South–South collaboration: Cuban teachers in Jamaica and Namibia

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Abstract

Cuba has concentrated more than most developing countries on building a sound educational system, and as a result, it has been able to collaborate with other countries in their efforts to improve educational planning and practice. Based on recent research in the field, this paper examines the work of Cuban teachers in schools and sports programmes in Jamaica and Namibia. It carries out a qualitative analysis, from a postcolonial perspective, of the significance of this programme which is viewed as an example of South-South collaboration. Participant decolonizing countries benefit from Cuba's contribution to building their teaching capacity, and Cuba in turn benefits from developing the linguistic and professional expertise of its educators through this internationalist work. The article contributes to a multi-level style of comparative education analysis based on micro-level qualitative fieldwork within a framework that compares cross-cultural issues and national policies.

Introduction

This article is a qualitative study, from a postcolonial perspective, of the role played by Cuba in contributing to the building of educational capacity in developing countries by sending teachers overseas. Strategies for using Cuban educators, and the experiences of some of the teachers, are examined in Jamaica and Namibia. The paper discusses the educational situation of the host countries to show why Cuban teachers are meeting needs particularly in the areas of the Sciences, Mathematics, Spanish and Sport. It explores how the programme is organized, and considers its significance as an example of South-South collaboration. The research follows from my earlier investigation of the Cuban government's programme of providing thousands of scholarships, from school to university level, to students from other countries of the 'South' (see Hickling-Hudson 2000). Providing Cuban teachers is another type of educational aid organized according to the requests and circumstances of the partner countries, but it is also collaboration in that both countries benefit from the programme.

My field research in 2001 in Jamaica (March and November) and in Namibia (December) enabled me to obtain information about how Cuban teachers are being utilized, and about the educational implications of this project. In Jamaica, I interviewed 15 Cuban teachers in several schools and one in the vocational institute,

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as well as the Cuban project supervisor in charge of the 51 Cuban teachers. I also talked with officials at the Jamaican Ministry of Education to obtain an idea of the developmental needs in the various subjects that the Cubans had been asked to teach. In Namibia I interviewed personnel in the National Sports Directorate and the Cuban manager in charge of the Sports Education project. The article draws on these interviews to build a picture of how the programme of collaboration is organized, and considers its postcolonial significance, in theory and in practice, as an example of South-South collaboration. The article contributes to a multi-level style of comparative education analysis based on micro-level qualitative fieldwork within a framework that compares cross-cultural issues and national policies (Broadfoot, 2000; Crossley, 2000).

Decolonization, school improvement and the assistance of Cuban teachers

A postcolonial perspective is concerned with how cultures have been influenced by the legacies of colonialism, the culture wars that result from challenges being made to those legacies, and the difficulties and ambivalence involved in change (see Hickling-Hudson, 1998; Tikly, 2001; Mayo *et al.*, 2002). A postcolonial critique of how the disengagement from colonial legacies in education is taking place explores these issues, and discusses alternatives that might become possible were we able to disentangle ourselves from the constraints of our colonial histories. This kind of critique is useful in analysing the role played by Cuba’s overseas aid in education, both in Cuba and in the partner countries.

The countries which are currently utilizing the work of Cuban teachers are attempting to deal with the continuing fallout of the severely flawed and inadequate education systems which were one of the painful consequences of colonialism. Newly independent countries inherited from their European colonial rulers stratified systems characterized by the domination of education benefits by a small elite, and of exclusion of the poorer sections of the population from equal benefits. Decolonizing governments have invariably expressed commitment to the goal of improving the education system in terms of equity and efficiency. Since independence from the British in 1962, for example, successive governments in Jamaica, a small Caribbean island with a population of nearly three million, have worked to expand the system. About 78% of children have had at least six years of primary and three years of

secondary schooling (Evans, 1998). But the ghost of colonialism remains in the deep-seated inequities that are difficult to dislodge from the education system. The current Jamaican government is committed to reducing the huge disparities inherent in Jamaica's three school types, the elite High Schools, the less well-endowed secondary-modern style 'New Secondary' schools, and the impoverished and formerly neglected 'All Age' schools. These constitute a pyramid of minority privilege and majority disadvantage (see analysis by Evans, 1998). Namibia, an African country with a population of one and a half million, has only been independent of the colonial rule of the apartheid government of white South Africa since 1990. Its educational decolonization is moving along lines familiar to most newly independent countries. There is a drive for expansion of capacity and curriculum change, and a commitment to tackling inequity (see Avoseh, 2002). Goals of equalizing education require large numbers of better-trained teachers. The question is, how to get these in the short term?

In contrast to many countries of the 'South', Cuba has committed itself to an extensive upgrading of education (see Richmond, 1990). During four decades of socialist revolution, the Cuban government poured resources into education at every level (see Leiner, 1989; Richmond, 1990; Lutjens, 2000). The revolution committed itself to adult literacy and basic education, as well as to an enormous expansion of schools and pedagogical universities to train teachers. This enabled the government to make education free and compulsory to Grade 10, an achievement that has not been matched in most other developing countries. Much effort has been put into equalizing school opportunities. The curriculum has been conceptualized so that all students do centrally-designed core subjects from Years 1 to 9, but those showing talents in particular areas of the Fine Arts or the Sciences may receive places at special 'vocational' schools where the gifted do extra studies in the area of their talent.

