizontally between each level. Nothing was accepted without corroboration from other actors. Also, teachers were visited to corroborate that their declarations can be observed in their classrooms.

The infield part of the study was only for approximately three months. This is only one third of the school year. It was also done at the beginning of the school year. To counter the length of the study chosen schools for observations were schools with teachers that had taught for all five years of the PRODEGE reform. Their experience allows them to quickly get started in a school year and apply their practice with the students of the same community and same families in order to develop the program quickly.

There may also be reluctance on the part of teachers or parents to relate their experiences for fear of reprisal from the political regime. This was countered by ensuring anonymity. An ethical oral contract was created to show that no words stated, recorded or written will ever be linked to the location or name of the person. The promise of no information sharing was orally agreed to by the researcher and subjects and permission for all taping was sought before any interviewing began. If the interviewee was not comfortable with taping the digital recorder was turned off and put away.

I could only see schools on the island of Bioko. I was not in control of my choice of schools within the bounded case of PRODEGE model schools. It is for this reason that I chose three rural schools as central to the study. Regardless of resources and training, rural school populations are the most marginalized in Equatorial Guinea. I followed the policy transfer to its roots in a continent an ocean away.

Researcher Positionality

A researcher brings perspectives that influence the way in which she analyzes data. It is my intention here to present my biases as transparently as possible.

I have been a teacher of marginalized language learning students for 22 years. This colors every visit I have with a teacher, every classroom I enter and the way in which I consider education at large. But I also had already lived in Equatorial Guinea and realized the context of the country would certainly change my definition of education. I have visited rural schools in other countries and have previously confronted that reality against my own definition of education and the schooling of literacy and numeracy. Focusing on the lens of researcher allowed me to see the reality of the schools I visited without assumptions.

I was raised speaking Spanish in the home and learned to read and write the language at the University of Berkeley as a Comparative Literature student. Knowing the language of Equatorial Guinea allowed me to understand lessons being observed and easily interview and later transcribe and translate all data collected. Not knowing the tribal languages of the country kept me from fully understanding conversations sometimes peppered with both languages at once or code switched into. However, all schooling is done in Spanish using teacher voices. Being a teacher that spoke Spanish afforded me an access not expected for a white American PhD student studying an African school.

I lived in Equatorial Guinea for a year in 2005. I taught Physics in Spanish for Marathon Oil to forty four 22 year old students preparing to be plant operators for a new Liquid Natural Gas plant to be opened on the Marathon compound. I taught off of the compound in the center of the city of Malabo while living on the compound. This prepared me for the country's context to a certain degree. The country is much more difficult to live in without the support of a major

oil corporation. Their compounds provide 24 hour electricity and water, transportation, sanitary conditions with medical access and many amenities that the general population of this country does not have access to. This previous experience did not influence my opinion of oil companies as corporations, but rather enriched my understanding of daily operations.

Being an American raised by an immigrant that abandoned an authoritarian government colors the way I approach countries living under such regimes. Having previously lived in Equatorial Guinea prepared me to expect certain limitations to my study. Effort was made to plan a study free from political bias. I designed my sampling with such limitations in mind. I purposely chose multigrade rural schools on an island that was inhabited by a minority and disadvantage tribe. I knew these schools would be the least likely to have political intervention. I steered clear of conversation about politics and again focused my lens of researcher on all work in an effort to counter this bias and remain professional.

Ethical Consideration

No observation or interview was started without first receiving expressed agreement from the subject involved. With the tight governmental control of the country and fear of reprisal common, all subjects were promised anonymity. Schools were visited initially for permission from the school personnel to be observed. No taping was done without permission and subjects were assured that all taping would be solely for use by the researcher in transcription. All transcription would be anonymous with pseudo names or roles used to describe the person and respect that anonymity. Photographs and filming were not allowed in the country until the recent use of smart phones made it very difficult for the country to enforce. This history is ingrained in the culture. However, only a few subjects minded the taping. Most were happy to allow taping and spoke freely about PRODEGE.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TRANSFER OF *ESCUELA NUEVA* TO EQUATORIAL GUINEA

This chapter will look at the implementation of the *Escuela Nueva* policy in Equatorial Guinea. I start with background of the country's unique geography and political history to guide the understanding of the difficult obstacles AED had to deal with in their well planned implementation. I will then present the vertical case study findings of all three levels. I answer my first research question of How was the *Escuela Nueva Policy* chosen for an education reform of the Equatoguinean education system? with the first Leader Level findings. My second question of How were the essential *Escuela Nueva Policy* elements adopted, adapted or neglected in order for the policy to settle in the rural classrooms in Equatorial Guinea? is answered with the second Implementer Level findings. The third research question of Who and what factors have been most influential in the possible indigenization/divergence of this innovation? is answered in the final School Staff Level Findings. All findings follow a very complicated timeline that I have provided as a table in Appendix C. My narrative will follow this timeline in order to describe the transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* policy into the hands of rural students and teachers constrained only by their politics in their whole hearted acceptance of an educational innovation meant to change their lives.

Background of Country

The Setting

As of 2013, the World Bank reports the population of Equatorial Guinea as 736,300 people which makes this tiny country in Central Africa smaller than the size of the U.S. state of Maryland. The government offices are located on the island of Bioko which is inhabited by

only 260,000 Equatoguineans. To do any official government business, the remaining population must travel by plane or ferry from their homes on the mainland. The continental region is couched between Cameroon and Gabon with the major urban city Bata, on the coast. Malabo, the capital, actually lies in the insular region closer to the country of Cameroon. This disjointed geography created difficulties for the people transferring *Escuela Nueva* to Equatorial Guinea as well as poses challenges for teachers on the continent. Decision making education ministry offices only exist in Malabo, on the island of Bioko and there is no infrastructure connecting the different geographical regions and no public transportation exists in the country.

Political History

Equatorial Guinea is the only Spanish speaking sub-Saharan African country. It was a Spanish colony for 200 years, gaining independence in 1968. In his book on the history of schooling in Equatorial Guinea, O. Negrin Fajardo concludes that when compared to other Central African countries, Spain's education system was able to produce high literacy levels and a much higher social and economic situation in Equatorial Guinea. However, "Spain's unfortunate greatest weakness was in its choice of leaders for the country's independence" (Fajardo, 1993, p. 169). The country not only was unable to sustain the level of development Spain had established, but the new leader, Francisco Macias Nguema, drove the country into utter chaos and general destruction. He produced a bloody tyranny from which the country has yet to fully recover (Fajardo, 1993).

Shortly after Macias was handed power he changed the constitution of the country and made himself president for life, ruling for the first years of independence (1968-1979). These are what are known today as the "eleven years of terror". Previous researchers Fegley (1989) and Decalo (1989) both recount how Macias' personality traits and madness conditioned his

brutality. One such trait was a crippling inferiority complex which Decalo (1989) argues stemmed from Macias' lack of education. This led the ruler to have a severe disdain for intellectuals as evidenced by the fact that a mere three months into his rule, he killed many people of letters without cause. In fact, Macias forced most of his educated peoples into exile, leaving his country ill equipped to deal with the collapsed economy (Decalo, 1989, p. 51). Schools, libraries, press offices and churches were closed. National teachers fled to teach elsewhere and Spanish nuns from catholic schools were exiled. Few educated people wanted to remain in the country.

The inferiority complex also comes into play in Macias' expelling of all foreigners from his country. Just the sight of the Spanish flag still being flown prominently over his now independent country, prompted a severe lashing out against all remnants of Spanish colonization (Fegley, 1989). To curtail the freedom of the Spaniards, Macias instituted a tight control on any travel by all foreigners in his country still in place in the country today. In reaction 7,000 Spaniards fled the country; taking with them more than 15,000 local service industry jobs, causing economic paralysis (Fegley, 1989). Nigerian expatriates brought in by the Spaniards to work on the cocoa plantations were expelled from the country in a bitter dispute with Nigeria. The population fell by a third of what it had been before independence. The exodus left the country in isolation. The coco and coffee trade and all commercial activity that had flourished under the Spaniards and the service industry that accompanied it diminished. As tax revenues disappeared all social services came to a halt (Fegley, 1989). Macias singlehandedly created an uneducated populace living in poverty with no aid from abroad. Yet he maintained his rule for eleven years with stories of super natural powers.

The son of a witch doctor, Macias manipulated traditional beliefs and religion to legitimize his reign and to terrorize his population into immobile submission (Decalo, 1989). He had skulls collected and displayed for veneration as he learned and skillfully used each clan's magic (Fegley, 1989). The tyrant insisted on being called The Tiger as the animal was thought to be immortal and invulnerable, creating fear since no one in Equatorial Guinea had seen one. Tribal clan leaders were instructed to spread the dread of his powers. Fear of his magic was so prevalent that when he was executed only foreign troops would pull the trigger, as his own army feared he would return as a tiger and hunt them down (Krause, 2010). Macias played with the superstitious elements in Equatoguinean society to create a feeling of fear so strong that it caused almost total apathy and political impotence (Klinteberg, 1978). "The dynamic of fear and apathy created during Macias' regime is still palpable in Equatorial Guinea today." (Krause, 2010, p. 110). This fear of government has now been almost ingrained in the culture and is one of the findings of this study to be developed more below.

Randall Fegley presents excerpts from a comprehensive look at original documents in his book entitled *Equatorial Guinea, an African Tragedy*. The excerpts paint a thick description of how as time went on even Macias mental capacity was called into question. For example, the excerpts of his presidential speeches show that they were at times incoherent and include his being guided by voices. No one knew quite whose, but sometimes he would stop himself in the middle of a speech, listen quietly for a moment and then, completely off topic, talk about opposition leaders that he had killed (Fegley, 1989).

Anecdotes about Macias insanity abounded (Fegley, 1989). Another of Fegley's excerpts of a refugee's interview explain that he reportedly had a table set for 12 at his presidential palace

and then sat alone while his servants looked on. He would call out the name of his victims and then carry on a conversation with the dead people for whom the table had apparently been set.

It was around the time of this incident that forces in Macias' government began to align in order to consider overthrowing his government. An important part of those forces was Teodoro Obiang Nguema, his nephew, who was in charge of Blackbich prison on Bioko. All of Macias' political opponents were thrown into the notorious prison (Decalo, 1989). There execution followed torture, beatings and starvation. For the average citizen trials were a rarity, punishment was administered directly by Macias' security forces and suspects were imprisoned without due process (Kraus, 2010). Obiang was part of the security services that are to date comprised of Macias Nguema's relatives, kinsmen from Mongomo (a village on the continent) and part of the Esengui clan of the Fang tribe (Decalo, 1989). Although less severe at present, this dynasty still rules the country under the president today. Obiang was the person that rallied support amongst this clan and others in power to overthrow Macias.

Around 1975 Macias increasingly withdrew from his stately palaces in Malabo to his home village of Mongomo. He left his governing of the island of Bioko to his nephew, Teodoro Obiang Nguema, and that of the continent to his vice president. In Mongomo, Macias hoarded the country's treasury, rarely using it even to pay his civil servants. It is said to have begun rotting on the village's soil (Decalo, 1989). Six soldiers in his National Guard went to him to complain about not being paid for eight months. They were immediately killed. One of them was Obiang's younger brother. This caused his heretofore loyal nephew to begin gathering support and joining forces to overthrow Macias. In a coup d'état in 1979 Macias' nephew took over, forcing his uncle to flee under fire with two suitcases filled with treasury money from his home in Mongomo. Macias was later captured, tried and executed. The eleven years of terror for

Equatorial Guinea had ended. However, the country remained in the hands of a highly centralized power.

The immediate aftermath of the coup, albeit shortly lived, was a major relaxation of the reign of terror. In 1979 Obiang opened prison doors to free 5,000 political prisoners, reopened schools and churches, and paid thousands of civil servants back pay (Decalo, 1989). He stopped the isolation of the country calling for foreign investment in Equatorial Guinea, as he promised to restore order and revive the economy.

However, there was no denying that the new ruler was complicit in the many atrocities that occurred under Macias rule. When Obiang tried Macias he did so for the first five years of crimes. If Obiang tried Macias for the last six years of crimes Obiang would also have to stand trial for similar atrocities. Educated exiles were called upon to return to help rebuild the country, but distrusting Obiang, few returned. Aid started to pour in but as Fegley asserts in his book on the regime, “Underneath all the aid lay enormous problems which money could not solve” (Fegley, 1989, p. 179). Systemic corruption as explained below remained.

The country was so devastated that when aid workers arrived they were warned to come prepared. In the 70s United Nation Development Program personnel coming to the country were advised to bring their own light bulbs or batteries since the electricity was unreliable and very expensive. They were warned that there was no gas for cooking and really nothing to cook. For example, in a pamphlet for expat consultants the UN listed that there was no fresh meat, poultry, eggs, butter, cheese, rice, milk or flour available in the country and explained they would have to be imported (Fegley, 1989). An interviewee explained that that even in the 80s he would take a bus to Cameroon to receive the cans of vegetables that they had ordered, as there

was no delivery system in Equatorial Guinea.² Medically the country was a disaster area with malaria, hepatitis, dysentery and the whole array of tropical diseases rampant. Medicines and drugs were unobtainable in local pharmacies and the number of doctors was very limited (Fegley, 1989). And yet as the aid to combat these horrible conditions entered the country, the ruling elite immediately started to siphon off the funds. A World Bank consultant named the ruling elite Tropical Gangsters; recounting that from 1979 to 1981 much of the \$36 million that entered the country was allegedly stolen by the Esengui clan with familial ties to Obiang (Klitgaard, 1990). Today, this clan still constitutes the ruling elite in Equatorial Guinea.

Under Teodoro Obiang Nguema's authoritarian regime human rights are still not respected today (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Political opponents are frequently detained and held without charge. This abuse prompted the United Nations Human Rights Commission to state that there has been no major change in the situation of human rights in Equatorial Guinea since the coup d'état in 1979 (Fegley, 1989). The Commission called for greater access to full participation in politics, the economy, social and cultural affairs for all of its citizens. In summary, the situation remains difficult for Equatoguinean citizens.

An international push for human rights has caused a slight change in investment in social services but little data is available to track the change and what data is available is unreliable. Obiang opened schools in the beginning of his reign, however, he only opened some schools. When 17 of those schools on the island of Bioko were visited by UNESCO they found most without black boards, pencils or text books and teachers awaiting pay (Krause, 2010). In health, life expectancy improved from 42 in 1979 to 48 in 1994, the infant mortality rate decreased from 130 to 111 from 1985 to 1995 and vaccinations were increased by the World Health Organization (Krause, 2010). Only modest improvements followed Obiang's promises given

² Personal interview, by Skype to South America, December 7, 2013.

shortly after the coup d'état. In the last figures quoted by the World Bank in their 2012 Poverty Index 77 percent of the population of Equatorial Guinea lives in poverty.

Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo still rules today. As of this writing he has been ruling Equatorial Guinea for 35 years. It is rumored that he is now ill and that he is grooming his son Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mangué to take over, having named him the second vice president of the country in 2012. Despite his rapid rise in the government his son is best known for his lavish play boy lifestyle.

In conclusion the political history of Equatorial Guinea has been tumultuous. Surviving Spanish colonialism for 200 years, it suffers two authoritarian presidents as a young country with only 44 years of independence. This nation has gone from a nightmare regime in the extreme sense with a mad leader destroying the country to another bad dream of a lesser degree, less tyrannical perhaps but still extremely authoritarian. The country's political history has an influence on every facet of society today. The few researchers who have entered the country have found it manifested in a sense of apathy in the population. Klinteberg, when speaking of the fear created by the political history found that it led to a feeling of fear in Equatorial Guinea that was "so strong that it cause[d] almost total apathy and political impotence" (Klinteberg, 1978, p. 52). Kraus explains when speaking of the climate today under Obiang; "The dynamic of fear and apathy created during the Macías regime is still palpable in Equatorial Guinea today" (Kraus, 2010, p. 109). On both of my trips into this country I was struck by this sense of apathy and after personal interviews with teachers and staff could only attribute it to the political history. Such a history also creates a great fear of opposition and a blind acceptance of the authoritarian rule. I found people afraid to even speak of opposition. Krause states "Outward acceptance of, apathy toward, or support for the ruling class has long been a survival mechanism

for many, if not most, of the country's citizens, even if privately they disapprove of the political regime whose power permeates through all levels of society" (Krause, 2010, p. 204). I also see it manifested in a paralysis of decision which is embedded in a bureaucracy unwilling to make a move without obtaining approval from superiors. This affects the progress of the country and will also affect the transfer of any policy into the country. The sparks of change produced by this transfer of policy lay the foundation for the shoring up of social services in the country and thus lends great importance to the program brought to these 54 schools. The discovery of oil that starts off PRODEGE's policy transfer into the country has had an extreme impact on the nation. Oil discovery has magnified foreign influence and opened the country to more scrutiny.

Oil Discovery

The discovery of oil in 1990 drastically changed the country's economic condition. According to the Oil and Gas Journal, overall Equatorial Guinea had proved oil reserves of 1.1 billion barrels in total as of January 2011. Since 1995 production in the country has increased dramatically. In 1995, oil production was 5,000 barrels of oil produced daily (bopd) and according to EIA's Short-Term Energy Outlook, the country is currently producing slightly over 300,000 bopd. This means that Equatorial Guinea is one of the biggest producers of oil in the world having ranked from 4th to currently ranking 35th. (There are only eight more years of oil production predicted as the amount of oil produced is declining) (IMF 2012). In 1980 The United Nations Human Development Index showed Equatorial Guinea's GDP per capita at only \$470. In 2010 it was \$18,387. That is an increase of 3,812.1 percent. The oil revenues represent 90 percent of government revenue and 98 percent of government export earnings (IMF 2012). However, more often than not it is the elite ruling class that benefits from the country's economic growth as again 77 percent of the country still lives in poverty (World Bank, 2012).

The world took note of this large discovery of oil which brought with it large multinational corporations and international trade. Equatorial Guinea could no longer be an isolated country. Human Rights Watch organizations as well as the multinational corporations have called for Obiang to correct his injustices. The government instituted laws against false imprisonment and corruption but they are rarely enforced.

Aware of his poor image Obiang has employed an American PR firm³ to help him present his government in a better light. He also started social projects in the country with great fanfare. For example, he had a neighborhood built right on the edge of Malabo. It is called *Esperanza* which means hope and has cute pastel colored cookie cutter homes with cement sidewalks and manicured small front lawns. This is in stark contrast to the rest of Malabo. The houses have running water and electricity at steadier rates than in the rest of the city. He slotted the houses for the poor, but in actuality allowed his elite clan members to buy blocks of the houses and then rent out to those who could afford them, again allowing the elite to benefit from any government project. To be fair, a few emerging middle class families have been able to buy starter homes in the neighborhood. But the poor that the properties were supposedly slated for cannot afford them⁴.

Other investments include such reported by the World Health Organization which reports Obiang's investment in health has increased to 4 percent of GDP and that life expectancy improved from 48 in 1994 to 53/55 in 2009 and that the infant mortality rate decreased from 111 in 1995 to 100 in 2009. Improvements have been made especially in the combat of malaria. However, the main source of the change came with the catalyst of a Marathon Oil partnership. With Marathon trainings and funds the malaria project has helped with the decrease in mortality

³Personal interview, Washington D.C., 2012

⁴ Personal interview, Malabo, 2013

rate. The influence of multinational nations looking to do a bit of PR work of their own has created some change in the country's social services.

In 1976 the US Ambassador was returned to the US and the government ended relations with Equatorial Guinea when Macias handed the ambassador an insulting letter that scared him. He fled the next day. Now that the oil industry is so heavily involved in the country an embassy had to be reopened despite the human rights violations. The United States quietly reopened its consulate in Malabo in 2006.

HESS Oil entered the Central Africa region with its acquisition of Triton Energy, a small independent Oil company. In 1999 Tritan Energy discovered a large oil reserve in the La Ceiba field of Equatorial Guinea. HESS was looking to diversify its base and now one third of its business comes from Equatorial Guinea. In 2011 HESS oil made \$37.9 billion and is currently on the Fortune 100 list of top American Corporations.

HESS Oil has a history of working on education problems in countries where it works and widely publicizes its works for public relations. Major oil companies are image sensitive and understand that improved social behavior is likely to enhance their reputations and strengthen their brands (Krause, 2010, p.74). For example, in the 1980's HESS oil was in St. Lucia when a hurricane hit and destroyed many schools. Leon Hess started a fund to repair and construct schools and funded it for 20 years. Following in his father's footsteps and protecting the corporate image, John Hess, the current CEO of HESS, looked to work on improving the education system in Equatorial Guinea. He is part of the outside forces that entered the country with the discovery of oil. Regardless of the motivation, transnational Corporations involved in the industry of oil have changed the country forever. PRODEGE is a project showcasing such change influenced by outside forces.

This vertical case study of PRODEGE will stop at the three levels of influence involved in the transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* program. The analysis is deepened by the description of actions and background brought into the country with the program. To further the narrative there is a timeline (Appendix C) that shows the stops and starts the program had in the beginning. A school year starts unofficially on the first Monday after October 12th and lasts until June of the following year. Officially the program started in January of 2006 and lasted until November of 2011 when AED left the country. However, the false starts leading to the program actually starting on July 1, 2007 leaves only four school years for the project's implementation. The narrative of what actually happened in the transfer of the policy of *Escuela Nueva* to Equatorial Guinea follows the influence of action and power vertically through the levels described below.

Leader Level

The main actors in the Leader Level are the presidents of the American firms HESS Oil and AED and the president of Equatorial Guinea. Under them are the HESS staff in New York and Houston headquarters and the AED Staff supporting PRODEGE in Washington D.C. Finally the Education Minister is also in the Leader Level. The following are the findings of my study that include an analysis leading to the answer of my first research question: How was *Escuela Nueva* chosen for an education reform of the Equatorial Guinean Education System?

There are two conflicting stories on how PRODEGE actually came to be. The first narrative is according to interviews with head implementers of the PRODEGE program. This narrative has John Hess first meeting the head of Academy of Education Development (AED), Stephen Moseley, striking up a relationship with him in about 2003 or 2004.⁵ They had a discussion about improving education in Africa. Once in Equatorial Guinea and seeing that basic education was in a very poor state in the country, John Hess contacted Stephen Moseley to

⁵ Personal interview, AED offices, Washington D.C., January 2013

talk about what kinds of programs AED had experience with to help poor rural areas without electricity or water and difficulty of access. He was especially interested in primary programs. Stephen Moseley and John Hess continued the conversation for about a year and a half before Hess ever approached Obiang. Never having been to Equatorial Guinea, Mosley would offer a program as an idea and Hess would ask for more information. There was never a formal proposal. One subject stated “It was almost as if the program emerged from concentric circles starting with a meeting of the minds leading to conversations leading to a simple concept paper leading to a more complete concept paper and finally to an elaborate presentation.” Stephen Moseley and John Hess came to an agreement about a program based on *Escuela Nueva* because this had worked so well in Latin America countries with similar conditions. At this point the government of Equatorial Guinea had not been involved. Once John Hess was happy with the idea, according to interviewees, the project idea was presented to the president of Equatorial Guinea.

In the second narrative, emerging from interview of ex-Equatoguinean ministry officials, the story is quite different. The initial meeting was between the president of their country and John Hess. John Hess did have the initial idea but it was for any type of social program. Both the Health and Education sectors were considered. According to the Equatoguineans it was the president’s decision that an education program would be best for the country. Later, John Hess told the head of AED of the president’s idea, having asked the president’s permission to contact AED for ideas on the program design. The president was very pleased.

The assumption in the first account is that the funder and head of a large multinational corporation would know best about education projects because of his father’s involvement in such and because of his powerful status. In this version the AED’s director knows best about a

country he has never visited because he has worked in similar situations in Latin America and assumes the country will be the same because it speaks the same language in assumed similar rural areas. The assumption in the second account is that the president is the one most concerned with the education of his poor populace of which there has been no evidence of until now. PRODEGE is the president's very first attempt at fixing his crumbling schooling system.

Regardless of who started the initial discussions, the project landed on the desk of the director of Latin American Programs instead of falling to the director of African Programs at AED. The use of the Spanish language in Equatorial Guinea was the deciding factor for this decision ⁶. In interviews, the staff at AED was asked how the policy of *Escuela Nueva* was chosen for PRODEGE. All those interviewed stated that it emerged from a needs assessment done before the project began. However, the following recounting of the initial meeting between AED and the president of Equatorial Guinea shows that that were other forces at work.

In 2004 a Hispanic woman was chosen as the in-country head of the project. Along with the president of AED she met John Hess and the three went into the country to visit schools. On that same trip there was a meeting with the president where she accompanied John Hess to present the project. The purpose for the meeting was to introduce the president of AED and the female project director to Obiang. The AED in-country project director offered some suggestions for a program to Obiang and her presentation included the active schools component of *Escuela Nueva* given as an option. In the in-country project director's presentation there is a table included that shows where AED has been involved with transferring *Escuela Nueva*. The names of the projects in two of the countries that *Escuela Nueva* was used as a basis are listed and how they were implemented in the country and achievements of those projects continue in horizontal rows besides the projects BASE in Nicaragua and BEST in Guatemala. This answers my first

⁶ Personal interview, January 2013.

research question showing that policy transfer was already a given before the needs assessment was ever done in Equatorial Guinea. It indicates that the driving force of this policy transfer was not the needs assessment but instead was chosen by AED. Nonetheless, the president was very pleased with the presentation and gave his approval and most importantly took it on as his initiative. No project is allowed to begin in Equatorial Guinea without the president taking it on as his initiative. Obiang thus inaugurated the program in his country at this meeting.

Another important point of this meeting was that Hess was confirming his agreement with the president. They had agreed that it was going to be a large scale education project funded by both HESS and the president. Up until this point nothing had been signed. AED did not sign this agreement until they had worked up an action plan. This agreement signed was only between HESS Oil and the government.

AED's assumption that Equatorial Guinea was going to be like any other Hispanic country because they spoke the same Spanish language is apparent with the staff they hired for the needs assessment and later for the project. Only previous workers from Latin American countries were brought to Equatorial Guinea. When I brought this point up to an Equatoguinean former education ministry official he told me that he does not consider himself Hispanic. He understands that the Spanish colonized his country and gave them the Spanish language which unifies them, but he looks on the Spanish language as just that, a language. The man speaks many tribal languages as well as English, Russian, French and Spanish. He only lets his culture define him, not the language. This individual said that he was confident in his African identity and did not like being considered Hispanic. He could not understand why AED brought so many Hispanics from so many different Latin American countries to work on the project and considered AED a United States based country and the project ideas coming from the North in

the hands of the U.S. companies of HESS and AED. In turn AED staff looks at this program as being a case of the South helping the South through the use of *Escuela Nueva*.

John Hess also finds it important for his business to be thought of as the initiator of the program. On any corporate presentations of the PRODEGE program the fact that this was HESS's initiative is important. HESS repeatedly states that the company wants to leave a country it works in better off than when it entered the country and AED staff insists that John Hess is genuinely interested in education projects. However, there is no denying that it is good public relations for HESS to be known as a company that does good work for the developing world. HESS' logo is on all materials for the PRODEGE project.

The final assumption is about the presidential initiative. If there is no presidential initiative then the program could not be fulfilled by the education ministry. In this very power centralized country the president must be at the head of the decision. His initiative is the approval for the work on PRODEGE to begin. When interviewing teachers and principals every single person said that the program was their president's idea and that it was their government that chose the program to come to their country. They knew that HESS' money was involved but they were convinced that the idea was a presidential one. Two former ministry officials interviewed said that the idea started with John Hess but that he only presented the idea to work on any type of social project. They did not consider that Hess had the idea to work on the education of their country. That decision was their president's.

The first agreement between the president and HESS was signed quickly. (This has not been the case for the second phase.) After this first agreement was signed in 2004, AED was contracted by HESS. At this point no budget for the program had been decided on. It was to come from the needs assessment done in the country by the in-country director and a team of

eleven international consultants. According to the HESS staff interviewed, the needs assessment took place from August to November of 2005. The AED staff interviewed say it started a little later and lasted until the end of the year, but still took place over three months. However, the needs assessment team of eleven was not all there at the same time. One would come for a month, another for two, etc. At the very least, though, there was always someone accompanying the director visiting the schools and interviewing key actors. Each expert was responsible for one subject's assessment. They were assigned a ministry official that was with them at all times and they purposely fully informed the ministry of everything that they were doing. The team visited about 25 schools including all sorts of different types of institutions: night schools, adult and secondary schools; both rural and urban, to get the whole picture of the educational system of the country. About 50 people were interviewed from different sections of the government or educational system, as well as people from the US Embassy and HESS Oil. All stakeholders were talked with: parents, young people, women groups, people from other ministries like the ministry of women, ministry of mines, as well as with Ministry of Education officials.

For the AED staff this was the very first time that this needs assessment happened before the proposal was written. Usually AED worked with USAID and other aid agencies where the proposal came from the top down. AED staff believes that the needs assessment allowed for a proposal written from the bottom up. Every AED staff member that was interviewed insisted that the *Escuela Nueva* program came from the needs assessment. But it did not come from the ministry or the people interviewed. Only one of those interviewed for this study and in general few people in Equatorial Guinea had ever heard of *Escuela Nueva* and those that had, did not have the power to suggest it. As explained earlier AED chose the program before the assessment was done.

The needs assessment team included an expert in each of these fields: Institutional Strengthening and Alternative Education, Youth Education, Quality of Education and Teacher Training, Evaluation and Community Participation, Primary Education, Secondary Education, System Planning and Active schools. What is interesting to note is that on the needs assessment team there were many experts that had extensive experience with *Escuela Nueva*. Oscar Mogollon was one such expert. As explained above he was one of the founders of the program, but on the needs assessment he is listed as a Teacher Training expert. There is also a researcher that has written extensively on *Escuela Nueva*, and is listed on the experts list as a primary education expert. When interviewing some of the people on the needs assessment team I was told that at the end of their stay they were allowed to meet together at the HESS offices. Some only sent their assessment of the section they were responsible to assess to AED by email. Others stayed in Equatorial Guinea and worked together in the HESS offices. As they each spoke of options they could think of to correct the problems they had encountered they were steered away from projects that would advert money away from the *Escuela Nueva* approach.

When former Equatoguinean Education Ministry officials were asked their opinions about these foreigners on the needs assessment team one answered that the people of his country knew what their needs were. They did not need to have people that knew nothing about their country come and tell them what the needs were. He was surprised at their expectations of his country's educational system and condition of the schools. They had explained to him the conditions they normally found when doing such assessments in Hispanic country rural schools. He explained to me that the schools in his country were established permanent fixtures, not the temporary wooden structures these foreigners were talking about. He also questioned their looking on the internet for suggestions to propose solutions to the current situation in his country.

He wondered how such solutions could ever change context and expect to be sustainable in his country. However, he said that the final solution presented of active learning was the ideal solution and that he was very happy that the teaching methodology had been introduced into his country. More on this will be developed later.

The findings of the needs assessment were read to the ministry and it was at this point that the ministry input was asked for. For the most part they agreed with the findings as they had informed the findings as well as were kept abreast of what the needs assessment team was investigating. The ministry steered the project towards a teacher certification and training component in order to improve the quality of education. And they asked for institutional training for the ministry. *Escuela Nueva* and its active schools component were not suggested by the ministry. Some of the needs assessment team returned to AED's Washington D.C. offices with the director. They went over the summaries and then formed an action plan. The action plan was completed at the end of 2005.

The action plan is significantly different than what had been presented by AED as suggestions to the president in the original meeting in that it encompassed the need for teacher training and institutional reinforcement (AED, 2006). The one common thread is the suggestion of trainings for active schools that come from *Escuela Nueva*. The changes addressed the results of the needs assessment.

Results of needs assessment

The needs assessment found that out of the 784 primary schools that the country had, 459 were multigrade schools or incomplete schools, reaching only up to third grade. Approximately 58 percent of school aged children were enrolled in school with 20 percent of these repeating and with a 20 percent drop-out rate. In first grade the repetition rate was the highest with 35 percent

of the students repeating. One out of every six children actually graduated primary school. There were also 71 secondary schools (7-12) and two universities. Approximately one out of every four school aged male youth was enrolled in secondary and one out of every three girls. At that time that meant that there were 75,000 secondary-school-age youth that were not in school (AED, 2006, p. 1). The assessment describes this lack of educational and corresponding employment opportunities for youth as posing a serious challenge to development and a significant risk for social stability. The study also found that only one half of the country's teachers had received teacher training, meaning that few had received training or practice in proven teaching methods (AED, 2006, p. 1). Teaching predominantly implied teachers dictating and student passively copying from blackboards. The lack of trained teachers was decidedly the central problem identified by the needs assessment (AED, 2006, p. 9) and AED wanted to focus on the main challenges of quality teaching and learning.

Budget

Once the needs assessment was completed the discussions over budget were done in private between HESS Oil and the government of Equatorial Guinea. AED was not involved. Former HESS officials state that the two parties agreed to set aside \$40 million for the project. HESS would provide \$20 million and the government would provide a matching 20 million dollars. For the first three years the government did not pay its matching funds. However, in 2009 it did, in fact, start to pay for the project (Kraus, 2010, p.192). In his dissertation on corporate social responsibility in Equatorial Guinea, Kraus states that HESS maintains complete control over the project's finances, and the government supposedly pays for the project through in-kind payments of oil to HESS. This bypasses the Equatoguinean Treasury and the government bureaucracy, thereby saving time and potential government corruption (Kraus, 2010,

p. 192). However, AED interviewees state that monies came to them for distribution from the Ministry of the Mines. No other ministry in Equatorial Guinea funds projects as the Ministry of the Mines holds all funds. The actual payment arrangements are under a confidentiality agreement and no official ministry official or any current HESS employee would corroborate the information above. All do insist, however, that the needs assessment drove the budget. The final agreement to fund the project was signed in July of 2006, but it would not be until mid 2007 that the project would actually officially start.

HESS Hands Off

An agreement then was signed contracting AED to implement the project. AED became the fourth party on the Memorandum of Understanding between HESS, the president, the education ministry and AED. From that point on HESS took a hands-off approach. All funds for the project were distributed by AED, all daily activity was planned, implemented and monitored only by AED staff. John Hess only wanted updates quarterly and these were not always done in person, as time went on many of the updates were by phone and over time occurred less frequently. HESS' corporate social responsibility office explains that their expertise was the oil industry. They were confident in AED's expertise and in their 50 years of experience in education projects all over the world. HESS did help out with logistical problems that came up and was also called on to dig water wells at some of the schools. However, AED was the director of the project.

Work Plan

In September of 2006 AED arrived in country for a three day planning workshop. At that point there was no AED staff in the country. The purpose of the workshop was to come up with the first year's work plan. A plan had been compiled by AED staff from previous work on active

learning. Interviews suggest some of the language was changed to allow for the proposal to move forward in Equatorial Guinea. For example, previous work in other countries had included language about the teaching of democratic principles, empowerment of girls and bilingual language components. These were all removed in the presentations in Equatorial Guinea. What was presented was accepted and then AED and the Ministry went through the action plan line by line to make changes as needed. Reportedly everyone was in consensus with what was presented, mainly because they had been kept abreast of what was going to be proposed based on the needs assessment.

Three Components

A decision was made to break the project into three components. Each component would be independent of the other but all would report to the sole director of AED. As the needs assessment had highlighted a great need for teacher training and teacher training was the first issue brought up by the ministry, when AED arrived in the country, the first component established was for the training of teachers and their certification. The second component was for institutional strengthening since there was virtually no data on the schooling system and no information on the schooling system used in plans. Finally, the third component was for active schools. Since the active schools component is based on the *Escuela Nueva* policy it is the focus of this dissertation. The other components influenced how the active schools component was implemented but are not the focus of this dissertation. The original plan was to establish 40 model schools PRODEGE active schools. For the purpose of this study the creation and implementation of these schools will constitute the *Escuela Nueva* policy that is being transferred.

Minister's Help

AED staff explains that they had the crucial aid of the newly appointed minister of education. He had been a previous Minister of Mines and had been in the initial discussion about this project while serving that ministry. Giving the green light quickly allowed people to get to work and this education minister was very enthusiastic in doing so. There was also the added bonus that he had been a teacher himself and reportedly a good one. His experience in education helped push the project along in what could have been very difficult circumstances given the bureaucracy problems plaguing the ministries of the country. The Ministry of Education is organized in the following hierarchy (Rodriguez, 2011):

Table 2 *Hierarchy of Education Ministry*

Level One	Minister
Level Two	Vice-minister Presidential Counsel for Education Secretary General Secretary of State in charge of Higher Education Regional Delegation of Education
Level Three	Technical Bodies of Execution: General Direction of Early Childhood and Preschool, of Primary Education and Literacy, of Secondary School and Vocational Education, of Educational Planning and Program, of University and Research, of Youth and Physical Education and Sport as well as the General Inspection of Education Services
Level Four	Administrative Service Bodies under the Secretary General: Personnel, Administrative Coordination Section, Section of International Relations and Scholarships; Economic Section, and Registrar and Archive Section.
Level Five	Administrative Service Bodies under the Secretary General: Personnel, Administrative Coordination Section, Section of International Relations and Scholarships; Economic Section, and Registrar and Archive Section.
Level Six	Consultant Bodies of Coordination: Administrative Board
Level Seven	Autonomous Entities: National Commission for Cooperation (UNESCO). National Commission for Accreditation of Degrees and Certificates, National University of Equatorial

The people in the top levels of the hierarchy are changed frequently. To date PRODEGE has survived six Education ministers. Each section mentioned above works separately but cannot progress on projects without the approval of those in higher positions. The fact that the first minister for PRODEGE had given immediate approval saved AED countless hours

obtaining the proper documentation necessary to get started. When AED staff compares Education ministers the first one they dealt with stands out. Once the plan was complete the project officially began in October of 2006 with the actual work starting in 2007.

The leader level started the PRODEGE project off. It was not as involved in the implementation of the program although it remained informed. The head of AED retired in 2010 as AED became FHI360 and the Education minister was changed six times. But all other leaders remained for the five years of the first phase of PRODEGE. AED started off the transfer of the policy and as shown below then implemented *Escuela Nueva* with difficulty in Equatorial Guinea.

In conclusion the Leader Level findings speak to the very beginning of the policy transfer into the country. This is the section where the tensions between forces come out in the negotiations done in order for the policy to enter Equatorial Guinea. Both decision makers forming the partnership that funded this program feigned ignorance of what they were unleashing on the country. HESS and the president left the choice and implementation of the program to AED. AED chose a program popular in the South with successful transfer easily accepted by democratic countries with which they had a wealth of experience. This choice answers my first research question of How was the *Escuela Nueva Policy* chosen for an education reform of the Equatoguinean education system? AED, an external force choosing from its profitable repertoire, chose a constructivist program for a country that had a very authoritarian top down political system. It may not have known the political system was so very ingrained in this country's nature, but even at the point of the needs assessment, after interviewing people and observing schools, they did not change course. The needs assessment itself was leading to a foregone conclusion. The program had been chosen before anything had

begun. A solution which in some respects comes from the North, in the hands of UNESCO and AED, and in other respects comes from the South, with its first implementation and revision coming from Colombia, has been given to a country reeling from a past that has left it struggling amidst corruption and greed. The ministry, the teachers and students all now struggle to understand the democratic principles embedded in the program and AED continues in its plan to implement phase one of PRODEGE with blinders on. The Implementer Level Findings will describe this implementation process.

Implementer Level

The key actors in the Implementer Level are all AED in-country staff including all the teacher trainers brought from Latin America. AED had a sole project director over all three components and also hired a coordinator to head each one of the three components. There were many foreign consultants that came and worked for various time limits as well as a lot of AED staff in Washington D.C. that helped with the implementation. Included in this implementer level there are also Equatoguinean adjunct staff members working with AED counterparts. Finally, this level also includes all of the Equatoguinean educators chosen as teacher trainers and guide writers in what will later be termed the pioneer group for *Escuela Nueva*'s implementation. Anyone involved in the implementation of PRODEGE, be they foreign or Equatoguinean, is considered part of this implementer level.

The active schools component is one of the three components of the PRODEGE program. This is the only component of the program that deals with the transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* policy. The active schools component is what I will now analyze in the Implementer Level. This is not to be confused with the essential element of *Escuela Nueva* entitled active learning. Active schools are what PRODEGE calls the *Escuela Nueva* models schools in Equatorial Guinea. The

active schools component includes: the school remodeling, the distribution of group work furniture and other materials, the trainings of facilitators and teachers in their classrooms, the guide writing, and the formation of a pioneer group. It is the true transfer of the policy into Equatorial Guinea.