Cuba has an extensive network of universities and colleges, which ensures that a relatively high proportion of its school leavers goes into either five-year degree programmes at universities, or polytechnic-vocational training at 'middle-level' technical institutes. Cuba's economic development, however, has not kept pace with its educational progress. The economy, as is the case in many developing countries, does not absorb as many graduates as the university system produces. Therefore, there tends to be an excess of professionals in most fields, and this is the basis of Cuba's ability to send hundreds of professionals including teachers, doctors and engineers to

work for several years overseas. The economic situation has been made worse because of the collapse, from 1989, of Cuba's erstwhile trading partners and with the crippling economic blockade imposed by the USA, although now the Cuban economy appears to be recovering. At present, the per capita income is roughly the same as in Jamaica, in the region of US $2000 in any given year.

Cuba has long experience in teaching overseas students at every level of education. Twenty-two thousand teachers were sent to work abroad between 1973 and 1985, while thousands of young people from developing countries were invited to study free in Cuba (Lutjens, 2000, p. 328). On the Isle of Youth alone, an innovative approach to internationalism which developed from 1978 had by the early 1990s provided primary, secondary and some tertiary education to some 18,000 students from 37 nations. The former Portuguese African colonies were heavily represented among these—Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe. Other African countries which relied heavily on Isle of Youth schools were Ethiopia, Ghana, the Congo and the Western Sahara. Hundreds of refugees from Namibia and apartheid-ruled South Africa were among the students (Zeigler, 1995). Cuban teachers taught the African students Mathematics, the Sciences, Spanish and vocational skills, while visiting African teachers paid by the Cuban government taught them their own languages and the geography, history and literature of their home countries. The idea was to have students maintain their home cultures while at the same time benefiting from Cuba's strengths in Science, Mathematics and vocational teaching. From 1980 to the early 1990s, nearly a thousand Maths and Science teachers from Zimbabwe were trained in Cuba on the Isle of Youth, studying in a Pedagogical Institute affiliated with the University of Havana. In the mid-1990s the Institute was still providing scholarships not only to Zimbabweans, but also to Angolans and Namibians (Zeigler, 1995, p. 27).

Cuba has a struggling economy, but its framework of a supportive socialist government has enabled educators to improve vastly the outcomes of the model of education inherited from its colonial period. UNESCO evaluations carried out in 1996 showed that Cuban school students were performing in Mathematics, Language and Science at a level far exceeding their peers in 16 other Latin American countries (see UNESCO, 1998; Gasperini, 1999). Free-market Jamaica and Namibia also have struggling economies, but in contrast to Cuba, education as a system is floundering. Judging from external examination results, there are pockets of world-class student

performance in the best schools, but mediocre to extremely poor performance amongst the majority of students in other schools. In both countries the teaching force is far from being fully qualified. In Jamaica it is also being steadily depleted by teachers leaving the profession for other better-paid jobs at home or overseas. The loss of qualified teachers has been particularly severe in recent years as recruiters from the USA and the UK have stepped up their drive to attract the best-qualified teachers away from Jamaica and into the schools of London and New York.

It is against this background that Cuban professionals are being recruited, as teachers in primary and secondary schools and vocational colleges in Jamaica, and as sports coaches in Namibia. In Jamaica the Cuban teachers are being asked to help in the existing systems: there is no question of any collaboration to design and develop new structures and approaches to education. In Namibia, however, the Cuban sports coaches have the latitude to help design and develop new systems of sports education. My research investigated how the utilization of Cuban educators was working, while my reflections from a postcolonial perspective focus on how the programmes relate to a possible larger picture of long-term educational change.

How the project is organized

Under the collaboration agreements, Cuban teachers and education advisers and planners have worked and are currently working in many countries (see Table 1).
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Assistance is offered by Cuba at several levels. Countries can negotiate with the Cuban government to obtain scholarships to send their nationals to Cuba for primary, secondary and/or tertiary education. They may engage Cuban teachers to teach for a year or two, or they may choose to work with Cuban university advisers on how to improve organizational management and professional courses in universities. Cooperation with other countries is organized according to the particular country's circumstances. For example, Cuba provided free educational assistance in the form of scholarships to the countries of Southern Africa—Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa—as part of its solidarity with these countries in their long struggle against the colonialism of the Portuguese and of the South African apartheid regime and its supporters (Zeigler, 1995). Educational assistance, particularly in the form of

adult literacy teaching, has been provided free of charge to very poor countries such as Nicaragua and Haiti. However, when countries can contribute to the costs of utilizing Cuban educators, there are cost-sharing agreements of the kind that currently operate between Cuba, Jamaica and Belize. While the Cuban teachers are working overseas, the Cuban government continues to pay their full salaries at home, so that their families are covered. The 'cost-sharing' arrangement means that countries such as Jamaica and Belize pay the Cuban teachers local salaries, which are higher in convertible terms than what they earn in Cuba, and the teachers return a portion of this to the Cuban government.