This is the level that answers my second research question of: How were the essential elements of the *Escuela Nueva Policy* adopted, adapted or neglected in order for the policy to settle into the rural classrooms in Equatorial Guinea? I will follow the transfer of all the essential elements of the *Escuela Nueva* policy as they are developed in the implementation of PRODEGE. Repeating the list from the summary of essential elements of *Escuela Nueva* found in the literature review, they are: Relevant Curriculum, The Teacher as Facilitator, Active Learning, Community Participation, Individualized Promotion, Focus on Rural Schools with Disadvantaged Students, Pioneer Group and Teacher Training and Support. This narrative of the implementation of the *Escuela Nueva* Policy in PRODEGE schools shows that all of these elements were implemented in Equatorial Guinea. However, the following narrative about this implementation of PRODEGE provides a rich description of the tensions between the outside assumptions and the in country realities and between the top down strength and the bottom up fragility.

It was not until July of 2007 that the key players in the implementer level were put in place. The first task was to hire a coordinator for each component that would answer to the In-country director. The very first staff member to arrive in Equatorial Guinea was the active schools coordinator. He was a former student of Oscar Mogollon.

Oscar Mogollon had always been very active in the implementation of other programs based on his creation of *Escuela Nueva*. His wife retells that he would frequently return to his

country after spending time implementing the program in another context and work to revise, add to and continually better *Escuela Nueva*. He had previously worked with the head of the Latin American Programs at AED in Washington D.C., while the two were stationed in Nicaragua. They were both looking forward to working together again in Equatorial Guinea. Oscar Mogollon had come to the country for the needs assessment and then wrote up a report of the needs and how his program could address them. Returning to the country for some initial work, Mogollon then fell ill with cancer and had to leave. He, however, spent enough time in Equatorial Guinea to make quite an impression on its educators. Those fortunate enough to have met him say he was very enthusiastic and that his teachings on methodology were a welcome change in their country. They also speak of his active role saying, “He was a hands-on type of guy; he was not an office bound worker. That was refreshing.” Unfortunately, though, as he got sicker he had to return to his home in Nicaragua and asked this former student of his to go help start the program in Equatorial Guinea.

The student had met Oscar Mogollon at the age of 10 in 1971 at a teacher’s college he was attending in Colombia. At that time Mogollon was using his time teaching at this college to involve his students in the writing of the first guides used in his program. After learning how to write the guides with Mogollon the student had gone onto learn how to teach the *Escuela Nueva* program in his first teaching assignment under the watchful eye of a teacher that was good friends and a colleague of Mogollon’s. The student then went onto lead the implementation of the program in an isolated region of Colombia during the nationalization of *Escuela Nueva*. Eventually he worked in the capital city writing guides in an *Escuela Nueva* Institute and later took the program abroad. He was well versed in the program.

For PRODEGE he first met with Mogollon in Nicaragua and worked out an implementation plan. The plan includes most elements found in a book entitled *Hacia Escuela Nueva* written by Oscar Mogollon in the 1970's in Colombia and are listed in the essential elements section on *Escuela Nueva* in chapter two. The PRODEGE plan, however, includes how the elements in *Escuela Nueva* can address the exact problems taken from the needs assessment work done in Equatorial Guinea. The coordinator's experience with *Escuela Nueva* gave him confidence that he would be able to implement the plan he worked on with Oscar Mogollon. When the student arrived in Equatorial Guinea in 2006 he was the only AED staff member besides the director and administrative personnel. Once officially named the coordinator of the active schools component he was first asked by the director to go on an assessment tour of the schools to determine which schools would be the ones to be selected as model schools. AED was looking for characteristics that were needed to be successful model schools. They especially needed to find the people that were willing to work with the initiative.

The coordinator states that it was at this time that his adjunct coordinator became most useful to him. The PRODEGE program was designed to include in the implementer level adjunct Equatoguinean staff members that would shadow AED staff and learn how to perform their position so that they could then take over when AED left the country. In contrast the Active schools component coordinator states that his adjunct coordinator was instrumental to his work as a foreign expert. They both fed off of each other in a very collaborative way. The adjunct coordinator was a ministry official that was present at all activities and helped the AED coordinator learn to hone in on the personnel he needed on his side to continue his work; explained the protocols necessary to complete tasks in national, district and village arenas; and was a great help getting all the permissions necessary to travel.

In its 30 year development plan Equatorial Guinea put infrastructure as its priority for the first 10 years. In 2007 just as it began with a web of roads being paved throughout the country PRODEGE started its travel to all the schools. Travel was almost impossible with large equipment blocking the already narrow thoroughfares. Add to that the tight control that the country still today has on the travel of foreigners and the coordinator states you have the makings of a nightmare. His car was stopped constantly at the beginning of the technical work. He said once they got used to his travel on certain roads the military stopping and checking for permissions lessened. However, if he was in need of documents his adjunct coordinator was able to facilitate the process which could have taken months for each one. He taught the adjunct coordinator about accountability and financial reports to be made to the in country director, the AED office in D.C., HESS and the ministry. They would have periodic meetings that would be done in conjunction with other technical teams for planning, evaluating, redirecting and developing all of the yearly action plans together. Their relationship was beneficial for both and more than just the mere capacity building technique it was originally designed for.

The Choosing of the Schools

The active schools coordinator was paired with an Equatoguinean education inspector general who knew the education system well. At the time there was no school map of the country but since the inspector general knew where most of the schools were he could drive the coordinator on the main highways from Bata to the north of the continent and close to Malabo on the island of Bioko so that together they could look at schools with easy access. The inspector general was told to stay close to the roads with easy access as it was not AED's intention to enter remote areas. The plan was to select 40 schools; 20 near Malabo and 20 near Bata. These are the major cities of the country and AED staff had lodging at both locations. It would be too

difficult to get to remote areas because lodging would be a problem. The schools picked were off of the main road and as the country is no bigger than the U.S. state of Maryland rural schools were never far from the main cities. AED had no intention of making things too difficult for their implementation of the program and were willing to ignore the more remote rural areas that their program was specifically designed to address. One only has to travel a short distance outside of the urban areas to be in rural schools and the schools in the urban areas were also in poor condition and AED interviewees⁷ justify their decision to stay in the urban areas with these facts. AED also knew from previous projects that some schools would drop out for various reasons out of their control, such as the changes of a principal, or for some other reason and so they picked about 46 in total to end the program with the 40 promised.

The inspector general explains that the program actually got started looking at the schools when the Education Minister had gotten up in a meeting and banged his fist on the table insisting the meetings stop and the program get started. He says that it was at that point that he started the tour of the schools with the new coordinator of active schools late in 2006, almost a year after the original start up of the program. This inspector felt that a lot of time was wasted getting started.

However, more time would be lost when the list of schools picked to be model schools was presented to the ministry because AED received a lot of criticism for not including every tribe and district of the country. It is very important to the country that every program be as inclusive as possible. They were highly criticized for not including areas that had more difficult access and finally it was decided that there would be one model school in each of the 50 districts. This changed the plan for AED. AED explained that they did not have the resources to add the schools and go into such remote areas. If their model schools included schools at distances all

⁷ Personal interviews in Washington DC, by phone from Bata and by Skype.

over the country, more staff would have to be hired to be able to monitor and train in each school and community. They had enough educational games and could train the staff but they could not provide the planned equipment and remodel all the new schools. The new active schools coordinator said that they had to go back to the drawing board on how to implement the program. Since they already had 46 schools chosen they just had to add 8 more schools and make sure that they represented the required districts. AED finally agreed and the budget was renegotiated at a later date to be \$25 million from each party. This change, though, slowed the beginning of the program. But then even more time would be lost when just as the number of schools issue was settled, the project was stalled once again with certain ministry staff trying to be put on the payroll against the contract rules agreement. AED had to call in HESS to renegotiate the project agreement again and it ended up causing PRODEGE about another three months lost time to recover from these renegotiations and start up again.

Program Components

In July of 2007 the implementation of PRODEGE finally got underway. The active school coordinator set about following the plan he and Oscar Mogollon had put together for Equatorial Guinea. The program was designed to include all of the essential elements found to be factors for successful transfer of *Escuela Nueva* in other countries. They are described below.

Pioneer Group

Inspired by how his mentor Oscar Mogollon had formed a pioneer group that took the program all over the world, the active schools coordinator also strove to find such a team in Equatorial Guinea. The AED staff (including those usually based in Washington D.C.) interviewed Equatoguinean educators for this group with the hopes that once this pioneer group was formed they would advocate for the permanence and expansion of the Active schools

component of PRODEGE. When asked how the educators were chosen, one interviewee stated that the ministry decided and chose her to be interviewed. She had been working in their offices of human resources but the ministry understood that she had studied pedagogy in Spain and knew that she was knowledgeable and that that is why they chose her to be interviewed by AED. There was a ministry official also present for her interview. Another interviewee, a current teacher, explained that she was expected to furnish a large bottle of expensive whiskey weekly to a ministry official and that once she agreed to do so she was then also sent to be interviewed, but she assured me that she was chosen because of her knowledge. According to AED staff, the educators were asked questions about their knowledge of teaching methodology, team work, aptitude and attitude. The active schools component coordinator states that many were invited but few were chosen. Initially about 20 people were chosen for training in a village near the border with Cameroon. As time went on the group was reduced to only eight people.

However, because the project has currently been suspended for two years, the group has dismantled. Three of these eight are now working in the Education Ministry, three are teaching secondary school and at the University, one is a child care active learning facilitator, one was just sitting at home waiting to see what happened with the second phase of PRODEGE and one had lost contact with the group. The politics of the region does not allow for expansion of the program without government mandates. When I asked an interviewee about his thoughts on this group joining forces and writing a proposal to the government facilitating the expansion of the program he answered:

The guides had this line of thinking in them. They spelt out how one should not only state the problem but also think of alternatives to resolve the problem. I guess we should consider doing that. For now we will just wait for the

government to tell us the program is not going to be continued. Then I guess we could try and have a meeting and see if anyone wants to work on the expansion as a group. We would need approval for that, though.

In contrast to the pioneer group in Colombia, the pioneer group formed in Equatorial Guinea would also have to learn how to work in a system that dictates everything from the top down. For a policy that was created from the bottom up to be placed in such a top down system means that the implementer must not only provide a pioneer group but the implementer would also have to teach the pioneer group how to find a pathway in the ministry to allow for change from the bottom up. It is essential in Equatorial Guinea that that pathway be forged.

Community Link/Participation.

While on his tour of the schools the coordinator of the active schools component explained that he was also looking for the best way to start his work of making *Escuela Nueva* a sustainable program once the schools were chosen. He saw that the country had a strong community organization that was based on the tribal village lifestyle. Before deciding on the schools he thought that he would tie into this community organization in order to start the program, as he noted that communal life had a big influence on the rural schools in Equatorial Guinea. There was a communal need for health and hygiene and he knew that he could work with that through the schools. He therefore started to organize a pack of ideas centered on the community. Going to the community he formed special committees: one for health and another for hygiene, etc. He did this because he found that the schools were very dirty stating that for example there were animal feces everywhere, and he noticed a lot of standing water, easily leading to an increase in mosquitoes and consequently malaria. In the guides that were written for the students these hygiene and health problems were later addressed. With the community he

formed committees around each problem so that they could find communal answers. He linked these committees to the school with one committee working on attendance. They were expected to meet weekly reporting absences that could be corrected. If the child was sick with malaria the health committee was advised so that medication or medical care could be sought. The hygiene committee was advised so that a sweep of standing water sites could take place. The coordinator said he would go to each community weekly so that they would have to have their community meeting. There were protocols in place that had to be adhered to. Once he trained a community this way, the community would take over on its own.

An Equatoguinean interviewee that worked daily with this coordinator told me that when they first solicited the community council to work with PRODEGE the council expected to be paid and since the funds did not exist they would not agree to participate. However, once the schools started functioning with newly trained teachers and the materials were delivered to the schools, the council was very pleased with the change they saw. When the coordinator continued to insist on their participation, they eventually participated and the interviewee said that the community continues to be very pleased with the way the school now teaches their children. During my observations at schools I was routinely introduced to a community council member who is responsible to report the villages' school problems to the Education Ministry. The coordinator astutely connected with this council. Regardless of whether the pioneer group will ever regroup and be able to expand the program throughout the country, the community link supports the continuance of the program if only in their community. They are there to support the teachers.

Continuing with the development of the community participation, the coordinator instituted the Achievement Day component of *Escuela Nueva* in his active schools component.

This is the day in which the school presents the achievements their students have had during the month in school. The community is invited and a party takes place. Children put on plays, present readings of poetry, etc. and the community comes together to applaud their success. This is something that *Escuela Nueva* has always drawn on and because of the strong community link between the community and school in Equatorial Guinea, the coordinator made sure to continue Achievement Day when implementing the program there. He had everyone participate with presenting their achievements: teachers, students, parents and community leaders so that all would feel included. The strong community organization in Equatorial Guinea stems from the tribal make up of the country and is contrary to the top down political system of the government. It is a cultural structure of organization that could be reinforced by PRODEGE to help the program expand in the country.

In some *Escuela Nueva* programs in other countries the parents were trained on how to help their students with homework at home. The change from having parents come to just help with student behavior was changed to look to parents for input on learning, both in helping their child and in adding relevant community life to the curriculum. An interviewee states that teachers were trained on how to involve the community in this way but there was no follow up in the classroom. Marc Ginsburg et al. (2012) report that the parents came more often to PRODEGE schools but in the capacity of helping with cleaning the school or contributing resources. He suggests that perhaps the top down political system is at the base of this struggle. Other studies look at the lack of parental input in learning stemming from culture (Allen, 2007; Chadwick, 2004). Another even more probable answer lies in the fact that most teachers struggle with this issue of employing parents in their classrooms. Once a teacher employs a parent successfully they learn to expand that resource quickly (Plascencia, 2004) and with further

training this may change in PRODEGE schools. All of these three reasons, the political top down system, the culture and the teacher's experience with community input play into the teacher realizing her trainings in how to include the community. In Ginsburg's article he records an interview with a teacher that states that she did not know she was *allowed* to involve parents in the school and would consider doing so after the training given by PRODEGE (Ginsburg et al., 2012). There will have to be consistent trainings repeated a number of times in order to overcome the teacher's need to have permission or to learn the new culture of including her students' parents in her classroom.

Teacher Training and Support

The trainings given to teachers were coordinated under two of the components of PRODEGE, both the teacher certification component and the active schools component. Many of the active school teachers had been uncertified volunteers and were trained both in the certification program and by the active schools component as well. The teacher certification training was a two year course. It started in January of 2008 and finished in December of 2009. The trainings given in the summer were under the active schools component and were opened to all other educators in the country. This active schools component also focused on training its pioneer group and facilitators separately.

Active schools Trainings

For facilitators. The active schools coordinator focused in on the training of the facilitators and guide writers as one group of Equatoguinean staff that he would have working on his component and his component alone. Some of these educators were also members of the pioneer group. He was criticized by other AED staff members for having spent too much time preparing schools with the proper furniture and materials before the actual implementation of the

program began. It is unknown if this complaining staff understood the active schools coordinator's work with the community development around each of the schools as well as his training of the facilitators before the actual implementation of the program took place. As part of the program the schools that were chosen to be model schools would either be completely rebuilt or refurbished. The coordinator chose to wait out this remodeling while training his staff, and preparing the classrooms. According to quarterly reports the remodeling ended in December of 2008 with 40 schools remodeled. The trainings of his facilitators were organized around ten different principles, although no one interviewed could remember what they were. A facilitator states:

Each month a new principle was introduced. We then had constant accompaniment until we truly understood the principle. We would discuss it and do presentations ourselves until we knew the principle well enough to teach it. Then we would teach the teachers in our schools that same principle in replicated trainings. Finally, the teachers would teach the children. So everyone had the same organization of trainings: trainers, teachers and students. And everyone had the first training and then a repeated training. And then the teachers taught the kids in the same way.

The facilitator explained that the trainings were given every month lasting the entire time that the first phase of PRODEGE was functioning. All training has now stopped as the facilitators await direction from the government as to what will happen with the program.

For teachers. In the active schools component there was two other type of trainings. One was for the 158 teachers in the PRODEGE active schools that went on in the classroom year round. The other type was trainings offered to all educators in mass trainings given during two

consecutive summers. These were offered to all teachers whether working in a PRODEGE model school or not. The first course was offered in July and August of 2010. The focus was on first grade active learning methodology and evaluation. This first grade focus developed in Equatorial Guinea with the finding that it was the grade that had the most students failing and that first grade repetition had the consequence of a large over-aged student population. Principals were also included in the trainings in that few schools have a principal that is not also teaching. Even some inspector generals are teaching, so the trainings were including all three levels of schools staff at once. Anyone that had anything to do with first grade was slotted to be included in the training.

Another active school component training was training on the *Escuela Nueva* teacher circles. These circles allow for collaboration amongst teachers to support each other in evaluating their own teaching. When an issue develops teachers meet to help each other through its resolution and better their own teaching practices with each other's help and this has fostered closer relationships amongst the teachers.

There was also another support process taught from January to May in 2011. This training had two parts: one was about continual evaluation and the other was about forming alliances with one another school allowing teachers to visit each other's classrooms to allow for the radiation of the active learning methodology from one school to the other. Teachers told me that both of these processes still exist today with PRODEGE schools even though the program has been halted during the second phase's two year negotiation period. Since the teachers in the active schools continue to use the guides in their teaching of multigrade classes in the PRODEGE schools during this program halt, they continue to practice the trainings they were given during the first phase. The continual evaluation they were trained on is linked to the

change in attitude about student promotion. In 2012, a final report showed that first grade had a decrease in students repeating from 35 percent in 2007 to 28 percent in 2012.

The forming of alliances they were trained on still continues despite the high cost of gas and teachers struggling financially. The teachers described how they once packed lunches and piled into one car and go to another school for one day, each grade's teacher helping the same grades teacher in the other school, but are now looking for funding to continue the process.

Marina Solano was shocked that when she went back to the country to retrieve her material she found teacher circles going on in each of the schools that she visited during that week. She believes that the success of this training will help the program survive. However, there is a lack of funds that will most probably keep these circles from flourishing. Teachers are part of the 77 percent of the population that lives in poverty in Equatorial Guinea. Few have cars, let alone money for gas. Most of the population uses taxis to get from place to place and in rural remote areas these are hard to find. It is easy for AED staff to see that their ideas will thrive. They are very positive about their program succeeding as it has in the past. However, the difficult conditions in Equatorial Guinea have not been addressed in the implementation of the program. The usual teacher circle guides written for the teacher in other programs in other countries were not written for the teacher circles in Equatorial Guinea. This support would have been helpful, but for now it is instead the collective culture of the villages that has allowed this *Escuela Nueva* component to thrive within their individual communities. There are sparks of change evident and a desire to expand. However, these trainings will have to be repeated and supported in the classroom and funds will have to be provided in order to make these sparks the dramatic change they are capable of becoming.

Bottom up Approach. The active schools coordinator was very impressed with the way in which Oscar Mogollon had always started working at the school level. In our interview he repeatedly mentioned the fact that this program had to focus on the teachers and their classrooms, that to instill the beginnings of an education reform one must first convince the teacher. The head of the Latin American programs at AED also said in an interview that Oscar Mogollon had taught him the importance of working on the ground. The coordinator made sure that the trainings for his facilitators and the teachers were interactive. In their trainings the educators were allowed to react with each other and form the emotional markers that brain research has shown to be essential for a person's retention of material (Bechara et al., 2002). They included art work and skits and group work and group presentations and teachers were to later pass on these ideas in their classrooms. Trainings must be repeated often and must relate to their classroom to benefit teachers. The repetition reinforces the learning. The coordinator made sure that everything was repeated often, by facilitators, coordinator visits, and radiation visits. He worked at changing the minds of teachers that had spent the last 30-40 years of an education system dictating what students wrote in their notebooks.

An interviewee told me that his definition of traditional schooling was changed forever on one of his visits to a school in Equatorial Guinea. He was expecting his definition of teacher centered learning from his country in Honduras with the teacher teaching everything from the front of the room and the students inactively learning the information. Instead, in Equatorial Guinea, he found the students were seated in one group facing the teacher but, instead of teaching, the teacher read from a book and then closed it. The students sat quietly and had written what he read in their notebooks. They then had a recess break. During the break the interviewee asked the teacher when he would be explaining the complex algebraic concept he

had just read to the students. The teacher explained that he did not have to do that, it was up to the students to figure it out for themselves. They would only be tested on memorizing the facts that they had been dictated. It would take a lot of trainings to transform this type of teaching. The coordinator knew that and trained the facilitators to help him combat this problem. One of the facilitator stated that this type of change would take much more than one year to take hold. Some teachers would need years of repeated trainings.

However, the trainings have started a change in the schools of Equatorial Guinea. An interviewee told me that one teacher had tried to revert to his traditional method after the PRODEGE program was halted but his students would not allow it. They had experienced such a change working with the guides and would not go back to the old ways.