All Cuban teachers have at least a five-year university degree and receive on-going in-service professional training. Those chosen to go overseas have, in addition, many years of teaching experience in Cuba, and a knowledge of how a school system can operate to bring out internationally high levels of academic performance in students even when material resources are scarce. Some of them have additional qualifications such as education to the Masters or Ph.D level, experience in other developing countries as well as Cuba, and experience in teacher training, educational administration and policy development. This is a background that could be of immense value in school systems in other developing countries where many teachers do not have university-level qualifications, where resources are poor and where pedagogical traditions and organization have proved inadequate to the task of establishing an efficient and effective education system.

In each Cuban province, the education authorities invite applications from teachers who are interested in doing an overseas teaching placement. They draw up a *Bolsa de Collaboracion* [Collaboration List] of people qualified for overseas teaching and willing to be interviewed. The teachers put themselves forward for countries in which they are most interested. They are interviewed and chosen by selection teams consisting of Cuban educators and visiting education officials from the collaborating country. In the case of Jamaica, the selection team, consisting of Jamaican and Cuban educators, choose a number of applicants each year to participate in the project, on the basis of their qualifications, experience and fluency in English. A mastery of English is desirable, but a few are selected in spite of having minimal English. The understanding is that they will work hard to improve their English while they are in Jamaica. One teacher of Physics whom I interviewed in Jamaica put it this way:

> English is desirable, although Science has its own language and in teaching you can convey a lot of ideas through signs and symbols. My English is not so good, but they must have felt that it was good enough for teaching Science, and they selected me. When I started to teach in Jamaica, I made a deal with the students—'You help me improve my English, I'll teach you Physics!' and they do help me a lot with my English (Interview 2, Physics teacher, Jamaica, March 2001)

When teachers are selected by a recruitment team for overseas service, the staff at their schools in Cuba take a vote as to whether they can be spared to go overseas, since they are responsible for covering for them while they are away. The teachers spend two years in a placement in English-speaking or French-speaking countries, and can apply for a third year, although permission for this is hardly ever granted because of the urgency of getting the teachers back to their posts in Cuba. Teachers going to a Spanish-speaking country are expected to spend only one year overseas. Once selected, the teachers are given a programme of orientation to prepare them for their sojourn in the country to which they have been assigned (Interview 1, March 2001).

Different countries have different approaches to utilizing the Cuban teachers. Jamaica is using Cubans who are very highly qualified as teachers and lecturers (some are teacher educators with Masters degrees) to fill teacher shortages in the poorer schools that have recently been upgraded. They are usually not placed in the better off grammar schools, though a few such placements have been made when a Principal has asked for them. When a school requests a teacher for a particular subject and there is no qualified Jamaican applicant, the Ministry of Education may opt to place a Cuban teacher there. Namibia is an example of a country that, in spite of its close relationships with Cuba, has chosen to utilize Cubans as Sports teachers in local communities rather than in the schools. These two cases will now be discussed.

Cuban teachers in Jamaica.

In the academic year 2000/2001, 44 Cuban teachers worked in Jamaica, and in 2001/2002, the number requested and sent grew to 51. I asked why there were 42 men and only 9 women, and was told that the recruiting team, both Jamaicans and Cubans, had felt that men would be more able to cope with the rough living and school conditions in some areas (Interview 1, March 2001). Many of them are sent to schools

in poverty-stricken inner-city areas that have been plagued with violence and other problems; others are in some rural areas that have the highest levels of impoverishment in the country. Nine are at high schools in Kingston, the capital, and a further eleven in Kingston are at technical-vocational institutions which are part of the post-school network of Human Employment and Resource Training (HEART). At HEART the Cubans teach Science and Technical subjects including electronics, welding, electrical installation, masonry and carpentry. At the schools they teach Physics, Maths, Chemistry, Integrated Science, Biology, Spanish and Music. Most of them are assigned to the middle school (Years 7 to 9) and only a few to classes that are taking school-leaving exams. It can be seen from Table 2 that most of the teachers (23) are assigned to teaching Spanish. Only four are teaching Mathematics, and twelve are in various aspects of the Sciences.

[t/] Table 2 here [/t]

While most of the teachers are in high schools, three teachers are at primary or all-age schools in rural areas. They are teaching Spanish to all of the primary classes. The Cuban Programme Supervisor, Juan Fuishiro, said, ‘We are regarding this as a research project, testing our belief that the best age to learn a language is when kids are in primary school’. He said that the Cuban teachers in these three schools each work 32 or 33 hours per week teaching Spanish throughout the school, and that their students were responding with enthusiasm. They had learnt several songs in Spanish and were not afraid to try out their newly acquired Spanish words, phrases and sentences to talk with Fuishiro when he went to visit the classes. They had also done well in the tests set (Interview 1, March 2001).