Active Learning

Students are now allowed to sit in groups and speak amongst themselves while working in the active schools of PRODEGE. They share work and sometimes need to share guides to fulfill assignments. They present work in front of their class or in another classroom. This is a drastic change from the old method of teaching in these schools. Many of the remaining 735 schools in Equatorial Guinea are still using traditional methods. Some of the teachers never attended trainings and some have, but they have too large a class size and are lacking guides with which to fully implement their trainings. These teachers revert to the traditional methods and control student behavior with corporal punishment. In comparison, the PRODEGE schools are active; however, how this has been received will be further developed in the school staff level below.

Cooperative Learning. Another element of the active learning that was implemented with the transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* was cooperative learning. PRODEGE classrooms are

furnished with tables made for group learning. The students are then taught to work in groups. In traditional classrooms, when there is furniture, the seating is in pew like desks where students face forward and sit side by side without separation. In contrast in PRODEGE classrooms students face each other and can converse and work together. They are expected to talk. This was a drastic change to the way that students were taught in Equatorial Guinea and proved difficult for some teachers. The furniture ensured that the grouping occurred. Ginsburg et al. state that the extent of cooperative learning was rarely more than a seating arrangement in PRODEGE schools. Again, this will be developed more in my observation section of the school staff level.

Individualized Promotion.

Another component implemented in the transfer of *Escuela Nueva* was the promoting of a child at his own pace. A student is allowed individualized promotion in PRODEGE schools, however, in discussion with a principal, social promotion is not considered. A child must still have learned the curriculum of the grade before being promoted, regardless of time of absence. The guides are used to help the child catch up and there is a new attitude that was trained in workshops on continual evaluation that focus teachers on facilitating the child's success, especially in first grade. The principal recounted that many students were previously held back but that with the help of the new strategies that were taught in first grade workshops most of the first grade students now ended the year reading and went on to second grade. Marina Solano said that the teachers she trained for teaching first grade were surprised to see how easy it was for the children to learn to read. Her strategies will be further developed in the guides section below. Also another interviewee insisted that some teachers had set the criterion for passing first grade too high and that PRODEGE had brought that to light both for the teachers and the

government. The teachers were taught a scope and sequence of reading; understanding what should be expected of a first grader reader versus that of a third grade reader. All of these factors had a profound effect evidenced by the decrease in repetition of first grade. The principal interviewed was surprised at how it had changed in his country and was very pleased with the results of the program because of this change. I saw no evidence of over aged students at his school.

Materials. Each PRODEGE School received manipulative material for math classes and a set of small plastic animals for science classes. According to AED literature, they also received a library of approximately 50 volumes for 1st -3rd grade reading level with some reference books for the older students as well. However, upon observations of schools below, this library either no longer exists or was never received. In one school the volumes were distributed between the classes and left just a few books in each room. They were showing the five years of wear as there is no provision in the implementation of the program for maintenance of the materials. The government will have to deal with this issue when PRODEGE ends. It is difficult to ascertain how the government was involved in the evaluation of materials being delivered and trainings received. HESS oil staff showed me a green colored power point that included actual white boxes checked off besides the things HESS believed were accomplished by the program. But there is no mention of how HESS came to this realization other than just being told by AED that it was accomplished. There was no HESS staff involved in evaluating the program. As stated earlier they were very hands-off. The government also had no staff to evaluate the program and it is not known if they followed up on reports given them by AED staff or if the reports were only given to HESS. Neither the HESS staff nor the government stated anything in interviews about checking to see if the materials had arrived or if all of the elements

were in place before the program ended. Beyond the library and manipulatives, each school supposedly also received the guides detailed below along with a narrative of the process of their production. Later we will see that not all the guides were in place. The timing of their production and distribution hampered the progress of this program. Nonetheless, the guides were a very essential element of this program. Without the guides in Equatorial Guinea the program would never have taken off.

Relevant Curriculum and Teacher as Facilitator

Guides. The *Escuela Nueva* program includes the student guides which dictate the lessons the children complete while turning the teacher into a facilitator of their learning. The guides are where the curriculum is made relevant and the policy is adapted and changed to fit into the Equatoguinean context. As we first focus on the process of the production of the guides and then analyze the way the guides were written; patterns of adaptations of the policy emerge. The program can really not function correctly without student guides and PRODEGE spent a lot of time in the design of their implementation. Unfortunately, all did not go as planned. The active school coordinator is criticized on how he handled the production of the guides. This is where the Mogollon's stepped in. First they worked as a team before Oscar Mogollon's death. Then, after his death, his wife, Marina Solano, returned to Equatorial Guinea to live and complete the guide production. She explained in an interview that she had been involved in her work transferring her husband's innovation all over the world and now that he died she felt a renewed sense of purpose to make sure that his work continued on after his death.

Once focusing the program on the production of the guides, the Mogollons first took some of the facilitators out of the field where they were overseeing the training in the classroom and working with the teachers as facilitators to support their change of mode of teaching. Four

of the facilitators were brought to the PRODEGE offices to write the guides. Not all facilitators were willing to leave their posts as responsible for the implementation and training of the teachers in their classrooms over large regions of the country. However, one former facilitator told me that it was Oscar Mogollon that convinced him, explaining that he would have a much greater influence writing the guides used throughout his country versus helping just one region of the country in implementing the new teaching methodology.

Nicaragua. The four facilitators turned guide writers went back to Nicaragua for a week in 2009 with Oscar Mogollon. There they were taught how to write a guide. This follows the method of diffusion found in the *Escuela Nueva* literature above. However, three of the implementers interviewed state that contrary to the literature stating that the transfer of the policy of *Escuela Nueva* followed a “kit of ideas”, the kit was not always strictly adhered to. It is stated in the literature that the visiting teachers would meet the guide writers from the country they were visiting and then learn to write the guides with them. This complimented the *Escuela Nueva* method of having teachers teach teachers. However, this did not always happen and even the writing of the guides was not a given step in all the countries that *Escuela Nueva* had been implemented in. For example, in Nicaragua, where through USAID funding of the BASE projects and Excelencia project, AED implemented *Escuela Nueva* for 15 years, no guides were allowed to be written. According to Marina Solano the Education ministry officials would not give up control of the curriculum nor abandon current teaching material in order to have classroom teachers use the *Escuela Nueva* teaching guides. Marina Solano recounts that often a country would oppose the guides when confronted with the thought of abandoning current material. The expense of the current material often times outweighed the importance of the guides, especially when education ministry officials had not understood the importance of the

guides in the autonomous learning process. In Nicaragua the ministry also felt that the teachers were not educated enough in curriculum and instruction to be able to write the guides and there was also the idea that they knew best. They were not used to programs instituted from the bottom up.

It was up to the Mogollons to teach the Equatoguinean teachers/facilitators how to write the guides. They first took them around Nicaragua to see how active schools were implemented there and as they toured the country together they looked at urban schools in the capital city as well as in semi rural situations in Masaya and complete rural schools in another rural province in the north of Nicaragua. According to one AED official this left a great impression on the Equatoguinean facilitators as they were able to see other teachers with similar circumstances infusing the active learning methodology in their schools. But what is most important to the guide writing interviewees was that the *Escuela Nueva* policy was adaptable to each new context. They looked at the program as something unique to their country explaining that the teachers in their country taught the active learning in a different way than they did in Nicaragua. Most important to the method used in Equatorial Guinea was that the students learn independently. Through the use of guides, the autonomous way of learning is the thing one interviewee was most proud of having facilitated in his country. He later stated that the strategies even changed in each region in explaining that *Escuela Nueva* was very adaptable to its context. The guides and their writers were the first to adapt the policy.

In Nicaragua they were taught the importance of the guides and also how to actually write them. Most importantly, though, Mogollon also taught them that if a teacher was not involved in the writing of the guides teachers would then consider the idea coming from somewhere else and be reluctant to implement the use of the guides in their classroom.

Mogollon made sure the guide writers understood that having teachers involved in the writing of them was therefore key to the actual use of the guides. They were not in Nicaragua to write guides but only went to learn the guide writing process. Once they returned to Equatorial Guinea, they brought together teachers in the summer to write the guides with them. Many times it was the teachers that brought up the ideas needed to develop the curriculum: for example, what supplies to use, how to breakdown the concept, etc. These inputs went into the end product so that when the teachers received the guides they were familiar with the content. They knew what the methodological focus was and were ready to get the students right to work with the guides, implementing the new methodology as the students learned for the first time with the use of the guides.

The implementers explain that it took a long time to find a copy of the curriculum. No teacher had a copy in their classroom and none of the guide writers had ever seen the state curriculum. One interviewee explained that for his math modules he had to drive 2 hours into the interior of the country to find the math curriculum. He found it in a village school by chance. A teacher at that village school had been on a committee that received funds from UNESCO to develop the curriculum and he was the only one who had a copy. The implementers asked the education ministry repeatedly for a copy and they were assured that a copy existed; however, no one in the ministry ever produced a copy. When this implementer found this copy he ran to have it copied for everyone on the implementing team. The guide writers and collaborating teachers used the copy this implementer gave them to infuse into the guides. AED also hired foreign experts to work as consultants with the guide writers. Interviewed in Nicaragua one consultant found that the Equatoguinean teachers working on the guides had little knowledge of the breakdown of concepts and teaching strategies for active learning. She felt that she had to take

the lead in infusing the curriculum correctly and spent many hours filling in gaps in the scope of the guides from one grade to another. An Equatoguinean facilitator insists that the beauty of the guides made in his country was that it was a product of the teachers who would later be using them.

Mogollon remained in Nicaragua as his illness was progressing. He edited the writing of the guides from Nicaragua and sent them onto D.C. He never returned to Equatorial Guinea as he died in 2009. The guide writing continued in Equatorial Guinea under the guise of the active schools coordinator but this task was not his expertise. Only the three first grade guides were distributed at the end of 2009. The second to sixth grade classes was using active learning methodology but had no guides until near the end of phase one. AED also contracted a few local artists to illustrate the Equatoguinean guides. As only one would comply with a request for an illustration in a timely manner the guides ended with just that one illustrator. An implementer in the Washington D.C. offices of AED would receive the material from Equatorial Guinea and the edited pieces of text from the country and finally compile it in Washington D.C. with the illustrations and local photos with the help of a graphic designer. She explains that the guides made for Equatorial Guinea were of better quality than AED had previously produced. The illustrations and photographs were insisted upon by the ministry as the usual cartoon like drawings were not acceptable in the country. The final Equatoguinean products were then sent to a printer in Korea and returned to Washington DC. HESS would then transport the guides back to Equatorial Guinea and AED in country staff would then transport them to the classrooms. Not all classrooms had been completely equipped at the end of the first phase of PRODEGE.

Guides for First Grade. The PRODEGE program separated first grade from the rest of the multigrade school. Multigrade schools have changed because of the increase in population. Today in Equatorial Guinea most schools are no longer housed in a one room school house with just one teacher for all grades. Although there are a few still like that for the most part schools in Equatorial Guinea are made up of five or six separate classrooms housing the pre-K classes, a first grade class and then a second and third grade split class which is called multigrade in Equatorial Guinea. Both 2nd and 3rd are taught at the same time by one teacher. 4th is many times taught on its own or mixed with the 5th and 6th split class. Sixth grade was just recently returned to primary. Each grade has a separate guide, allowing them to be used in a class where the grade is separated or in a multigrade classroom allowing for each grade to be taught at the same time with one teacher.

Since a student must know how to read in order to use the guide the first grade guides are made for the teachers only. Indicators are given with suggested activities for teaching the concept in an active method. More on the reading strategies for first grade are noted below. The students use their own notebooks or loose paper, and art supplies in order to complete language and math assignments. If paper is not available PRODEGE provided small white boards for the children to use at their desks.

Guides for 2nd and 3rd Grades. The guides from 2nd through 6th grade are made for the students and not the teacher. For PRODEGE the guides for 2nd and 3rd grade are the most elaborate with all color printing and beautiful illustrations (see Appendix D for an example). A student must know how to read in order to complete the guides. According to one of the guide writers the ministry dictated that in first and second grade subjects were not to be taught separately but rather the teaching should be interdisciplinary. However, the text books did not

reflect this. This is why PRODEGE guides have an interdisciplinary focus. The Equatoguinean interviewees explain that this focus was dictated by the government but PRODEGE was the one that dictated the method for teaching the interdisciplinary material. The guide writers then made all of it tie to the Equatoguinean context including folk tales, songs, food and culture, etc. It was important to them that the guides reflect the students' surroundings as heretofore the texts in school were from Spain with the names of Spanish rivers, mountains and regions and about a Spanish life that had little to do with what the children in Equatorial Guinea were experiencing. This infusing of the Equatoguinean context can be considered another adaptation.

The learning is guided in such that the guides tell the students that this material would be best understood by working in a group, another concept would be best understood working with the family and yet another independently in a library. If it tells them to work in the library it tells them where to find the information they need (on this page of this book) and it then tells them what to do with the information they find. It covers the technical direction that the teacher would normally give to a whole group. Homework is also included in the guide. Evaluation is infused as well with students being told to seek the teacher's evaluation when a certain assignment is completed. There is one guide for each child. They sit in groups and read the guides together and then discuss what is being asked of them. Together they complete the assignments. The teacher comes by to see if they are on the right track and if need be corrects them. More on their actual use in practice is in the school staff level.

Guides for Upper Primary Grades. The guides for the upper grades (4th-6th) were thrown together quickly in order to complete guides for every grade through 6th grade before the end of the first phase. One informant states that what they ended up doing was use the guides as an active approach to the use of the text books. The curriculum was not infused in the guide per

say, only when the said curriculum was aligned to the texts. The problem some schools explained was that not all schools have enough text books. They are in such high demand that some have ended up on the black market. Supposedly the rumor is that there are enough texts for the student population but since they end up great money makers, they are hoarded to be sold to the schools. However, this information is impossible to corroborate. For now, the guides allow for more students to work from one text book as it puts them into cooperative groups and allows for actions around the sharing of the information contained within the texts or sends children to the classroom library for more information. The quality of the guides is also not as elaborate as other guides. There is no color in the drawings. They still have Equatoguinean faces but there is little illustration showing the rural surroundings as included in the second and third grade guides. No interviewee spoke of any evaluation system put in place to focus on the quality of the program's materials. It is unfortunate that the quality of these guides was not questioned. It is unknown what types of quality evaluation systems were put in place, either by AED or the government.

Each guide had three parts to the learning: *I Learn, I Practice and I Apply*. The *I Learn* piece of the guide explains the concept to learn. The *I Practice* section gives activities for the student to guarantee the learning of the concept they have just read about. For example if they are learning about adding and subtracting they can then play store, buying and selling in a group in class. The *I Apply* part is done at home or in the community where the students continued to develop the concept in their real life situations. Evaluation is included at the end of each of the three parts with individual formative assessments later evaluated by the teacher.

First Grade Reading Strategies. The first grade guides go hand in hand with the first grade reading strategies that Oscar Mogollon and his wife taught in Equatorial Guinea in 2008 in

a summer teacher training workshop under the active schools component. They first set about changing the teachers mind set in defining first grade reading. Reading was explained as more than just calling out the sounds of isolated letters, but rather was interconnected with communication and comprehension. In order to read one had to recognize words and know their meaning; with the meaning being paramount. Reading should be connected to their prior knowledge and have to do with their daily life naturally. They explained that students needed to be immersed in a culture that valued reading where books were readily available. However, it is very difficult to buy books in Equatorial Guinea. The country has set up small kiosks in Malabo and Bata near the center of town which each have a very limited number of books, no more than five, and a few magazines. The kiosks are called the national library. With the 77 percent poverty rate it is rare to see anyone purchasing a book at a kiosk. In front of most grocery stores there are men selling low cost comic book type stories out of wheel barrows. These are popular because of the cost, however, it cannot be said that the country has a print rich culture. The texts and now the guides in their classroom were maybe the first reading material the children were exposed to. PRODEGE did provide libraries to some of the schools. However, not all schools still have that library today or never received one.

First grade had three guides called projects. Project One was called *My Name*. It was a guide that was meant to awaken the need for reading. By learning to read his name and the name of his classmates and teacher he becomes motivated to learn to read. As most first grade curriculum at the beginning of the school year usually focuses in on the child and his world, the study of his name is considered a significant subject. In this first guide they call on the teacher to see the diversity of learners that they have in their classroom and had them look to cognitive capacity and psycholinguistic competence in order to teach each and every student and develop

lifelong readers. They ask the teacher to be patient with their students for in most traditional classes students are controlled and motivated with a stick. The following is a description of the first guide for first grade. It is presented here to show the teaching of reading process that PRODEGE introduced to the teachers of Equatorial Guinea. I will later explain this Project in practice as some of these lessons were observed in practice at the schools.

The first guide has eight strategies in it for creating a constructivist classroom that shows the significance of reading to a child. The guide starts out with small assignments a child can easily gain success with, bestowing self-esteem and confidence. Students need a sense of accomplishment at the outset in order to remain motivated to learn. With this in mind, the first strategy is called *Why did they name me my name?* This has the student learn very simply why he was given his name by his family and he is then asked to come and present the history of his name to his classmates. The students dictate to the teacher their story which is later read to the class. When she has completed writing it she asks the student if her reading was correct in order to allow the student to see the relationship between words and thoughts and written stories. The instructions to the teacher explicitly explain that with this exercise students learn that what is said can be written. There are also songs and chants about the names of all the classmates. Included is a chant in the Fang language which is the language of the majority tribe. First there is a lesson on morals explaining how one should be nice to everyone and then students learn to describe their classmates and learn the characteristics they must use to describe someone. The teacher is to make a table with different characteristics as headings and place children's names under each characteristic. The table should be posted on the wall.

The written name is posted around the room leading to the sense of pride in one's unique name and why ones name is important. Posting work also transforms the stark traditional

classroom into a print rich environment. The child places his story that he dictated to the teacher under his name and later is asked to find it with the teacher questioning how he was able to distinguish it. His first name is thus the first thing the student learns to read. There is a short paragraph about an Equatoguinean name read to the students. It is taken from a book of national stories that PRODEGE compiled and gave to each school. It is suggested that this paragraph be copied on chart paper and when the teacher reads it she should point to each word she is reading with a ruler. This is so the students are exposed to the idea of the separation of letters into words. At the end of the 10 day strategy the teacher is given a checklist to see if the student has been able to complete the first assignment of the first strategy. If so they move onto the next one. This evaluation at the end of a unit allows for teachers to immediately know which student needs more help which they can then provide. PRODEGE focused on the need for this constant evaluation heretofore nonexistent.

The second strategy is *I can recognize my name*. In this section the student learns to write his first and last name and can recognize it when it is put on a card in different areas of the classroom mixed with other students' names. Syllables are introduced cutting names up into the chunks of sound that the students are then asked to place in boxes the length of their name. Working in groups they read each other's name. A reading of a paragraph about Spanish names is read to them by the teacher and then comprehension questions about the characters in the story bring the sounds and words pointed out to life. Students should be instructed to write their names and put them in a decorated box drawn around it. Teachers are told in the guide that drawing is an important activity aiding in the development of fine motor skills needed to later trace letters. Such instruction to the teachers serves to reinforce the teachings of the trainings the teachers attended. Again there is a mini lesson on morals given the students. These lessons are

interspersed throughout the guides. At the end of the 5 day strategy the teacher is given a checklist to see if the student has been able to learn to recognize his name and if so they move on.

The third strategy is *If I can recognize the sounds of the letters I can read my name and that of my friends*. It starts out with a four paragraph story about a child who does not know anything in comparison to the other students in his class. They get his name wrong saying the m instead of an n in the middle of his name. After the teacher reads it he asks students comprehension questions that lead to the recognition of the error. The teacher separates each letter into a separate box on the board making the letter sound for each letter as he places it in the box. Once the name is complete he erases it and then has students pick up letter cards to put in the boxes together on the board. Each time a letter is correctly placed in the box the teacher then asks which letter comes next. The students are then asked who else in the class has a sound that is in the name on the board in their own name and they are asked to come to the board and line up the sounds. For example, an s is in the middle of the name on the board and another student has an s in the beginning of the name both names are placed on the board with the s sound forming a line:

JOSE
SONIA
ROSA

This exercise introduces the concept of first, middle and ending sounds. There are many songs, games and activities to this section that develop this concept over 20 days.

The fourth strategy is *I read and write my name*. Students are asked comprehension questions about the reading and are asked structure details such as “How does the story begin? How does it end?” Then the student spends the next ten days working in groups with letter cards

spelling out his name and learns to auto correct or gets help from the group developing the cooperative learning that *Escuela Nueva* uses as its base. There is also a note to the teachers in this section explaining that a child must write his name every single day from now on, be it on paper, on the board or in the dirt. A story read is appropriately about the memory.