Juan Sanchez Fuishiro, in charge of the Cuban teachers in Jamaica, is a university academic. He has been lecturing in Physics at the University of Santiago for 29 years, lectured in Physics Pedagogy for a few years at the University of Zimbabwe, taught in Ethiopia, and is at present working part-time on his Ph.D dissertation. ‘I supervise all of the teachers in Jamaica, even those who teach Spanish, which is a challenge as I’m not trained in it. I’m a scientist. But I have seen a lot of classes in my life’. He visits each teacher every month, talking with them and looking at their lesson plans, record books and class assessments, as well as talking with the School Principal about them. He holds monthly talks with the Minister of Education

on their progress, and sends regular written reports to Cuba. The teachers meet every month in three regional groups to exchange pedagogical ideas, problems and goals with each other (Interview 1, March 2001).

Teachers, including the Cuban visitors, are faced with particularly tough challenges in the newly-upgraded Jamaican high schools. ‘Newly-upgraded’ refers to the fact that they have only recently (since the late 1990s) been given additional resources to help them tackle the disadvantage of a history of under-resourcing and neglect (see Evans, 1998). They are the proverbial poor cousins of the secondary system compared to the more privileged ‘grammar’-style high schools, a status division reminiscent of that between the secondary modern and grammar schools of the UK. Their relative disadvantage is immediately visible in their crowded, resource-poor environments and in the relative poverty of their students. They are very visibly schools to which, historically, the poor have been relegated.

At present, most Jamaican teachers hold three-year teaching diplomas from teachers’ colleges. Some 35.7% of high school teachers are university graduates, compared with 16.8% in comprehensive high schools (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1999). University graduate teachers are desperately needed in the formerly impoverished, now newly-upgraded high schools—particularly in subject areas which find it hard to attract graduates—Maths, Physics, Chemistry and Spanish. These are the areas in which the Cuban teachers are filling crucial gaps. Their task is extremely challenging, since many students in the newly-upgraded high schools not only come from poor families who are hard pressed to support their children adequately at school, but also have had a relatively inadequate primary schooling in under-resourced government schools. Most students lack the sound foundation needed to orient them towards the academic subjects in the regional school-leaving examinations set by the Caribbean Examinations Council (popularly known as the CXC exams). Some, in fact, are only minimally literate and numerate, and others are way behind the academic levels taken for granted in the wealthier schools. It is a struggle to teach such students the demanding curriculum of the CXC. Occasionally far more dramatic problems crop up, for example, when two of the Cuban teachers (in schools located in very poor areas) were robbed and knifed by Jamaican teenage boys. They had to be treated at hospitals, and were transferred to other schools.

The Science subjects suffer from a shortage of materials, especially in Physics and Chemistry, which have been newly introduced. The Cuban teachers brought with

them some books, posters and other teaching aids, but these do not make up for the inadequate laboratory equipment. In the case of Spanish, however, the teachers are assisted by the efforts of the Education Officer for Spanish in the Ministry of Education. She organizes seminars for Spanish teachers and supplies them with materials to augment what the school may provide (Interview 3 with Spanish Education Officer, Jamaica 2001). From talking to other curriculum officers at the Ministry of Education, I learnt that there were currently not the resources to give a similar level of support to the teachers of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry.

However, it is not the difficult material conditions in the newly-upgraded schools that the Cuban teachers saw as their biggest challenge. Several were of the opinion that the main problem affecting their teaching is a timetabling one. This opinion is summarized in this observation from one of them: 'The thirty-five minute sessions are too short. You start teaching, and it's over. There is no time to do anything in depth' (Interview 4 with Mathematics teacher, 2001). Others felt that even when they were given one hour a week for teaching Spanish, it was far from adequate for learning a foreign language. They recalled that when they were studying English at school in Cuba, their timetable assigned them at least one hour a day for classes in the language, and they were expected to supplement this with many hours of homework (Interviews 5 & 6 with Spanish teachers, 2001).

Another significant problem for the teachers was learning to teach in English, a foreign language for all but a few who had grown up in Cuba with Jamaican parents. They were conscious about what they perceived as their own poor mastery of English. But, in the interviews that I conducted, I came across only two teachers who felt that their English was so inadequate for what they wanted to say that they asked to speak to me in Spanish and have their responses translated for me. When talking with all of the other teachers, I found their English good enough for communication at the level of sophisticated ideas, although their accent was sometimes difficult to follow. Those who needed to were working systematically and hard, outside of school hours, on improving their English, and their more fluent colleagues were helping them to practise it. All of them appreciated the efforts of some of the school students to help them learn the correct word or phrase in English. Their task of understanding English in the schools was made more difficult by the fact that many of the students constantly code-switched between Jamaican patois and standard English. Some teachers had bought phrase books of Jamaican patois and were striving to learn phrases from them.

One deputy principal that I spoke to regretted that just when the teachers had become more fluent in English in their second year, they had to leave, since it was difficult to get permission for them to stay for a third year (Interview 7 with School Deputy Principal, Jamaica, March 2001).

One of the two teachers with very little English was a remarkable woman assigned to teach Music and Dance in one of the newly-upgraded high schools. I would not have thought it possible to teach these large classes with so little English, but in spite of her beginning skills in the language, she had, working with a supportive Principal who was also passionate about Music, set up an effective Music programme in the school which had never before had a systematic one. In one of her classes that I observed, she was teaching about fifteen Grade 9 boys and girls to read notes and symbols in Music, and in the same class had them sing songs in Spanish which she had taught them. After that class, she met a multi-age group of boys and girls in the school hall and rehearsed a Dance and Music show with them, speaking a mixture of Spanish and English. So effective was her communication through Music and the body language of Dance that the rehearsals went smoothly with evident enjoyment from the students. The Principal later showed me photos of these students performing their shows at concerts both at their school and outside of it (Interview 8 with School Principal, November 2001). The success of this teacher was due not only to her warm and lively personality and her popularity with the students, but also to her high level of qualifications and experience and excellent pedagogy. With 22 years of experience of school teaching and training teachers in her field at the Pedagogical University, she has reached the 'Categoria Superior', which qualifies her to teach at any level. This fulfilled the request of the Jamaican recruiting team for a teacher of Music and Dance who could teach at any level (Interview 9 with Cuban Project Supervisor, November 2001).

In some of the schools, there was a high level of noise and inattention in classes in general. I asked the Cuban teachers how they coped with this. They answered that poor academic discipline—that is, noise, frequent inattention and casualness about completing assigned tasks—has to do with the oversized classes. In classes of forty and over, it is inevitable that students interested in learning would be annoyed by the noise and disruption caused by others who were less motivated. Another cause of academic indiscipline seemed to be the fact that many students had a very weak academic background. As one Physics teacher put it, 'They have not been

understanding Science, and so sometimes don't pay attention' (Interview 2 with Physics teacher, March 2001). Another teacher said that he wanted to use Mathematics to help students understand parts of the CXC Chemistry syllabus, but could not because the Maths backgrounds of the students was so weak (Interview 10 with Chemistry teacher, November 2001). A Maths/Science teacher said that many students were approaching Mathematics by the use of formulae that they had learnt (Interview 11 with Maths teacher, November 2001). He felt that their reliance on formulae and their lack of understanding of the underlying principles was at the heart of their weakness in Maths, for if they were faced with new types of problems, they were stumped. The Cuban teachers were confident that they could utilize their pedagogical skills to improve student interest in learning. In the classes I visited, two Cuban teachers of Spanish were using the method of dividing the students into several small groups and assigning a variety of collaborative written and oral tasks in Spanish according to levels of competence. The teachers of Chemistry and Physics were using a variety of visual teaching aids as well as hands-on exercises to help their students develop understanding of Science concepts.

Some teachers mentioned their efforts to get to know the students outside of class, talking with them about their problems and counselling them about their studies.

> At first we thought they were badly behaved, but when we found out what their problems were, we say to them, 'Your parents have a hard time, they have to pay for your education. Why are you wasting your time?' And they talk to us differently after that. We find that their behaviour has changed for the better.. (Interview 12 with group of teachers, November 2001)

In informal conversation, one of the teachers said jokingly:

> In Jamaica I am learning to be a bit more relaxed. At first I had the Cuban custom of being worried about time: do this at ten o'clock, do that at eleven! But here it is 'Tomorrow', or 'Little bit later', or 'In a while!' (Interview 12 with group of teachers, November 2001)

From talking to five Principals, I gained the impression that the Cuban teachers have a friendly and warm relationship with the community, the staff and their students, and have coped competently with conditions that are often difficult. Two of the Principals said that their schools' needs for Maths/Science teachers were so great that they would like to obtain the services of more Cuban teachers than the Ministry

of Education could provide. Three said that they would have liked to extend the contracts of the Cuban teachers for a third year and more They had sent their requests to the Ministry of Education, which passed them on to the Cuban Embassy. But, as the Cuban coordinator pointed out, ‘They have their jobs in Cuba, and the contract says two years’. (Interview 13, November 2001). In order to stay, they would need special authorization from the Cuban Ministry of Education. The view of both the Cuban and the Jamaican Ministries of Education was that contracts should not be extended beyond two years except in very special cases. So far, none of the Cuban teachers had applied for an extended contract. Most of them had families in Cuba and were happy to go back after the two years.