My full name is my identity is the fifth strategy. Names are tied to tribes and region and are compared for length. All four names of an Equatoguinean are explained. Numbers are introduced to count the letters in the names. Names of students are then categorized by length. A child learns to write his full name over the course of 20 days.

The sixth strategy is called *We construct new words using the letters in our names*. In this strategy before a reading is read to the students they are asked for previous knowledge which is a strategy to motivate their listening and engaging in literature. The story is a very short story with local names and setting. Comprehension questions again immediately follow so that the students see that one always reads to construct meaning. The story is about animal protection in the forest and the teacher is expected to expand on the topic. Direct and Inverse syllables are introduced, again tied to names. The letter in the boxes technique is extended to form the names of animal species, tied to the animal theme in the story. Over the course of 20 days the students play with counting syllables in song, poem and chants.

In strategy 7 *We construct sentences and text with meaning* the students learn to go from the oral to the written. At the beginning of this strategy a story is presented. The students are then first introduced to a multiple choice comprehension question. Then they are asked to finish the story. The teacher writes the ending as the students dictate. This is a common technique used to introduce the process of writing. The students are also introduced to the five W questions (who, what, where, when and why) to make sure they continue with the key characters

and plot. Later with the teacher they write names, action words and objects on cards. They are then put in boxes and placed on a shelf. The student pulls three of these cards and makes a sentence out of it. It is explained to the teacher that the students are not ready to learn grammar rules; the idea is just that they form a sentence. Inventive spelling is allowed and encouraged. Over the course of ten days they continue developing texts to form paragraphs. The evaluation for the teacher now allows for more discrimination with a choice of letters corresponding to the level of advanced, medium or low writing ability.

And finally, strategy 8 *We alphabetize names* ends the project. Teachers are warned not to make this unit about copying names. They want the students always to see writing as something used for the construct of meaning. The students alphabetize the names in their classes for use on the list of auto attendance that is another component for *Escuela Nueva*. Each class makes a calendar and the students daily mark their presence in a given month. That way they know how many days they have missed, as well as the teacher and ministry. There is also the introduction of Achievement Day and students learn to write an invitation to their family to come and celebrate the fact that they now know how to read and write. The evaluation at the end of this strategy is for the entire project.

The rest of guides also have the students do project based work. It is explained that this will allow a student to stay on a subject longer and integrate reading, writing, speaking and phonological awareness. A balanced approach is needed for a child to learn to read. *Escuela Nueva* was based on sound pedagogy. Previously only the decoding of letters of the alphabet was taught in Equatorial Guinea. With PRODEGE trainings the teachers were taught the importance of first grade, explaining that if a child was poorly taught to read in first grade it is difficult to reverse in the future grades. An AED implementer explained that the teachers in

Equatorial Guinea soaked up the strategies very quickly because they had never been trained before in any one set way of teaching reading. He said it was harder to implement the *Escuela Nueva* approach in other countries to teachers that had more training because one first had to correct the old way in order to teach the new way. However, an implementer from Honduras retells how in the beginning she heard a lot of resistance with Equatoguinean teachers explaining that when the teachers in Spain had accepted this way of teaching interactively they lost control of their classrooms and that they did not want that to happen in their country.

The second first grade guide is called the store and has the beginnings of math instruction developed in an interdisciplinary text. The final first grade guide is called My Country, Equatorial Guinea and incorporates social studies with the continued development of reading. The first grade guides were whole heartedly accepted by most teachers in Equatorial Guinea. All the teachers I interviewed found the guides to have helped in the teaching of reading in their classrooms.

Infuse Context. In an effort to see how these guides have been adapted to their context I offer a comparison between a second grade Language Arts guide section on the family that is similar in content to another section from a second grade guide from the ApreNDes project in Peru that AED also implemented. As stated above the Equatoguinean student guide has three sections I Learn from pages 6-22, I Practice from pages 22-25, and I Apply from pages 25-30. The illustrations are large and multicolored depicting the surroundings of the rural children. The text talks about more than just who makes up a family but goes on to speak about activities that one does with a family to keep their house and community clean and body healthy with exercise. Included in the I Learn section is a tap on previous knowledge about families, done with a partner, as a group discussion about an observation of a family with oral questions to answer.

Then there are three sections to be done individually. The ending activity is a conversation with the teacher about what they will be learning in the unit.

This is different in the AprendeDes guide. There sections are broken down differently. In the AprendeDes it is Previous Knowledge, Basic Knowledge, Practice Activities and Application Activities. The pictures are small and not as country specific. They could have been used in any country for white children with black hair. The specific directions for work to be done in pairs, groups and individually are the same in both countries. The content covered is a bit more difficult in Peru than in Equatorial Guinea with more written assignments expected. How this passed inspection in Equatorial Guinea warrants question. This could be that this section on family is in the very first guide of Equatorial Guinea and in the second guide in Peru. In Equatorial Guinea this first guide is the very first guide that a student uses and that may be why the content is simplified. An Equatoguinean guide writer told me that it was in the guides that the writers were able to make this program their own. They were able to infuse their surroundings and culture into what was written. Comparing the guides from the two countries the uniqueness of the Equatoguinean stands out. The Peruvian guides are more generic and simpler and therefore surely more cost effective. But the Equatoguinean guides are more specific to the context and that is maybe more important than cost when such large amounts of money had already been put aside for PRODEGE.

The Equatoguinean guides are large factors in indigenizing the *Escuela Nueva* program to the new context. Even though the content is the same its presentation in the guides is unique to the country. This adaptation was encouraged by AED and also by the government insistence in the graphic design. However, it was the teachers writing the guides who ultimately adapted the guides to be their own.

Adaptation. The use of guides in the classroom for autonomous learning was a new method in Equatorial Guinea. Traditionally students respected oral versus written instructions and the guides presented a very different way of learning in the classroom. It was therefore necessary for the facilitators to validate the guides for the teachers and also for the students to learn how to use them. While validating the guides in the classroom they saw that some of the chosen activities were not as cooperative as hoped. Many interviewees suggested that just as they were getting ready to modify or correct the guides, the first phase of PRODEGE ended in November 2011. They saw things in the classes that they felt that they could have included in the guides. One interviewee recounts a story that even though the offices in Washington D.C. had been able to get permission from the government to make small renditions of the Central African Bank Francs (the country's currency) and gave them to the students in first grade as they were working on a math guide's lesson about buying and selling, the students chose instead to use a type of money they used in their villages. With their village barter system children typically use the paper that they wrap Chiclets in as money. They therefore, understood the concept being taught and chose to use these wrappers to buy and sell within their classroom, leaving the expensive money renditions on the shelves in the classrooms. Each color wrapping has a different value. Even attempts by Washington to connect the guides to the context were again adapted by the classes. The facilitators would like to have continued modifying the guides to incorporate all of the adaptations found. One facilitator, when asked if the program's component of teaching teachers how to adapt the program happened in PRODEGE she explained that because of the timing issues it had not, but the example above shows that even without explicit trainings on adaptation, the policy lends itself to adaptation into its context, beyond the presentation in the guides. The children even adapt the program. Sparks of changes with

adaptations are evident. This answers my second and third research question. The guides start off the adaption of the *Escuela Nueva Policy* adapted in order for it to settle into the rural classrooms in Equatorial Guinea. This adaptation process has not been fully developed or realized but there are sparks of change evident in the incorporation of the culture in the guide and the students' reaction to it. Who and what factors have been most influential in the possible indigenization/divergence of this innovation is more difficult to say with few actors feeling confident enough to truly take on the adaptation process. However, for now, the guides prove to be the catalyst to local reaction. This reaction is present in the students' way of incorporating the guides into their lives, but also are evident in changing teacher behavior.

Since the halt of the program teachers still telephone the facilitators to come work with them in teacher circles. The facilitators interviewed explained how they are even still fixing the guides to work in their region's classrooms even though the program has halted. The facilitators lament that they do not have the funds to continue modifying the guides and helping the teachers. They lament that the first three years of the program went to the learning of the method and the forming of the structure of the program. They understand that some of the delay was inevitable but they wish they could have had more than a year of a completely implemented program's practice.

Timing

Because of the two false starts of the program and the timing of the remodeling and furnishing of the schools and the two year duration of the teacher certification program it is important to note that the active schools component did not really function as was planned until the year before the end of the first phase. The teaching began although all schools were not fully equipped with guides. Beyond this the coordinator states that it usually would take between 6

months to a year to train a school to use the *Escuela Nueva* program. Marina Solano had been the guides expert on previous AED projects. She told me that on other projects the timing was always very complicated. They arrived in a country to first train the teachers on active learning methodology and also started the guide writing all at once. This took time on any project and five years was never long enough. She felt that they were especially successful in Nicaragua because they worked on three consecutive projects that totaled a span of 15 years. It was especially hard for the process in Equatorial Guinea. Because of her husband's illness she would work via email when she could and went to Equatorial Guinea sporadically until she could permanently stay there for the last year of phase one. The coordinator worked on the guides but this was not his expertise. For this reason the guides were late in their development and the teaching was more difficult without them. Many facilitators interviewed complained that the program ended just as they were really getting started with their work in the classrooms with teacher training. Once the teachers had been certified, the schools had been remodeled and the furniture and materials had been delivered their supportive training within a teacher's individual classroom could not develop fully as the program ended too soon. All of those pieces did not come together until one year before the program was suspended.

Also, as with any project, there was also a lot of staff change along the way and one facilitator complained that the vacations did not coincide between expats and school personnel. He said that that caused even more wasted time. For example, when Marina Solano returned to work on the guides in September 2010, the coordinator of the active schools component left the country. This left her to implement the entire component which the facilitator interviewed explained took time for everyone to get used to. All Equatoguineans interviewed lamented the timing.

Although the teacher training on the new methodology started almost at the beginning of the program, for the first three years of the five year phase of PRODEGE there were no guides. In the fourth year certain grades were delivered, but there are still some schools that do not have complete sets. Because *Escuela Nueva* was a drastic change to the approach of teaching for the teachers of Equatorial Guinea, and because the guides are considered key to the implementation of this program, it was very difficult for the teachers to implement the new methodology without the guides. The country had invested money into the school system previously when they bought Spanish texts books, distributing them throughout the country in 2005. The texts did not give more than facts and no methodology was included. The facts were not aligned to the Equatoguinean curriculum; they came from the Spanish content, introducing Spain's geography, etc. One facilitator explains that while they waited for the guides, in order to ensure that the new methodology would be implemented, many facilitators would write out active and cooperative schooling instructions for the use of these traditional texts. The facilitator says that once the guides were completed and the teachers were able to use them he saw a great change in how the teachers taught their multigrade classes as well as how the teachers infused the new active methodology. Another interviewee says that he saw that there were three major moments in the process of change from the traditional method of teaching in Equatorial Guinea to the new active methodology. The first moment was when the teachers were trained in the new methodology; the second was when the facilitators were sent to support the teachers in their classrooms and then the third moment was when guides arrived. Just as the teachers were falling into the rhythm of the program PRODEGE was halted with the end of the first five year phase and negotiations for the second phase holding up the reinstitution of the project. Every interviewee truly lamented this timing.

Moving Teachers From Model schools. The PRODEGE coordinators pleaded with the government that the teachers that had been trained in active learning be allowed to remain in the PRODEGE schools. One facilitator stated that this is not being adhered to and teachers are moving because some rural schools are being closed now and teachers are being moved to urban areas as there is severe overcrowding in urban schools. How this affects sustainability of the PRODEGE program should be further studied

Conclusion

The implementer level is made up of both foreigners and nationals. In examining the transfer of a policy that has been so successful in starting education reforms in other countries one can see why the foreign contingency would be quick to choose a readymade policy for Equatorial Guinea. The program came with a well designed framework which was tried and true. Oscar Mogollon's need to better the lives of rural children all over the world is evident. As part of AED's staff he reworked and revised the program over the course of 40 years intent on making it work in many different contexts. His genius of giving the program to teachers has been a key component of the program's success. All of the AED staff had learned this from him. AED was extremely careful to employ people that had worked on *Escuela Nueva* type of programs or had similar experience. Their choice of staff that had the knowledge of all of the components of the program and how to use the organization of people in the new country was essential to the success of this program in Equatorial Guinea. However, there were a lot of false starts for the program and the time for implementing was shortened because of it. The program has always been a complicated implementation but it was more so in Equatorial Guinea.

The national implementing staff in Equatorial Guinea had little experience with the program and few had even heard of it. This country has not allowed ideas to flow readily from

other nations and PRODEGE implementers visiting their country with new ideas were a novelty to be studied at first. However, with time, the program won them over and the policy transfer has had the beginnings of a success in their country. Problems of timing and breaks in momentum may prove fatal to the program should the government try to hold the program back and not allow a reinforcement of the 54 PRODEGE schools established. National implementers all speak of the rich experience they had while bettering their country's education system with PRODEGE. They were chosen because of that calling to better the lives of Equatoguinean students and a pathway for them to continue should be developed before leaving the program in their hands.

Adaptations have begun to take place. The guides writers and government have infused the country's context into the guides and further refining and validating of the guides should allow the teachers to then enter into the adaptation process. For now, in answering my second research question, there are sparks of change of the policy transferred taking place with the guides started by the guide writers. Any adaptation made has been done by the guide writers. All the essential elements were implemented in one degree or another, but not all of the elements have been understood by the Equatoguinean educators involved in the implementation of the program. In a country that does not have democratic participation it is difficult to say that this constructivist program has been fully implemented and is ready to be enriched by educators that truly understand what adapting the program entails. The sparks of adaptation are there. They come out when one first reads the guides but more training is needed and revision of guides needs to be done before I can definitively answer the second research question and say how the essential elements of *Escuela Nueva* have been adapted. The adaptation process is not complete, just starting.

Repeating the list from the summary of essential elements of *Escuela Nueva* found in the literature review, they are: Relevant Curriculum, The Teacher as Facilitator, Active Learning, Community Participation, Individualized Promotion, A Focus on Rural Schools with Disadvantaged Students, Pioneer Group and Teacher Training and Support. Relevant curriculum exists in the guides as the guide writers were trained to infuse stories, folk tales, poems and relevant information to their surroundings. Illustrations are included that also include the Equatoguinean context and can be seen as a great change in the country which had never before had its context reflected in texts in schools. This is in fact an adaptation. However the guides need revision so that they serve their purpose of turning the teacher into a facilitator of active learning, these two elements need to be further developed. Looking at the second essential element, the community participates in that the tribal councils support their schools with the Ministry of Education and help the teachers in more than monitoring the behavior of their children. However, they have yet to enter the process of helping to enrich the curriculum in the schools which will lead to more adaptation. The third element of individualized promotion exists and has been implemented, it has changed the over age problem in PRODEGE schools. The fourth element of focus on rural schools with disadvantaged students continues because of the Education Ministry's insistence. They resisted the outside forces and made AED include all districts, even the most remote. Quality education was brought to rural model schools with the hope of later expanding the program to all neighboring schools and thus reaching all rural students. The fifth element of a pioneer group was formed but this element will have a very difficult time in developing in a nation that does not take initiative and rather awaits direction. The pioneer group in Equatorial Guinea cannot fight for its cause of PRODEGE schools without approval from the authoritarian governing clan. The sixth element of training and support of

teachers leaves teachers having received training on mass and in their classrooms. However, the teachers have yet to enter the process of adaptation and this may keep the policy from being adapted and diffusing rapidly in Equatorial Guinea.

In conclusion, the complexity of this policy transfer even permeates the answer to my second research question. AED designed and implemented the essential elements of *Escuela Nueva* into the PRODEGE program but these essential elements are placed in the hands of teachers that cannot sustain the program. The guide writers have infused relevant curriculum in the guides. These Equatoguinean guides provide the teachers with the opportunity to further adapt the program. However, the teachers do not know how to use this democratically designed bottom up program in their country teaching and living under authoritarian rule. This will become more evident in the following observations of three schools described in the analysis of the school staff level.

School Staff Level

This level shows the policy in action. The school level is the only level that does not have global actors practicing. Outside global forces play a role but it is in this level that we analyze the local reaction and negotiation of the transfer of policy. We will learn about these negotiations by observing these local actors: the district administrators in the ministry, inspector generals that are many times also practicing teachers, principals who are almost always also practicing teachers, and teachers, students and their families.

This is the level that will answer my third research question: Who and what factors have been most influential in the possible indigenization/divergence of this innovation? Observing how the program has been received in the schools will lead to an analysis of the most important

actors and factors in adapting the policy being transferred to Equatorial Guinea. I will first start with a brief description of the school system organization.

School System Organization

The schools in Equatorial Guinea are organized in the following manner. Primary school consists of three parts: two stages of preschool, lower primary grades 1-3 and the intermediate grades 4-6. Grade 6 was recently added to primary school. Preschool is free and compulsory. The first stage starts at the age of 1-3 years old and the second stage is from 4-5 years old. Preschool is very popular in Equatorial Guinea and most classes are overflowing. The country demands a teacher certificate in Primary Education in order to teach preschool. This requires a teacher to finish secondary school and then attend a professional program that lasts for three years.

Primary School can now start at the age of 5 years; heretofore the age at the start of school was 7 years old. It is also free and compulsory. At the end of Primary School an exam is given to receive a diploma. The student who fails the exam must attend a vocational secondary school. There are three official categories for primary school: *Unitarias* for grades 1 and 2 only, *Graduadas* 1st through 3rd only, and National 1st through 6th grade. Teaching Primary School requires a certificate which is obtained by attending three years in a professional school.

Secondary School consists of two phases with the duration of four years taught in two year sections. The first phase is called Basic (ESBA) and the second phase is the *bachillerato* (senior secondary school) phase which consists of two more years and ends with a diploma. If a student so chooses he may complete the ESBA and then go on to finish the *bachillerato* phase while in a professional school. To teach the ESBA phase of secondary school a University

degree is required. To receive this one must first pass the secondary exam and a maturity exam. After three years in the university and a defense of a thesis one receives the university degree.

There are three alternative teaching pathways: Auxiliary, Monitor or Volunteer. Volunteers are unpaid teachers. The auxiliary and monitors are helping teachers, also unpaid. The alternative teaching pathways require the achievement of certificate within five years upon pain of being removed from the position. Anyone with a university degree in whatever subject may also teach. These require a letter of pedagogical aptitude from the university. This position is considered temporary. Many students take this alternative path as there are few jobs in the country in the other professions that they have studied.

Seniority and certification enter into play when teachers are redistributed, which can happen at any time and for any reason. Stipends are paid to those who must teach in remote areas and/ or take on administrative responsibilities as well. There is also an increase of pay with seniority. Teacher pay scales are not published.

A teacher is paid for 8 hours of work, 5 teaching hours and 3 extracurricular hours. By law students do not receive more than 20 hours of class per week. In secondary there is a part time teaching position of only 10 hours per week.

There are private schools all over the country. These may have some modifications to the above organization but all private schools are controlled by government regulations.

The official start of the school year is September 5th but in reality most schools do not start until after Independence Day on the Monday after October 12th. The school year should last 200 days, ending June 30th.

The following are descriptions of the three schools visited and my observation of the PRODEGE program in action. This is a unique look into the classrooms of this country's

schools as they are developing a spark of change. The application of this policy takes place in three different circumstances, each reacting differently and yet unified in their quest for change. The observations provide a rich description of this policy in practice in difficult circumstances described for the first time in the following field work.

Observation at School Number One

The first school visited in this study was in the district of Riaba on the island of Bioko. To get to the school we had to climb a hill out of the squalor of the city of Malabo. Roads are paved and well maintained on this side of the island. Once out of the sight of the city the vegetation is lush and green. The sky is always gray as we enter a tropical rain forest on the way to the school and the gray blue ocean is seen at a distance along the entire route. As we climb the hill turned mountain the rain increases and catches people walking along the highway off guard. They scramble to cut large banana leaves with machetes to use as umbrellas.

We arrive at the small village which is on a steep hill. The streets of the village are unpaved and the rain forms streams down the hill. Buildings in the town are either permanent stucco buildings with cement floor or wooden structures. There are large pot holes from the rain and few people out and about. We pass a small military barracks on the right with little piglets walking in front of it. Next to an old Spanish style church on the right of the road we come to a long school building slanted on the hill.

The school is a building painted in two toned walls with yellow on top and green on the bottom. All PRODEGE schools are painted these two colors. There are two pavilions of classrooms, each with four classrooms in a straight line. The other pavilion was built by Noble Energy five months ago. One of the rooms in the PRODEGE building is used as an office. The other classes are a preschool room, the 2/3rd grade classroom and finally the 5/6th grade

classroom. The newer pavilion has two large classrooms with the latrines in the center. This pavilion houses the first grade class and another 3/4th grade class. In between these two pavilions is the skinny steep play area where students cannot really play as it is extremely muddy with streams of water running down the hill through it. Rain is a constant.