I was only able to visit one of the 11 Cubans teaching technical subjects at post-school vocational colleges. He was teaching Integrated Science to first and second year students who were studying two-year vocational technical courses preparing them for middle-level practical jobs as electricians, mechanics, accountants, textile and garment construction and so on. In Year One, he taught Foundations of Science (an introduction to Physics, Chemistry and Biology), and in Year Two, Applied Science, with 34 hours of coursework and a 20-hour project. He explained that the project was related to their skill area, for example, ‘in garment construction their project relates to organic and inorganic compounds’. It was a challenging pedagogical situation, since the students had different levels of education, some coming from high schools and others not. Most of them had a low level of Mathematics education, below the CXC level, and the Cuban visitor was keen to help them improve their Maths and increase their interest in Science. He was confident that he could do this, as he had been teaching Science at a tertiary level for over twenty years. He felt that he was increasing their interest by giving them structured experiments, helping them to establish a close connection between Science and their particular subject, and helping them in their choice and study of problems to research and report on at the end of the unit (Interview 14, Science teacher, November 2001).

Cuban educators and Namibia

My field visit to Namibia was undertaken because of my interest in the close relationship between Cuba and the South West African Peoples’ Organization (SWAPO), which won independence in 1990 after over a century of colonial rule, first

by Germany and then by the white South African apartheid government. The Cubans were an important component of SWAPO's struggle against South African rule. I wanted to find out how this collaboration looked in the field of education. I was somewhat surprised to find that there was no project employing Cuban teachers in Namibia's schools or colleges. Yet, there were many Cuban experts in other fields—about a hundred and twenty doctors, four experts in Agriculture, three experts in Physical Planning, and seven teachers of Sports and Physical Education. Some background into Namibia's recent history is important in understanding the nature of its educational collaboration with Cuba.

Namibia covers a large area, but has a population of only one and a half million people. It has had what one of my Namibian interviewees described as 'a rough and difficult history'. Namibia is only 14 years old as an independent country. It is emerging from the onerous legacy of German colonialism from 1884 to 1915, followed by the intolerable burden of South African rule from 1915 to 1990. South Africa exploited the substantial natural wealth of the annexed country (gold, diamonds, and marine resources), and marginalized black Namibians by virtually excluding them from benefits of the society (Avoseh, 2002). They continued the principles of the previous colonial system of German education. Access to schooling was provided for only a minority of the black population, and most of those blacks who did get to school were limited to the primary level. Only basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic were taught, and less than half the number of primary children were able to move to secondary level (Katzao, 1999, pp. 67–68). The Germans and South African colonisers intended that education should prepare those Africans who received it for fitting unquestioningly into white political and economic domination.

The educational assistance provided by Cuba between 1978 and 1990 played an important role in educating black Namibians who had no chance of receiving a sound education because of the apartheid imposed by South Africa in their own country. Most of the Namibians who studied in Cuba were educated in the internationalist schools described above (see p.5) on the Isle of Youth. Today, many of those educated in Cuba are professionals and government leaders in independent Namibia. I want to quote from the transcript of my interview with a young woman who explained how she came to have had her entire schooling in Cuba.

> Hundreds of Namibians have studied in Cuba. The first group that went there to study was over 600. Two secondary schools on the Isle of Youth (in Cuba) were built specially for us. We studied in Cuba from primary to pre-university, and then were given scholarships to do our university studies in East Germany.
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> When I was growing up, South Africa was in control of our country. My parents didn't want us to study in Bantu schools. They fled the country and went into exile in Angola, as a lot of SWAPO supporters were doing. There was a camp in Angola where women and children stayed. South Africa attacked it in 1977. Many of us children lost our mothers and grandparents and brothers and sisters who were in that camp. We were orphaned. Cuba sympathised very much with us. They spoke with the SWAPO members and offered education in Cuba to the children who had survived, and SWAPO agreed that we could go. With the loss of so many members of our family, we were determined to fight harder, and that's what we did.
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> In 1978 we went to school in Cuba, on the Isle of Youth. It was a boarding school, and it provided everything for us—food, clothes, books—all. Many teachers lived in the school, and were like parents to us. We learnt to be fluent in Spanish. The interaction of the Cubans with us helped us to become fluent. There are lots of Cubans living on the island. There were lots of other schools near to ours where Cuban children went. We had sporting activities, tournaments and so on, with our Cuban peers. In most subjects we had the same school programmes as the Cuban children, and were treated the same way. The only difference was that teachers came out from Namibia to teach us history, geography and English, because the Cubans wanted us to maintain our culture. But we learnt a lot of Caribbean history too—we were well-informed about the region and the world. We did pre-university schooling, and we decided at that time what fields we wanted to go into for our careers. I was one of those chosen to study medicine in East Germany, which was also helping SWAPO. I started but didn't finish my medical studies because I wanted to come back home when Namibia won independence. I studied here—I did a Diploma in Public Administration. Namibia has no institution for medical studies. (Interview 1 with member of Namibia-Cuba Friendship Society, Namibia, November 2001.)

My interviewee was one of the 1300 Namibians who graduated from schools, universities and polytechnics in Cuba before 1990. After independence, the new Namibian government decided that most of their students of school-leaving age in Cuba should return to continue their studies in Namibia, which was expanding its tertiary education sector with a new university and more college capacity. As in most decolonizing countries, however, Namibia's education system is still seriously underdeveloped. Although many improvements were made in the decade of

independence, this is clearly too short a time to build a new system, particularly given the distorted foundations of the old one.

The Namibian government has established a system that in theory can cater for all children to Year 10. In practice, it does not yet do so. It is still highly selective, and the drop-out rates are enormous. About 389,000 children start primary school at age six to seven in Grade 1 and just over 156,000 finish it with the examination for the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) in Grade 7. By the junior secondary stage (Grades 8, 9 and 10) there are only 100,267 students. Only 23,000 stay to take pre-university schooling in Grades 11 and 12. One has only to look at the statistics in Table 3 to see the sharp selectivity and high drop-out rates in the system.

[t/] Table 3 here [/t]

The four teachers' colleges provide training for teachers preparing to teach Grades 1–10. However, they are still small, with only 470 places. The University of Namibia is responsible for training the majority of the country's teachers, but most are enrolled at the level of certificates and diplomas rather than at a degree level. The Faculty of Education there has 40 lecturers, 867 full-time students and 700 distance education students, and also provides in-service seminars for classroom teachers. One in-service programme that has received assistance from the European Union is the Mathematics and Science Teachers Enhancement Programme (MASTEP), which is training 360 students for the Year 12 school-leaving exams in Maths and Science. The successful ones will become unqualified teachers who can apply for a programme of in-service teacher training while they are teaching (Interview 2 with lecturer, University of Namibia, November 2001).

In spite of all these efforts, educational development has a long way to go before it even reaches a stage where the majority gets to finish primary school. I was surprised that, in a school system that desperately needed to increase its numbers of qualified teachers, Cuban teachers were not being utilized in the way that they are in the Caribbean. There are divided views on this. Although my Namibian interviewees acknowledged Cuba's valuable educational assistance through scholarships to Cuba before 1990, some felt that Cubans would be inappropriate for teaching in Namibian schools because of the language problem. Their view was that Cubans did not have enough mastery of English to teach Namibian children who were trying to learn

English as their second or third language. It was hard enough to learn English without being taught by teachers whose English was also weak. However, others disagreed, arguing that Cuban teachers could play a useful role particularly in Science and Mathematics (Interview 3, Group of Namibian Educators, November 2001).

As mentioned above, the Namibian government utilizes Cuban assistance in the health sector, agriculture, physical planning and sport. The sports personnel are being used primarily to expand sports training opportunities for Namibians in the rural areas, where the bulk of the population lives. Because of the neglect of the poor under apartheid, little or no attention was paid to developing sports. The present government has set up a Sports Directorate to organize sports development, with a School Sports unit and a Community Sports unit, and is building sports complexes in several provinces. The Sports Directorate sponsors regular competitions between regional teams, and the best of these are selected for national and international competitions. Sports Associations had started certificate programmes to accredit sports performers according to international criteria. The Cuban coaches provided much of the expertise needed to make these developments possible. Meanwhile, four young Namibians have Cuban scholarships to study Physical Education at the new Higher Institute of Sports and Physical Culture in Cuba.

Under current agreements with Cuba, there were six coaches on two-year contracts—three in athletics, one in basketball, one in wrestling and one in boxing. The policy was to rotate the coaches between Namibia's 13 regions. The coaches worked with adults, but their main emphasis was on after-school training and sports camps for schoolchildren and teens. I was fortunate to be able to speak with the Director of Sports. He had just visited Cuba to try to get more coaches and to extend the contracts of those already there, but said that 'It is impossible to get as many as we need and want. I got one more for volleyball and one more for boxing. But they are working in many countries, and have to go home to Cuba' (Interview 4, Director of Sports, Namibia, November 2001).

The Director had a clear appreciation of the role of Cuba in sports development. Namibia gets the Cuban coaches for minimal cost. He explained that 'We pay their travel and transport costs and a modest fee for their work, but the Cuban government pays the bulk of their salary'. I was told that the Cuban coaches are valuable not only for training athletes and sports performers, but also for capacity

building – training the trainers in regular sports clinics. Furthermore, the Cubans work well in difficult conditions and locations. The Director said:

> Cuban expertise is ideal for African conditions. They are used to working in rural areas. Recently we had a European coach who said he couldn't train our sprinters without a synthetic track. We do have one in Windhoek, but how can we afford to extend that everywhere? Cubans train world-class experts in their own country, with minimal facilities. That model is useful for us. We have a lot of Cuban doctors in Namibia – they keep track of the health of the sports participants and the athletes. They have the expertise but don't need high tech. (Interview 4, Namibia, November 2001)