I enter the principal's classroom to introduce myself and ask permission to come and observe his class. This visit is unannounced. The students are gathered all around him in a semi circle as he explains something. I see their PRODEGE guides on their tables and the groups of students around their tables in the semi circle. They have made one cooperative group in front of the teacher. They are discussing something out of the PRODEGE guides as a whole group on this unannounced visit. The principal invites me to observe his class on the very next day.

On the first day of observation I arrive at the school at 8:30. I am told as I enter that the ministry is coming. I think to leave, but am told that they will not be arriving until after classes and the teacher is insistent I observe him on that day. I therefore settle into the classroom. I leave my things in a closed cabinet by the teacher's desk. The teacher has no chair and since there is not an extra one in the classroom he does not offer me a seat. The classroom was supposedly remodeled but after the 5 years it looks like it never was. Later the teacher explains that the materials used to remodel were poor and that that is the state of all the PRODEGE schools. The plaster is mold stained and falls apart when touched. He points out that the cement floors are slanted. The room is very dark as there is little natural light on that day. I almost cannot see to write and later have to go to the taxi after a few hours to write the observation in my notebook. Students and teacher are used to it and do their work without the light. There are 6 windows painted dark green. I have been told that when they first went to the schools the windows were very small and that for the remodeling the windows were made larger. They have

green trim and shutters with green decorative metal bars on the interior to keep from being broken into. These windows let the little natural light and humid air into the classroom. There is no well or any water at all on campus instead the students put buckets out at the end of the roof to collect rain water. There is an old abandoned shed behind the school. The building across the play yard supposedly has latrines but they are locked and I never see any student use them. Inside there are no shelves or place for manipulatives. There is no resource corner in the corner of the room. No library exists; the only reading materials available are the guides and text books.

Student furniture is made of thick dark brown wood. There are two thick trapezoids fit together with 3 openings on each side, one for each student to put their materials in. A matching wooden chair fits in front of each opening. Some of the chairs are starting to show the wear of five years. There are no singular desks. This PRODEGE furniture forces group seating. It is the only student desk available. The teacher walks around and monitors each table. The students seem to be on different units. He sits with them if they need him to help them. There is no chair at his desk. Even though he limps he is constantly moving from group to group. The teacher does not sit at his desk.

The students are quietly talking to each other. It seems they all know each other and have been working together for a long time. They are at the end of primary school in this 5/6th class. Rather than working in groups it feels more like they are just sitting in groups. Three of the groups have a card hanging from the ceiling that has their jobs listed. On the hanging mobile they also have their favorite group song and something about the group that makes them special. The students do interact but about the work in the guides which is more an independent type of work. They are not working in unison about one project. Students will ask questions of each

other and share their work, but there is no other activity but the work they are completing from the guides. There are no experiments. The 21 students are self-controlled and remain on task with little direction from the teacher and there is no student monitor. They finish their assignments in guide one and then get right to the second guide that they already have at their desk. The students wait for the teacher to monitor their work but do not waste time in the meantime. They remain seated quietly working. When the teacher comes to their group they welcome him. If he feels he needs to explain something in more depth to their group they run to get his chair and help him sit at their table. There is a sense of respect and cooperation that permeates the room.

Later, the class forms a circle watching students presenting their work done as groups in the Math guides. They explain the standard form numbers and how to expand into place value. They decompose a standard number into its parts i.e.: $2,582 = 2,000 + 500 + 80 + 2$ and then they must explain why they did it the way they did. The teacher is behind the circle in the back of the room and prods the students to better explain increasing their communication skills. “You are supposed to take a number and add zeros.” was not accepted as an answer. They struggle to communicate the meaning, but one or two succeed. The teacher then comes to the front of the room with a manipulative that explains place value and reteaches the concept to the class. He uses a sort of abacus. The students all say they get it. The teacher walks around to check notebooks to make sure the students have done the work right. He corrects kindly. They are then told there will be an exam on the unit soon and that they should now know the concept.

The class that I observed was a class where the students were quietly on task and engaged in their work. There was no evidence of anyone having reading difficulty. To ascertain this I walked around the class to each group and stood behind each child as they took turns reading

from the guides. I then looked at their completed work to see that everyone observed was able to follow the directions in the guides and did the work correctly. This was done before the teacher had any input. It is therefore my opinion as a teacher that all students were able to fully read the text in front of them and discuss it amongst themselves. They did language arts and math classes one after the other and waited for the teacher's evaluation. They were patient as they knew the routine that meant he would work with everyone, but was with another group. It is evident that the guides have been used as they are showing the wear. Their work was more cooperative in the sense that they helped each other sharing work and knowledge but not a project based assignment that they were working on together.

When reviewing their 5th grade and 6th grade guides I only looked at the first of the three guides for each subject. This observation was done on October 24th which by all accounts was in the beginning of the school year and they should not be in the second guide until midway through the year. In the entire fifth grade social studies guide there is only one experiment that involves adding salt to water and tasting it. The rest of the group work is for the students to read together in silence or fill in a table of information taken from their text book. In the science guide they are asked once to use magnifying glasses that I never saw in the classroom. The rest of the guide asks students to comment or explain when the instructions are for group work. In language arts the group work expected is to answer questions orally or to just read something in silence and then comment on it. There is little instruction for reasoning or active learning.

I observed almost no work in group while I was in the classroom. The students waited for the teacher and listened to his instructions when they presented their work to him as a group. Otherwise they worked more independently than together. The teacher gave the same

instructions to each group as he made the rounds. They did not have concerns about the subjects nor did they seem in control of their learning. The teacher was still the purveyor of information.

In the Math guide there are problems that the students are asked to comment on or do as a group but during my observation most students just did them on their own, only asking for help if they needed assistance. They are also almost always asked to copy a section of information from the math guide into their notebooks. The presentation that the teacher had them do about the breaking down numbers was in lesson four. Their work was presented as a group on the board. The group stood in front of the class and explained it although the guide does not instruct the students to do this. The guide tells them to sit in groups and show the work to the teacher. He extended the presentation so that all the students could hear his critique.

When the teacher retaught the place value concept he was presenting work from lesson two in the guide. The whole group of 5th/6th grade was listening to both the student and teacher presentation but the work was only from the 5th grade guide. Teaching a split class is difficult. Different teachers approach it differently. Sometimes when teachers are teaching to a split class they teach it as if it were one grade. Other times they have separate days of the week for each grade or they may teach both grades at different times of the day. With the guides the teacher was able to teach each group their appropriate grade level work in small groups. However, the whole group presentations I observed were only for 5th grade. He called on the 6th grade for comment after the presentation had been corrected by the teacher's critique but they declined.

This teacher was in the PRODEGE certification program. He was very enthusiastic about the program. He says that traditionally his students would have been controlled with a stick and that he really likes that now they can sit and reason quietly amongst themselves and that there is

no more justification for using the stick with his students. His favorite outcome of the program is the mutual respect between teacher and student. It is evident in his classroom.

In contrast to the description of traditional teaching his teaching was active with manipulatives, if not the work of his students. It was the guides that instructed the students in quiet seated tasks. Observing this class explains the guide writer's comments earlier on how they had seen that some of their instruction were not very cooperative or in this case, active, and had to be revised.

Regardless, the teacher explains that he sees the program as a great difference from what schooling was like for his students before. He states that before getting the guides there was very little reading done in class as they were lacking materials and thus a student could finish primary school with a very limited reading skill. Now they have increased their reading abilities with the daily reading done in each subject's guides. He feels that this is an important change in his country and hopes that this program continues. The principal also told me that he and his fellow teachers still try to go to visit the satellite schools in his region and gets together with the neighboring teachers to show them active learning ideas. As a group they are trying to form a teacher organization to get the funding needed to continue this on a more regular basis. This teacher was trained often by the coordinator of active schools after he attended the certification program and wants to continue his development in the program. He thought the fact that they would come to his classroom and to the classes of the other teachers in his school was extremely helpful and wants them to continue.

The next day I was told to come and observe the first grade teacher in the newer building across from him. He would let the teacher know. When I arrived the next morning I went to his classroom to make sure he had told the teacher before I went to her classroom. The students

were alone in the classroom. The teacher had still not arrived and did not arrive until 9:30 AM. The students had been working quietly in the classroom for two and a half hours before his arrival; they each had the two guides on their desks and continued the work in the guides without the direction from a teacher. One of his students told me to go to the other class and she would tell him that I was looking for him. This was proof that the *Escuela Nueva*'s guides allowed for instruction to happen whether teachers were there or not. In this rural school the teachers were residents of the village. They had worked at the school as volunteers before becoming certified teachers. But this is not always the case. Sometimes teachers have to travel great distances to get to the schools they teach and the guides allow the students to get started while the teacher is on route. In this case the teacher did not tell me why he was late and I did not ask.

I went to the first grade class. The teacher was expecting me. She told me that the ministry had arrived at 4:30 PM yesterday and had kept them well into the evening. They demanded she go to the Ministry office in Malabo to receive some documentation. She therefore was just waiting for the principal to arrive in order to have her class covered and then would be leaving, but she invited me to stay until she left.

Her classroom was the more recently remodeled class. It was in stark contrast to the PRODEGE class I was in yesterday. The outside of the building was the same yellow and green but the room was very different than the PRODEGE remodel. Most notably different in that the classroom was very well lit. The weather was gloomy again and the sky dark, but the light was very bright in this room with 6 florescent strips. There is tile on the floors and 4 large windows of 3 panels each which are trimmed in finished wood and include the very rare screen. Tile is on the walls along the bottom of the wall around the room ending at the height of the windows. The rest of the wall is painted a clean white. An African pattern stencil has been painted around the

room in a pretty light blue which is also the color of the chalk board. There are two doors which Different from most classrooms which have only one serving as entrance and exit this room has two doors. Most of back wall is built-in cabinets and shelves for manipulatives of which there are many: buckets of brightly colored pattern blocks, wooden counting blocks, and another of rocks. The teacher explains they are required to get material from the surroundings for math. Furniture is the same as in the 5th/6th classroom; only smaller for the 1st grade size children.

The teacher is the only person with the guide. She points out that she is teaching the indicator that distinguishes between capital and small letters, each representing one sound. Nothing is on the board for direction as the children do not yet read. Students are quietly seated in groups and writing independently. They get up when they are done and bring their paper to the teacher for her to correct. She remains seated at her desk and they seem comfortable with her. She explains what they need to do to make their work look neater and be correctly done letting them know they need to take pride in their work, she will accept nothing less. They go back to their desks aiming to please her. She never instructs the class. The students are working on an assignment without her monitoring the work while they are in the process of completing it. The teacher only looks at the work once they have completed it. One group starts to fight over a pencil and she then gets up to talk to them. They resolve the problem and she returns to her seat. She has 13 students of which only two are girls. This usually means the class will be very active, but in this classroom they are very well behaved. The pre-K teacher has 35 students and trains her students well as is evident in their behavior the following year.

The principal arrives and tells the first grade teacher that she can leave for the ministry. I am not sure if he lets the class go to another teacher doubling up classes or if he sends the

students home. I am escorted to another classroom to finish out my observation day with a 2nd /3rd split class. This is back in the first building that I observed in yesterday.

The lack of electricity is in stark contrast to the room I have just left. The 2nd/3rd classroom has the same features as the 5/6th grade classroom except that there are bookcases with books and some manipulatives in this classroom. I am told that this school did not receive a library. PRODEGE schools were supposed to have all received 100 to 200 volumes but they are not present in any of the three schools visited in this study. There is a set of plastic animals for science that I see again and again in PRODEGE classes. Here there is a white board easel as well as a traditional green chalk board.

The class is made up of 22 students of which 12 are girls. The teacher is active in that she never sits at her desk; she is constantly monitoring what the students are doing. This is the first year that second grade has used guides. They are separated by grades in the classroom. Three groups of second graders (in the same PRODEGE furniture as described above) are sitting in a line on one side of the classroom. The third graders are seated in three groups on the other side of the room.

The teacher first spends time with the second graders making sure they are correctly completing assignments. For the most part they are not completing assignments as they were meant to be completed and she has them reread the guide and explain to her what they are reading. This helps them see their errors. She insists that they follow the written directions. The students in second grade all read fluently. Again, to ascertain this I walk around the class and listen to the second graders read as each took his turn reading something from the guides. I do not hear one child struggle. Rising second graders do not immediately follow written directions and also many times have comprehension issues, but with my knowledge as an elementary

school teacher I witnessed all the second graders, in my opinion, at the proper beginning second grade reading level. The teacher explains later that with time they will start to understand the routine. She asks me to return in six months so that I can see them using the guides correctly. The guides take time to learn and Marina Solano explains that teachers need to orientate the students on the use. Many times teachers think they can just give the students the guides and expect them to just start using them correctly. The teacher makes her way around to all of the second grade groups and then speaks to them as her whole second grade group from the middle of the room. She tells them that the guides say to write the school rules under their drawing of the school and none of them have done that. She then makes sure that the group that was not given supplies has the construction paper it needs. Reminding them that the guide says that their class has to be drawn in front of the house she explains will not accept anything else. Two students then turn their paper over and start again as they had animals there. As the students engage in the drawing they are talking nicely to each other. They share about who they are drawing with each other.

The teacher now makes her way over to the third grade side. She sits at one table and takes a guide from one student and reads the questions from the guides to the group. They do not answer. She then gives them the answer. She insists "Isn't it this way?" The students can only answer yes or no. More often than not the answer has to be yes. This gives the students the way they should be thinking rather than lets the students reason amongst themselves and come to the answer themselves. When they come to the *I Apply* part of the lesson she explains to me that that part is done for homework out of the classroom so they stop the language arts guide and then go on to a math guide. However, no student seems to go on on their own. When they are finished they sit quietly in their group and await the teacher's visit. Unless she approves it, they do not

go on to the next guide. One group of second graders goes off task while waiting. The teacher shows her experience. She says nothing and just stops her work with the third grade group and looks at the table that is playing. The teacher gives them what is known in the teaching profession as the evil eye. The room goes silent. She then says, “You know that if I have to stop my work for you more than once then I do not go to your group and help you. If you want me to go help you later, you better stop.” The second graders immediately get back on task. When the bell is rung for recess her students continue working until she tells them that they can go outside and play. The teacher controls and directs their learning and their behavior. She is in control of their supposed autonomous learning with the guides and the guides do not direct the students to do anything other than wait for her direction.

The children all live close to each other. The school is in the center of the very small village and the children can go home on breaks. Some are sent to move the water buckets collecting rain off of the roof. PRODEGE did not dig a well for this school. They have no running water. Our interview time during recess is cut short by a community visit. I am told that the visitor is a nurse and tutor. However, when asked about the topic of discussion, later I am told she is worried about her son’s progress and came to see how he was doing. The visit is more a typical type of visit by a parent to the school rather than the linking of community to school that PRODEGE trained the teachers on. However, the fact that the teacher was so proud about a parent coming to the school shows that sparks of change are at least happening when linking to community.

In our interview the teacher explains that she has been teaching at this school since the 1990s. She started out as a volunteer with pre-K; she then moved to First Grade; and now teaches the 2nd/3rd split class. She says that she has only been getting paid for her services for the

last four years. Telling me that it took the ministry that long to acknowledge her, she explains that PRODEGE certified her. She says that when she taught pre-K most of her students left her reading and that over the years she has never really had many issues with retaining children. PRODEGE did not improve her retention rate, however, she sees the guides as being very helpful in giving her students opportunities for reading and that this has improved their skill. She has been able to share the secrets to her success with the pre-K teacher in their teacher circles. This helps the school as a whole and she says that it is for that reason that no matter what they try to meet at least once a month. There is a community of teachers and teaching and a great respect for the students evident in the two days at this school.

This observation and School Number One shows that the teachers at this school have taken the guides and cooperative seating of their students and found a way to continue, despite these changes, to remain the purveyors of knowledge. The students are now allowed a social freedom and are provided reading resources and concrete math methods allowing for tactile concept development. However, their teacher is still in control of how they learn and although there are sparks of change happening in their classroom their constructivist bottom up learning has yet to be realized at this school.

In conclusion of the findings witnessed during observations of classes at School Number One, the deciding factor that influences the local divergence to this constructivist program is the top down political system of this country. The top down authoritarian political system puts the teacher in charge of learning and the students awaiting feedback and direction. The Dewey theory of the child being in control of his own learning, grabbing a guide, working according to his interests and using the teacher as a sounding board to make sure they are on the right track to understanding relevant concepts is non-existent at this school. AED has left the country and the

teachers have no way of receiving the constant feedback they would need to facilitate this constructivist policy so foreign to these teachers.

The following observation will show a different local reaction. Focus on the use of the guides at this School Staff Level points out a different response to the materials provided. The influence of this second school's working environment and conditions are noted as we follow the transfer of policy onto the other side of the island of Bioko.

Observation at School Number Two

The second school visited was on the road to Luba on the opposite side of the island. It is a more industrial side and was developed before the road improvements were started. Large trucks with quarry product and oil tankers travel at the outskirts of Malabo on this road causing pollution and traffic. Luba, which is about a two hour drive away from Malabo, has been slated as an oil hub with a new airport just having been completed and a logistics center being developed for the oil industry. Some of the oil companies have started to put offices in the area as the plan is to eventually move them out of Malabo. For now, though, there are still small rural villages along the road although it is awhile before we enter the lush greenery of the mountains. I visit two schools along this route. The first day I arrive unannounced to introduce myself and to set up observation times. The first school I try to schedule a visit at has a crowd of people in front of the 5th grade classroom. We decide not to disturb the meeting and continue up the road to the church. Every village we visit has a church and a school constructed in permanent structure in the center of each town. Later in an interview with an AED teacher trainer I am told she finds the same all over Equatorial Guinea.

We decide to search for the second school instead. It is hard to find as there is just a little rusted sign on a small pathway off of the highway trailing behind a house. The small taxi takes

me down the entire route into the jungle. It is paved and there are groups of people using it to walk from one part of the village to another. There is a clearing to the right of the path and in the distance we see a church and then a school building painted the PRODEGE yellow and green colors. There is no road to the school but tires of other cars and water trucks have dug into the dirt. The small taxi follows through the dugout area to arrive at the school entering along with three chickens. This is a very depressed rural area. Houses are more wooden structures here covered with tin on the outside walls and roofs. The only movement in the sleepy village is that of a few women weaving baskets together in front of a house across from the school. In an interview with active schools coordinator he had told me that *Escuela Nueva* was designed to give quality education to the children living in rural areas. He stated that many times governments would send the spoils to these areas and tell the teachers to teach a more watered down curriculum to the rural areas because the students did not need such a high quality education. *Escuela Nueva* changed that, instead focusing resources and training to give the highest quality education to the rural areas. This community is exactly the type of area that *Escuela Nueva* was created for.

I originally chose to observe this school because it was on a list of only five multigrade PRODEGE schools but its status, as that of many of the multigrade schools has changed over time with the changing population. PRODEGE also asked all first grade classes to be removed from the larger group so that they could be taught to read separately.

I enter the one room school house. The students are sitting on PRODEGE group furniture in groups against the wall. Later the teacher tells me that the school did not have furniture until PRODEGE distributed the desks and chairs and bookcases. The children just sat on the floor. Now students are grouped by grades with the proper guides on their desks even

though this visit was unannounced. However, there is only one guide per desk as the school does not have the necessary number of guides for each student to have their own. Guides are non consumable. 2nd through 6th grades are taught in this room. They have done as PRODEGE suggested and placed first grade in a room unto itself and pre-K is also housed in another separate building. The one room school house is an old colonial building. It has high ceilings and lets in a lot of natural light. I ask the teacher/principal about the remodeling of PRODEGE. He states that they wired the school for electricity but that the town can only afford what is called group electricity and that that only supplies electricity from 6pm-8pm. Since that is after school hours the school, for all intents and purposes, has no electricity. However, even on a very rainy day there is ample natural light. Walls have the same PRODEGE problems of mold and holes from touching the walls as were found in the previous school but the school house is not as dark and depressing as School Number One. The ceramic tiled floor is dirty but has a beautiful flower pattern. It is a pleasant classroom.

The principal is happy to show me his school. He immediately takes me to meet the other teachers. We go outside and across the tiled plaza and behind a wooden building to arrive at a temporary pre-K class. This classroom is depressing with gray wooden walls and cement floor. It has a broken door. Inside there are 25 little preschool students who come running to me calling out: "The Chinese lady!" "The Chinese lady!". The teachers and I laugh. "I am not Chinese" I explain with a smile. We then go past two more buildings down the road to see an even more dilapidated building. It is made of horizontal slats of wood on a broken cement floor. The top slats are opened to let light in and have a screen that is torn off and hanging off the wall in some areas, leaving the room exposed to the many mosquitoes in the area. There is almost no natural light. The first grade teacher has 13 children for which there are not enough seats; they

share a bench at one table. This is something that should be addressed when the government plans to expand the program. Furniture needs to be replenished and provided for each student. There is mold on the entire cement base for the wooden walls. The principal explains that recently a member of the ministry was called to come and look at the building by a man on the village education council. The ministry slated the school for a new building to be built by a Chinese construction firm it had hired for school remodeling. They told the teachers that this first grade room was not to be considered a classroom. A construction firm would construct the classrooms so that they are all together. As it stands now they are all a block away from each other. The principal also explained to me that when PRODEGE came to the school they did not slate his school as needing latrines nor a water well as it continues servicing the community but the principal had since had to call on Red Cross volunteers to make new latrines. When the ministry recently saw their condition they said that that would also be addressed by the remodeling as they were not in school ready condition.

When I observed these teachers teaching I was struck by the difference in their approach to the guides. When comparing 2nd-6th grade teachers at the other school with the teacher in the one room school house I found a teacher who was not so interested in retaining control of the students' learning. In an interview he stated, as he was taught in trainings, that it was important to allow the students to do the work on their own and only call on him when he they needed him to understand a concept. I observed this happen when they asked the teacher to explain the Roman Numerals to them. He pulled his white board easel close to the group and gave that particular group a mini lesson on how to write the Roman Numerals, but I also saw that he took the autonomous nature of the guides a bit too far. His interpretation of his training was very different than that of the teachers in the other school. In contrast to the other teachers hovering

until things were done the correct way, he did not evaluate his students learning, he did not go over what they were doing or how well they did it. He let all four grades work alone in their groups together. Many of the younger students were off task but he did not seem aware of that fact. After the mini lesson for the third graders he walked around the room and that in itself got the students back on track. He did not give feedback on what they were doing, nor the orientation that the other 2nd grade teacher at School Number One felt was necessary.

The short mini lessons that I saw over the course of the two days of observations were simply his writing out the facts on the board as he read what he wrote, there was very little explanation given on his part. He was active in that he was never at a desk but he only used the easel to teach. There were manipulatives all over the room on shelves but they were never used in the two days I observed the class.

This is a teacher that has been teaching 14 years. He is a kind elderly teacher that the students respect. He never raised his voice or had to correct anyone while I observed. I noticed that the older students did not use guides. He told me that this was because the ministry was not cooperating with the text books and since the guides were aligned with the text books they did not help him. If there was a text book for an upper grade group everyone in the class would share it along with the work they did in their guides. However, he did not have sixth grade texts at all. He instead had the sixth graders help him with administrative tasks. For example, part of the program calls for the students to keep track of their own attendance which the ministry then collects the data for their reports. Sixth grade students were making the calendars on chart paper with the students' names on rows so that the students only had to check themselves in each day. They were getting all mixed up as there was no calendar in the room to use as a model. The teacher corrected them but was telling them that there were only 28 days in October. It would

have been easier for the students if a model had been provided. PRODEGE provided student games that perhaps could have instead been more useful models for these teachers of little resources. I asked the teacher what would happen to the students after 6th grade. He stated that there was no middle school except for in urban areas. Since there is no public transportation in the country many students go and live with uncles or extended family in the city in order to continue their education past 6th grade. Others just stay home and quit school.

I also observed the first grade at School Number Two. Comparing the first grade teachers between the two schools I had visited highlights the energy in the first grade teacher in this school. He gave a very active lesson on the senses for me to observe. The children get up and move a lot. They are excited to answer his questions and show how much they know. He has them feel the rough cement floor and the smooth wooden desk and starts working on descriptive words for the sense of touch. Instead of extending the lesson into individual work he teaches them as a whole group and I never see them work in the groups they are seated in. However, the indicators from the teacher's guide are met and the students learn the material asked of them. There is some over age children in his classroom. I never hear if they are late to register or had been retained. This is in contrast to School Number One where there was little over age children.

The two teachers at this school each interpreted their trainings in a different way. The active schools coordinator had been to their school and trained them both at the school and yet their classes did not look or act the same. Granted one taught from a guide to the children in first grade and another helped the students teach themselves from guides at their desks for all of four different grade levels. But even comparing schools one sees the experience of *Escuela Nueva* in action was very different at each school. After visiting both I cannot say that all the PRODEGE

schools had the same reaction to the transfer of policy. Each teacher interpreted the training differently. Every teacher is using the program and participating in all of its facets. They all are very happy with the guides and the way they direct their students to learn. However, it is the traditional schooling method that they use as a reference. There is no denying that change has been drastic and positive in comparison to the traditional method of teaching. However, the policy has been individually accepted and adapted rather than in unison by all the teachers that it has been handed to. Further training would give the policy a national voice.

All the PRODEGE schools have the same materials and the teachers have had the same trainings but different schools started out with a different history. Some had no school building, others did not need remodeling. The training level of teachers was different at each school. Their beginning acceptance of a foreign policy will be influenced by their past experience. In comparison to the first school this School Number Two has each teacher interpreting the constructivist program differently. One, with only a small group of children, all on the same first grade level, is able to use his trainings to impart active lessons to his students regardless of the harsh conditions they all work under. The factor that allows him this possibility is his training received with the PRODEGE program. The other teacher who had the exact same training, but has a large group with four levels or grades to deal with uses the guides to control the groups which he then comes around and imparts knowledge to. The way in which the children are seated and speaking in groups has been a great change for these children; however, the children in both classes are not the ones in charge of their learning. They are given information in the first grade with the teacher holding all the knowledge and teaching them in one whole group lesson. In the other one room school house they are working on their assignments as the teacher has demanded and are allowed to come ask for help as they continue to fulfill their assigned

tasks. Again, the constructivist program is not understood by the teachers or developed by their trainings. The guides do not serve to ensure a positive change towards the democratic principles at the base of the sound pedagogical program. The deciding factors in any divergence to this policy transferred are trainings and past experience all under the influence of the political top down system.

School Number Three provides another look at how this policy has started to change in the hands of these different teachers. My observation at School Number Three continues describing this adaptation process in its infant stage.

Observation at School Number Three

After three trips to School Number Three we finally find the teachers without ministry officials at the school. It is not far from the School Number Two on the same road to Luba, but this village on a hill is a bit more developed than the village around School Number Two. It is explained that the ministry had recently closed schools in the surrounding areas causing a great change in enrollment in the school. New teachers had been transferred to the school along with their students. However, since the school was now over crowded the ministry wanted the school to have two sessions. The village council was up in arms and fought for the school to use a building that had been built by Mobil Oil for its pre-K class as the first grade classroom as well and relieve the overcrowding. Currently the preschool classes are in one classroom and that leaves one large very brightly colored classroom for the first grade class. Located up the hill, about a block away from the rest of the school, the building provides the space the school needs to separate first grade and remain a full day program. The village council is very active at this school and the community really supports its school. I was introduced right away to two

separate council members. They were very welcoming and I was told to come the next day to observe.

For the next two days I observe a very over crowded classroom. The school pavilion is the same as it was in School Number One with three classrooms in a row. I entered the last classroom which is painted the same PRODEGE yellow and green but the room is dark and dreary. The entire building is falling apart with the roof caving in and paint peeling. There again are no screens on the windows and later there is a discussion in the town about an increase in malaria. Two students go home sick with malaria during my observations.

The classroom houses both the first grade and the 2nd / 3rd grade split classes with a total of 53 students. 20-25 students would sit comfortably in this room. The first grade teacher has the 18 first grade students learning to write their names. She does not do the activities in the guide but has prepared the paper for them to print their names on which she has drawn lines and dashes on by hand. Perfect squares of colored construction paper are provided for the students with the lined paper mounted in the center of them as backing. She hands one to each child and explains to them that no one will be allowed to write unless she is standing behind them. Although the children sit in the PRODEGE group work furniture they are not working in groups to learn how to write their names. This is done with the teacher individually without space in the room for her to even give the lesson to the whole group. She loudly tells them when they have done something wrong and explains that if they do not hold the pencil as she has taught them or lets the paper move when she has taught them not to, they will never be able to write their name. They must follow her every direction.

The 2/3rd grade teacher also has a very strong control on what his class of 18 second graders and 17 third graders is doing. He does not let anyone go onto the next section without his

approval and rarely gives it. He sends them back to do everything over again because it is not done correctly. The three grades are interrupted when a 5th grade group comes in to do a presentation. The principal has sent them to present their work from his 5th /6th grade split class. They are scared and the 2nd /3rd grade teacher controls their presentation asking them questions that they answer rather than the group being allowed to just find their voice and present their work. He is loud and severe in his correction and sends them back to their class because they did not truly know the material. They are happy to leave. This interruption stopped the first graders. They are all still waiting for the teacher to help each child individually write their name. They sit silently while waiting their turn. The teacher had stopped to listen to the presentation and told her students to be silent so they could listen to it. Once the presenters left she restarted. Many of the first graders were just staring at the other group in the classroom while they waited for her to teach them individually.

The 2nd/3rd grade class is stopped by the teachers. The time on each subject does not follow the guides, he controls the time. “We will change subject”, he announces loudly, clapping. Each group has one student who gets up and gets his group’s guides off of the bookshelf. The first graders continue waiting their turn with the teacher. There are manipulatives on shelves, but they are never used. This school also has a few large books but they are left on the back table for the two days that I observe at this school.

During the recess break I leave to interview the principal in the new classroom. While I am there the teachers I have just observed get together with the teacher volunteer working in the 5th /6th split class. They all discuss how great PRODEGE is, when I return, as a group they explain how much they love the program and are hoping their government will bring it back.

The teachers at this school have a different reaction to the policy than that of the teachers at the other two schools. However the most influential factor of the top down political system still pushes down the bottom up policy transferred. The teachers demand control of even the slightest freedom dictated in the guides to the children and the students do not resist. The answer to my third research question of Who and what factors have been most influential in the possible indigenization/divergence of this innovation? is the same at all three schools. The most influential factor is the political regime of the country and its current top down system. This gets in the way of the constructivist program of *Escuela Nueva* from fully developing in the classrooms. The teachers cannot find a way to grab hold of the policy and make it their own because they do not understand the democratic principles allowing for self realization in the classroom. The students cannot take hold of the policy because of the same influence of the top down system as they could not dare to take the initiative to take control of their own learning. There are sparks of change at these schools but much more needs to be developed and I question whether the bottom up policy can actually flourish in these schools without further support.

Conclusion

At first glance, on the school level, PRODEGE has been very successful in transferring the *Escuela Nueva* policy to Equatorial Guinea. At each school one sees students sitting in groups, talking to each other as they work together, using guides to complete their respective grade work. Because this is a drastic change to the traditional school in this country everyone involved in implementing the program is very pleased. Teachers are enthusiastic and calling for the program to expand to all schools and awaiting the support of their government. But on closer scrutiny there is still much left to be done to fully implement this program.

Once observed in practice the program shows that the individual construct of meaning has changed the way that the program is actually practiced in the classroom, for although the teachers all received the same trainings for this program, they approach it differently. The acceptance of the policy can be influenced by the personality of the teacher or a teacher's past experience. Repetition of the trainings must happen on a regular basis until there is a unified approach to *Escuela Nueva*. One full year of implementation, with everything in place, is not enough to fully implement a reform. The same active schools coordinator came to all three schools and trained them in the same way, with the same active learning methodology. These teachers also all had Marina Solano teach them how to use the guides in their classrooms and how to form teacher circles for help implementing the program. Yet, the way in which they teach actively is manifested differently in the classrooms observed. PRODEGE must continue to teach the teachers in active methodology.

The guides can be used to explain how to allow children to work cooperatively in order to be in charge of their own learning. But these guides were written by guide writers and teachers that had never been taught that way. Oscar Mogollon's illness aside, in AED's effort to help fit *Escuela Nueva* into the context of Equatorial Guinea the guides were written by native educators who could now use more focused aid from consultants in the revision of those guides explaining the active portions of the lesson more explicitly so that the students and teachers not only are told to do something actively, they are told step by step how to make it active. A teacher's guide could help the teachers be aware of the need a child has to experience reasoning. Problem solving strategies can be taught by the teachers so that they themselves learn them and understand the impact of letting a child come to a solution independently. In any case the guide writers need more time to see the first volumes in practice so that their revisions prove to propel

the program towards a more active and cooperative definition. Education reform takes much more than a few years. Now that the framework is in place a concerted effort in getting the procedures right should first take place before expansion is considered.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

PRODEGE was well designed by AED. Focused on improving the quality of learning in Equatorial Guinea, PRODEGE schools were remodeled, furniture for group work was delivered, guides were written up and teachers were trained in active learning methodology. AED staff put as the program's basis a policy with which they had a depth of experience transferring to many countries. *Escuela Nueva* had had success in the five Spanish speaking countries AED had previously transferred it to and AED ensured that all the lessons learned towards a successful transfer were addressed in the design of the PRODEGE program. There was a lot of teacher training on how a child learns to read and on active learning as well as training on how to handle a multigrade classroom. Teachers were provided with guides that infused a relevant curriculum including familiar stories, folk tales, poems, chants and songs and information about the geography and life in their own country. A pioneer group was formed and coaxed to rally around an educational transformation. Funding was provided and a social consensus was created. All of these factors for a successful transfer stated in the literature on *Escuela Nueva* were put into the design of the program and AED, regardless of how it was received, had every intention of implementing each and every factor while implementing PRODEGE in Equatorial Guinea.

To ensure its successful implementation they assembled an effective team composed of people that had spent most of their entire lives involved with the *Escuela Nueva* policy in one way or another. Every one of the AED staff interviewed had the good intention of helping the country's children receive a quality education and they spent five years of hard work in difficult conditions proving that.

The country's educators received the policy with great enthusiasm. For the first time in their country's independent history they felt the support of their government and clamored to enter the program. In 2006, 1,200 out of the total of 2,900 teachers entered the certification process anxious to receive governmental recognition along with the pay they had not received as volunteers. 992 certified teachers left this certification program with a wealth of new teaching methodologies which they were eager to impart in their classrooms. The facilitators developed a sense of professional pride as they received training in how to support the teachers in changing their country's schooling system from within. Teachers were appetent to abandon their old authoritative ways to allow the children to realize their own education and potential. Students were happy to receive their autonomy and communities were proud to have their children in PRODEGE schools and continue to support the positive change in their children's education.

My case study shows by delving into three schools' classroom that there is evidence of change. I cannot generalize, but the sparks of change are reiterated and generalized in every interviewee's comments stating that, when the first five year phase ended, a marked change in the teaching of children was evident in the 54 PRODEGE schools. Gone were the days of a teacher reading content from a book and the students learning to note it down well enough to memorize. Now students sat in groups talking about their work and calling on the teacher to further their understanding of guides written specifically for their grade level. The days of teachers controlling behavior in the classroom and/or motivating classrooms with a stick in hand had disappeared in PRODEGE schools. Now there was a mutual respect evident at least in all the PRODEGE schools observed.

However, the policy was left in the hands of educators with a profoundly distinct view of what a child needs to learn and how he should be taught. Given the country's long traditional

top down teaching history, stemming from Franco's colonial education system and flourishing as a reaction to crumbling independent government support, educators in the country with PRODEGE received a constructivist policy that taught children from the bottom up. This study shows that this alternative pathway provided by the policy is not yet fully implemented with only one true year of the reform in place and the training and support ended. The policy also butted up against a political system that AED did not prepare for when it transferred *Escuela Nueva* to Equatorial Guinea. The country's top down political system has been ingrained in its people surviving four decades of authoritarian rule and now, although they enthusiastically grab onto the policy, the Equatoguinean educators struggle to find ways to organize and then refine and expand the program. The political system reproduces the top down structure of transmission to the students waiting in classrooms for the teacher's direction for use of the guides; to the teachers not finding a way to organize and adapt the program to their particular circumstances; to the facilitators who await government direction to resume trainings; to the guide writers who await the government's approval to improve the cooperative direction to the children published in the guides. Although AED, in its quest to include context in the policy's rebirth in the African jungle, included pictures of villages and had photos of the true surroundings of the children, throughout the guides, the organization did not analyze how the policy's bottom up method of expansion and its democratically principled way of teaching would be received in the country's context. AED may have even had an oral story written from every tribal region of the country and published it in a volume, for the children to have in a in their school's library to read and included tribal songs and chants and poetry and can thus say that they did address having relevant contextual design and implementation of that design in PRODEGE. However, they expected the entire program to exist with a bottom up form of learning that does not exist in the

country. As AED encountered and struggled against the highly regimented top down bureaucracy they encountered in the country, as foreigners bringing a policy from abroad to Equatorial Guinea, AED did not address this bureaucracy's effect on its schools. This may prove the program's downfall.

An example of the above comes from following the transfer of policy into the writing of the guides. The directions given for active activity is questioned by this study. Native writers wrote the guides on their own as there could be little direction from the Mogollons at the beginning of the program and the active schools coordinator chosen did not have this expertise. The guide writers had gone to Nicaragua to learn how to write the guides and they also had editorial aid, but the guides ultimately do not have active direction for the students and lack the autonomous cooperative learning expected from the trainings. The fundamental method of education in a guide is not one that the people of Equatorial Guinea knew how to use. Good intentions aside, there is an integrity of one side against the integrity of the other at cross purposes. In translation, there is all of AED's constructivist expertise on one side against the Equatoguinean educator's lack of constructivist knowledge of teaching on the other side. PRODEGE did not address this difference yet as it found itself only in the first full year of classroom implementation. The teachers want to learn more and are willing to help the program expand, but they need more training to fortify their ability to adapt the program and then expand it.

HESS is now in negotiations about the second phase plan. In its initial 10 year plan it stated that its goals would emphasize the secondary schools in PRODEGE's second phase. This shift in focus from primary to secondary schools comes at a time that the newly reformed primary schools still struggle to find support and reinforcement. In the past two years since AED

left the country, the government has not stepped in to aid the program. The teachers hold onto the policy with the help of the community. HESS could use its relation with those in power to see the beginning of educational reform provided realized in the primary schools. The primary schools need to be reinforced before taking the Equatoguinean staff into another focus in the second phase of PRODEGE. What will happen in the future remains to be seen. With a need for better educated workers both HESS and the government embarked on a rich journey for a comprehensive change. The transfer of policy has provided a spark of change in the primary schools and must now be stoked like a fire to come to fruition. Problem solving and critical thinkers cannot be developed with just one year of practice.

Webs of Significance

To truly encompass the complexity of this policy transfer I look to the work of the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz and his imagery of webs of significance (Geertz, 1973). I imagine this complex policy transfer as two webs of significance colliding. As *Escuela Nueva* enters Equatorial Guinea, it comes encased in a web that includes its rich cultural history and the adaptations made in each country it has been transferred to. The web contains its sound pedagogy surrounding its active learning, the teacher posed as a facilitator to be supported, relevant curriculum with community input and student autonomy. The *Escuela Nueva's* web of significance embodies its quest to better the lives of rural students and most importantly, in this country, the democratic principles of critical thinking and reasoning, problem solving, conflict resolution and self-determination amongst a group of equals. The threads interwoven around the policy also essentially include the significant process of teaching teachers to take initiative to adapt and to expand the program, to be leaders in changing their school system by passing the program to other teachers and empowering all.

The country also possesses its own web of significance. In this case it is an opposing web. It contains four decades of authoritarian rule and its conditions of awaiting direction with submissive compliance. Also bounded in the Equatoguinean web are three major tribes; all of their cultures united with a European colonial language under an African identity. Finally contained in the country's web of significance is a broken education system longing for reform.

With much effort AED has situated these two webs of significance within their cultural context expecting integration of the two. But the two webs set off two integration methods that are not identical because the particular form one takes does not directly imply the form the other will take. There is an inherent incongruity and tension between the two and the two webs of significance do not integrate in Equatorial Guinea. According to Geertz, Sorokin, the Russian sociologist, suggests the goal should be the type of integration similar where one finds an organism in a social system where all the parts are united in a single causal web. (Geertz, 1973).

However, after doing this study I do not see this single causal web that Geertz and Sorokin speak of as forming automatically. (Geertz, 1973) I pose the consideration that a cultural synapses would have to occur in Equatorial Guinea to support the integrity of *Escuela Nueva's* web of significance. There is now no possibility for the crucial bottom up flow of the policy in the country and this is needed to sustain the policy in its new environment. A cultural synapses would allow children to gain confidence in controlling their environment and education first in small groups in their classrooms and later in teams once out in the world. It would allow for a bottom up democratically principled program to expand naturally between teachers. For now the bottom up ability stays dormant encased in *Escuela Nueva's* web. The educators are trying to facilitate their students' self-actualization, but the students sit and await direction as expected in the country. The teachers are trying to cooperate and organize but there is no teacher syndicate

or union, there has never been any teacher organization, nor is there any organic organizing of peoples in assembly in this tightly controlled country. The teachers await direction. The pioneer group has been given the skills needed to expand the primary program for the country, but instead await direction. Only a cultural synapses could unleash a bottom up approach in this country.

The existing policy transfer discourse amongst scholars includes much written about the interweaving of cultural contexts. This study acknowledges the need for such interweaving but adds a new dimension. While this interweaving of the two contexts does not, distinguishing between the webs of significance *does* lead to explicit detection of the cause for the lack of integration of the two webs. Fully understanding the new environment's web of significance has proven essential in this policy transfer and could possibly have allowed for the nurturing of a cultural synapses to form, expanding the receiving country's web in order to sustain the policy transfer and totally integrate the two webs into one.

A practical application of this added dimension of the forming of a cultural synapses would possibly be for AED to use the tribal councils in Equatorial Guinea to fire up the new cultural synapses. The tribal councils in each village constitute a collective community based power that could possibly find a way to form a method of organizing the schools for expansion. Each PRODEGE school was set up as a model or mentor school that has satellite schools nearby to expand the program to. AED or HESS could possibly consider talking to the government about funding a monthly satellite school meeting of tribal councils, where teachers and community meet once a month expanding the Achievement Day celebrations of the mentor schools to include satellite teachers and community members. The tribal councils, who have been instrumental in supporting their model PRODEGE schools, could be in charge of the

celebration and organization of the various communities. The teachers would take it from there. This would be a cultural method for organizing the teachers beyond their schools that could be sustained in the top down political system which does acknowledge its tribal culture. The students would then learn this bottom up approach as their teachers now taking initiative would understand the need for student initiative and pass it onto the students. This type of synapses could be nurtured by the actors transferring the policy.

For now, though there has been no cultural synapses fired off and now the interwoven support of AED in the primary schools is completed. AED has unraveled their interwoven support and left the primary schools. HESS now wants to go onto the secondary schools. If the web of significance in Equatorial Guinea had been analyzed, if not at the outset at least when AED had realized the bureaucratic system's effect on their implementation of the transfer of policy, then AED with HESS' aid could have fired off a cultural synapses and helped create a integration of webs of significance that would allow for the teachers to sustain the beginnings of change PRODEGE has sparked. The effect this could have had on the country could have been even more profound than their efforts to reform the school system of Equatorial Guinea. If the students in PRODEGE classrooms with all the critical thinking and problem solving they were meant to learn could also learn how to start things off from the bottom up, the possibility of changing their situations in life becomes more real.

Policy Transfer Theories

The current transfer of policy literature hardly captures this idea of the webs of significance and I consequently find the theories lacking. Jurgen Schriewer's theory of externalization and David Philips theory of policy attraction are too linear to completely encompass the transfer of policy taking place with PRODEGE. I consider these theories linear in

that they do not address the complexity of a transfer. They speak of a common sensical approach of looking outside of a country for solutions, finding them and then implementing them in their country. For example, as Schriewer's theory starts with Luxman's self-reflexion theory I see that there is no evidence that the leader of Equatorial Guinea was actually looking inward to find a solution to his education system. The few improvements that had been made to the system came from a ranking for Education for All or UNICEF aid in developing an initiative which opened preschool classes in the schools of Equatorial Guinea and had not come from a profound desire to change his country's schooling system. When the president reopened the schools in 1979 he allowed Spain to send teachers and charity organizations to send bits and pieces of text book sets scattered to different schools in no uniform distribution. Years later, Obiang was content with what had been done and not until outside forces suggested, with financial backing, did he consider changes. Obiang's looking outward for a solution is much more complex than a mere linear looking elsewhere. There were outside forces cajoling the change and bringing the solution to the country before it was accepted. There is evidence in the political history of Obiang funding education during 1997-2002 with only 1.67 of all government expenditure (Krause, 2010, p. 144). If the outside forces did not fund the program little would have been done to implement the preschool policy brought to the country in 1999 and perhaps PRODEGE would not exist.

Schriewer's and Phillips' theories explain a policy chosen by a leader as a solution to one country's needs. But they do not encompass a suggestion from abroad entering into the picture and furthermore do not include an international organization such as AED as a second party introducing the actual policy to transfer and implement. The theories could not explain nor provide a conceptual framework for me to analyze not one but all three parties involved in the

transfer of policy for PRODEGE with all of the differing viewpoints coming from different histories each party contained. President Obiang came to the table with a history of schools being closed down and not supported. The oil corporation came with a history of seeing education for the purposes of providing human capital. AED comes from a history of education reformers transferring this policy into various Spanish speaking rural contexts. The policy then entered a context with a political history that provided obstacle to the transfer in the process of transformation in the country. Schriewer's and Phillips' theories in the literature only touch on a linear movement which does not explain the way the complex interwoven transfer took place in PRODEGE.

Phillips' theory considers four stages of the policy transfer process. In Equatorial Guinea the initial stage comes from the oil discovery as catalyst. There is a need for a Western approach not only because the approach does not exist in the country but for the target attraction that Phillips speaks of in the first stage. However, because the policy was originally created in the south even this part of Phillips theory is too simple. The social, cultural and political complexity of this transfer is not addressed. The second stage is the decision stage but in PRODEGE there are many decision makers. Hess makes a suggestion and then backs away. The president calls it his initiative and then backs off as well. AED decides for all of them and is unaware of the magnitude of the effect of the political history, and so, although the implementation of this policy transfer is well intentioned and truly planned out as Phillips says is necessary to show a true commitment to the transfer, the implementation falls short. The theoretical framework Phillips' work provides is again lacking when considering all the many stakeholders and the power each one holds. Phillips' third stage expects adaptation and even this is planned in AED's design. The teachers are to adapt *Escuela Nueva* to their individual classroom situations. But

this adaptation has yet to be developed; such adaptation of the policy will take more years of practice on the part of the teachers. This is not accounted for in Phillips third stage. And the final stage of absorption into the new context does not always happen as the account of PRODEGE has shown. As a framework to guide the analysis of a program that has just had a year of full implementation and has been suspended, Phillips' theory does not lend itself to the complexity of the situation and does not provide a full explanation of what to expect when analyzing the transfer of all policy.

Certification and Decertification do not really apply to the situation of the PRODEGE policy transfer. These theories deal mostly with the change in political a regime which has not happened in Equatorial Guinea for the last 39 years. The influx of outside forces have called for the regime to change in its delivery of social services and Obiang could be seen as certifying his willingness to do so when accepting the *Escuela Nueva* based program into his schools, but he is not certifying his regime with this acceptance versus another national regime. I therefore could not use these theories in the analysis of PRODEGE.

Gita Steiner-Khamsi's consensus approach also has little to offer to this transfer of policy. PRODEGE is based on *Escuela Nueva* which includes some unique features. There are elements of democratic learning principles with problem solving and critical thinking skills as goals. However, this policy could not really be considered a Western education model as it does not exist in the North. It exists in several Latin American countries that have received the program with USAID and World Bank funds, but it does not have all the elements of programs that those funding agencies usually advance, i.e.: decentralization, high stakes assessment, cost effectiveness, etc. *Escuela Nueva* is based on constructivist pedagogy with project-based cooperative group work and active learning. It comes from the South and is being transferred by

the North into a developing African context. The consequent acceptance of the policy in the 54 PRODEGE schools does not show evidence of a consensus model; there is not even a consensus in the way it is starting to be adapted in each of the three schools visited.

At first I was in agreement with Steiner-Khamisi's conflict approach with PRODEGE as a product of borrowing imposed on Equatorial Guinea by neocolonial imperialism. The borrowing was not voluntary and leads to a unique Western-backed-southern-active-schooling model. But this theory implies something negative that does not work in the country and leaves the country inferior. With PRODEGE *Escuela Nueva*, even though not fully implemented and with the problems in implementation, the education system improves the schools and the quality of teaching and learning. It is not perfect but it does not have a negative effect on the education system.

Nonetheless, Steiner-Khamisi's culturalist approach seems to be a better fit to this study than the other two theories. The political culture ingrained in the country under the highly centralized power system described above has taken the guides into the classroom and without saying a word has directed how the students and teachers should react to them. And because the trainings were not sufficient to counter this top down system there is even diversity in each classroom with different teachers in one school. Steiner's culturalist approach helped me to hone in on this complexity. She also speaks to the need for capacity building in order to have proper implementation. Because the system was so broken at the beginning of PRODEGE more time and trainings would have to be given for proper implementation and sustenance. It is this theory that best encompasses the divergent reactions to the policies.

However, I found the theories mentioned above lacking a cohesive thread for me to latch onto in my writing. Instead I would hold onto the complicated timeline in order to further my

narrative. I used the theories as a framework for each step of that narrative and found parts of one or parts of another to explain the actions of PRODEGE's development. But there was never an overarching theme to help tie together the very rich and vibrant strands that constitute this complex policy transfer: the three parties involved in the formation of PRODEGE, the needs assessment driving budget, the multiple levels reacting under the weight of a top-down political system. The transfer of policy is a very complex social process and when doing a vertical case study describing the process at each level of action, one needs a more encompassing theory than any of the theories described above. Where the theories were lacking the methodology I used was extremely helpful. The methodology forced my focus on how the policy was being transferred in a much more powerful way than the theories allowed.

Methodology

Vertical case study methodology is extremely useful in both analyzing the complexity of this policy transfer as well as in organizing the analysis. Starting on the top level and working the way down into the classroom allows for an observation of each level's influence on the learning happening in the PRODEGE schools. One concludes what is happening on the top level before entering the next level and this focuses the analysis on the effect the top has on the following level. In the case of PRODEGE the influence of the top level works its way down into the student learning level at the very bottom of the case. Had vertical case study methods not been employed the influence may not have been as easily noted. The method also shows the complexity of the tensions between the horizontal forces from abroad at each level and the reaction to those forces. Vertical case study improves analysis of the complex process of policy transfer.

Future Implications

My study on the transfer of the *Escuela Nueva* policy to Equatorial Guinea may start a discussion on the implications for policy transfer elsewhere in Africa. Specifically focusing on the political system, currently there are approximately 10 tightly controlled regimes in the 54 African countries. When this policy is considered for transfer to these countries with their top down systems of government, a method for diffusing the program must consider this flow of political power in its design. If a group of teachers is to organize to fan the program out into other schools, protocols must be put into place with the government for this diffusion to continue once the foreign implementer agency has left the country. The pioneer group chosen must have connections in the government as well as know how to get around the diffusion road blocks. The district supervisors housed in the ministry must be linked to the pioneer group who should be linked to the facilitators who must be linked to the inspectors and most importantly to school personnel. Using the introduction into a web of significance imagery, a structure must be found for a bottom up approach in a country that currently does not allow it. This has important implications in the sustenance of the program and should therefore be addressed.

Recommendations

In terms of recommendations I suggest that:

- PRODEGE reinforce its active school component in the program's 54 schools.
- Rather than use the same pioneer group staff for a new focus of improving the secondary schools of the country the current group should be retained to work on the primary school reinforcement.
- All teacher trainings for the primary teachers should be repeated and further developed (for example add trainings on the adaptation of the program by the teacher).

- The guides should be worked on under the guidance of staff knowledgeable in active learning methodology. The new lessons should be tested in the classroom before changing the guides. Distribution of the new guides should coincide with reinforcement trainings on the use of the new version of the guides.
- No expansion of the primary program should be considered until the program has been refined and perfected in the current 54 PRODEGE primary schools.
- The teachers should be given a method for organizing so that it is the teachers that expand the program and sustain it in Equatorial Guinea.

Escuela Nueva was transferred to Equatorial Guinea to provide quality education to rural students. Just as it started to take hold the first phase of the program ended and AED pulled out, leaving the teachers of Equatorial Guinea awaiting their return. Sparks of change have started in PRODEGE schools. For the sake of the rural students one day learning to think critically and solve the problem of their difficult life in Equatorial Guinea, the teachers must be supported in fanning the flames.

Appendix A

Observation Protocol

SETTING

1. Is there evidence that the school was remodeled?
2. Describe lighting.
3. Describe ventilation.
4. Is there well water?
5. Are there latrines? Describe condition.
6. Is there furniture for group work? Describe the condition of the furniture.
7. Is there a classroom library? Where is it.
8. How many books are in the library? What is their condition?
9. Are there text books?
10. How many guides are there? What is their condition?
11. Are there manipulative corners in the classroom?
12. Describe the manipulatives provided.
13. Draw a map of the school and its surrounding environment.
14. Draw a map of the classroom.
15. How many classrooms are there?
16. How many teachers at this school?
17. How many students attend this school?
18. What is the percentage of girl students?
19. Has this increased? (what is the evidence).

20. Appendix A continued

21. What grades are taught at this school? When are they taught (is there more than one shift)?
22. How many teachers teach here?
23. Is there a separate administrator or are the duties fulfilled by the classroom teachers?

TEACHER

24. Describe evidence that active school methodology is being used.
25. Are the students talking to each other?
26. Are the desks facing each other or the board?
27. How is the teacher teaching the first graders?
28. What is she teaching the first graders and with what materials?
29. Is there a teacher guide for student group work?
30. Is there a teacher circle guide?

STUDENT

31. What routines are observed?
32. Do the students know how to use the experiment equipment?
33. Are they using the guides?
34. Do they know where to store the guides?
35. Are the students kept on task by a student leader? What gender? If not, how is the group managed?
36. How does the student leader interact with the teacher?

Appendix A continued

- 37. How do the students approach the teacher when they need information?
- 38. What happens to the equipment used when the experimentation is completed?
- 39. How many grades are in one group?
- 40. Where in the classroom are the First Graders?
- 41. Can the 2nd to 6th graders read the guides?

COMMUNITY

- 42. Document visits to school while observing.
- 43. What is the purpose of the visit?
- 44. How long is the visit?
- 45. How is the visitor received by the teacher?

EXPANSION

- 46. Do other teachers from other schools visit/observe?
- 47. How do they interact with the Model School teachers?
- 48. Are they being trained in active school methodology?

Appendix B

Interview Protocol

Protocol for Interview with in country AED staff (Implementers)

Colombia:

What was your involvement with *Escuela Nueva* in Colombia?

How has the knowledge you gained while implementing the innovation in Colombia been used in the implementing of the innovation in Equatorial Guinea?

Transfers:

Where else did you work on *Escuela Nueva*? How was it changed in the different countries?

Equatorial Guinea:

How was *Escuela Nueva* brought into the picture for PRODEGE?

How was the idea received?

How did this reaction change PRODEGE's design?

Implementation:

Tell me about the writing manuals process?

How did the training of teachers progress?

Tell me about the logistics of getting the materials to the classrooms after the renovation of buildings. I want to really know about the timing.

Were the Model Schools set up as demonstration schools?

Do you see anyone in EG emerging as advocates of this reform program?

Appendix B (continued)

Interview Protocol

Protocol for Teacher Interview

How did you first learn of PRODEGE?

What was your training like?

Explain Active Schooling.

When did they do the remodeling of your school? Where were the students housed?

When did you receive the materials for PRODEGE?

Did someone come to train you in your classroom?

Do other teachers come to observe you teach?

Do you meet with other teachers with a discussion guide?

What kind of support do you receive from the administrators of the school district?

How do you evaluate your students?

Are your first graders learning to read?

Are your students learning more now? Why do you say that?

Appendix C

PRODEGE Timeline

2003-4	John Hess of HESS Oil meets Stephen Moseley of AED
2004	AED In-Country director is named for PRODEGE
2004	Meeting between John Hess, President of Equatorial Guinea, Teodoro Obiang, and AED's Stephen Moseley and In-Country PRODEGE Director
2005	Needs Assessment from either August to November or October to December
2005	Action Plan Written by AED at end of Needs Assessment
2006	Agreement between President and HESS in July 2006
2006	First Action Plan with AED Signed October 2006
2006	Schools are chosen at end of the year
2007	PRODEGE has first start up
2007	Stop for renegotiations with more schools added
2007	PRODEGE has second start up
2007	Stop for 3 months, April-July 2007 for renegotiations about ministry workers on contract
2007	Second Action Plan Signed with AED July 2007
2008	Teacher Certification Program begins January 2008
2009	Teacher Certification Program ends December 2009
2009	Oscar Mogollon dies October 18, 2009
2009	First grade guides distributed to schools December 2009
2010	First teacher training for Active learning Methodology and Evaluation given in July and August of 2010.
2010	Marina Solano arrives to work on the production of guides September 2010

Appendix C (continued)

PRODEGE Timeline (continued)

2010	Second and third grade guides distributed to schools December 2010
2011	Continual Evaluation and Forming Alliances with other schools trainings given in May in 2011
2011	AED leaves Equatorial Guinea with Phase One completed November 2011

The four school years covered by phase one:

10/2007 - 6/2008

10/2008 – 6/2009

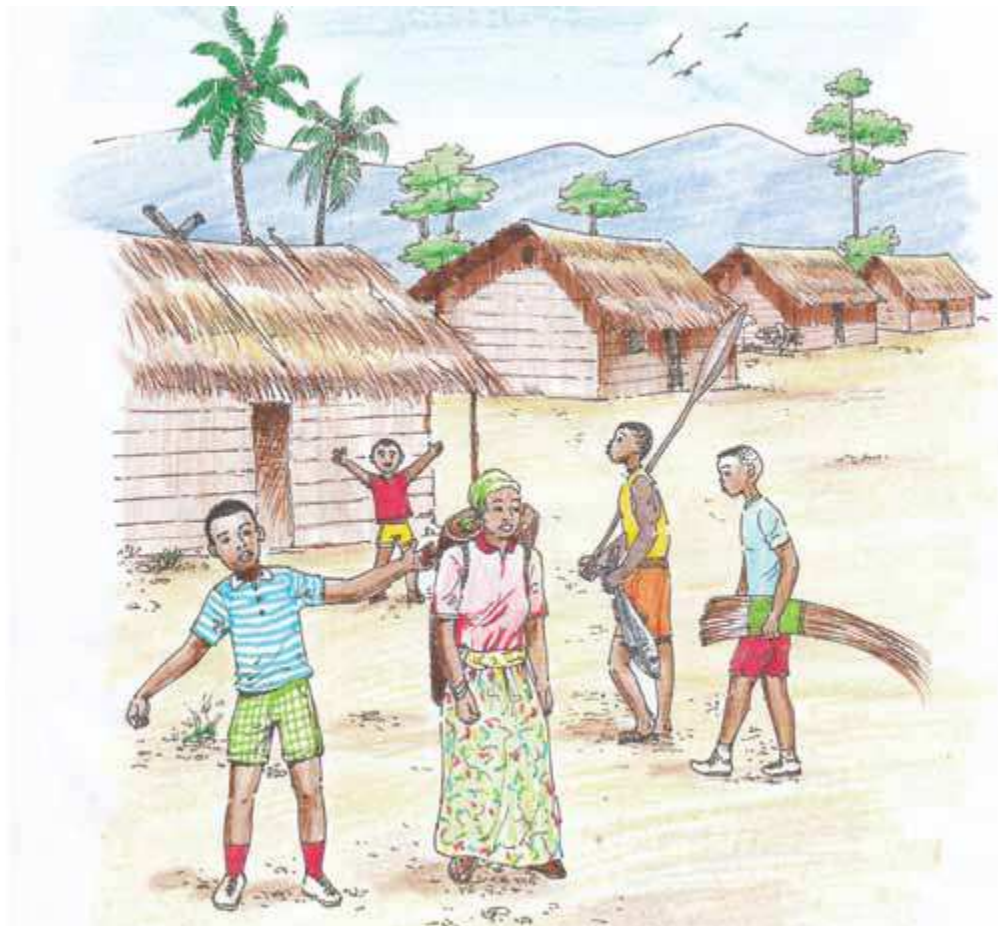
10/2009 – 6/2010

10/2010 – 6/ 2011

Appendix D

Page from a Second Grade Guide. (PRODEGE, 2011)

Aplico



Con la
familia

- 1. Elaboro** una lista de los miembros de la familia que viven en mi casa.
- 2. Escribo** la relación familiar que hay entre cada uno de ellos y yo. Por ejemplo, Nicanor Abeso mi papá.
- 3. Leo** a mi familia el párrafo que escribí en clase para comunicar la idea: “Me siento orgulloso de ser parte de una gran familia”.

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