The Cuban coordinator of the visiting coaches was based in Swakopmund. He travels to different regions to give courses and clinics for the training of basketball teams and to visit his colleagues in other sports. He is training both schoolteachers and athletics teachers. I asked him about the educational background of visiting Cuban coaches. He explained that all of them were fully trained Physical Education teachers, qualified with a five-year *Licenciado*, in the Cuban system equivalent to a Bachelor's degree with an added research component. His own *Licenciado* had been gained from the Higher Institute of Physical Education and Culture (ISCF) in Havana. In the degree they studied a variety of sports, plus pedagogy, physiology, anatomy, health issues, massage and sports injury treatment. They had had many years of experience in teaching sports and physical education in Cuba. He himself had taught Sports in Cuba since 1970. As the head of a sports school in Havana, he coordinated ten teachers on the staff. Included in the team of Cuban sports teachers was a doctor of medicine with a specialization in sports injuries. I was told that this doctor regularly kept up his own physical training, and worked particularly with athletes and boxers. 'When there's a boxing competition he moves with the boxers. He checks the boxers for injuries—if they are serious, he stops them fighting' (Interview 5, with Cuban Sports Coordinator, Namibia, November 2001).

The Cuban coaches were encouraged by the Namibian people's enjoyment of their programmes and the demand for them. People that they had trained were already training other teams. The main problem that the coordinator saw was that they could only work with the children and teenagers in the afternoons, as most schools did not have physical education as a subject. He was eager to see Namibia one day develop facilities such as a Physical Education Institute to enable some of its citizens to

specialise in Physical Education. The Director felt that the Cubans had significantly assisted the sports development programme, enabling it to expand and enhance local sports training, and that their tuition had caused Namibia's international sporting reputation to be on the rise. Namibian sports performers were competing regularly at the international level. There were Namibian world champions in boxing and athletics, silver medals had been won at the most recent Olympics, and the Namibian football team had qualified for the African Nations Cup (Interview 4, Director of Sports, Namibia, 2001).

Cuba's teachers overseas: some policy implications

It is important to discuss the significance of the Cuban programme of sharing its educational expertise in primary and secondary schooling and sports tuition with other countries of the 'South'. What impact does the programme have for the partner countries? How far are the Cuban teachers helping to fill gaps in the teaching capacity of these countries, and how far can their role in schools help to lay foundations for the further educational development of these countries? Equally interesting is the question of the consequences that this programme has for Cuba itself.

Cuba's 12 million people have a per capita income annually of only $2000 US equivalent. This income is similar to that of many other Caribbean countries including Jamaica. For a country as poor as this, to offer educational assistance on the scale that it does constitutes a massive programme of financial and resource support. Cuba's educational assistance overseas is part of a large programme of civilian collaboration with other developing countries of the 'South'. Cuba has more than 20,000 civilian specialists abroad working in some 37 countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, in agriculture, fisheries, sugar refining, mining, transportation, cattle-raising, irrigation, construction, industry, and economic and physical planning.

Internationalism in education, therefore, is only one component of Cuban foreign policy. Over the past thirty years, educational assistance has been the second largest component of Cuba's overseas assistance policy (the largest was construction, and the third largest was health) (see Rich, 1989, pp. 406–407). It is only in the 1990s, after the ending of the Cold War, however, that increasing numbers of non-socialist countries in the 'South' have felt politically able to negotiate with Cuba to utilize teachers in their own countries. In the 1990s, Cuban teachers went for the first time to

Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and some Caribbean countries. From the Cuban government's perspective, benefits of this programme would be likely to include the expanded opportunities provided for their professionals. Through it, Cuban teachers would improve their foreign language skills, broaden their knowledge of global conditions, in some cases earn foreign currency, and improve their pedagogical skills and professional knowledge by having to teach in difficult and challenging conditions in systems of education different from their own. A colleague suggested to me that it might also be regarded as beneficial for the Cuban teachers to appreciate anew their Revolution's commitment to education when they compare it with the oppressive educational conditions that they were witnessing overseas. For example, some of the teachers I interviewed in Jamaica were deeply shocked when they encountered the day-to-day problems of poverty of some of their Jamaican students, especially when some students were so poor that they were unable to buy textbooks and were kept out of exams when they could not pay the expensive entry fees required for school leaving examinations.

Though there are obviously benefits to Cuba of organizing a centrally controlled programme of sending teachers overseas for short periods, the fundamental principle of the programme is a policy of internationalism that values collaboration between countries of the 'South'. When I asked the Cuban supervisor of the teachers in Jamaica why the government encourages teachers to do overseas service, he replied, 'International service is our tradition. A lot of people have helped Cuba, and the only way to repay this is to do the same' (Interview 9 with Cuban Programme Supervisor, November 2001). A central belief of Cuba's foreign policy is that countries of the 'South' should try to reduce their dependence on the wealthy bloc of countries of the 'North', and that this can be achieved if they assist each other. Over the years some Caribbean governments have assisted Cuba with solidarity and trade within their possibilities, and Cuba has assisted countries of the region with several hundred tertiary education scholarships. This collaboration has simply been extended by the programme in which highly qualified Cuban teachers assist other Caribbean countries in selected educational niches within a cost-sharing framework.

The placing of teachers from Cuba in schools in English-speaking countries is on a small scale, yet even this could make a significant impact on educational systems. In 2001 there were only 51 Cuban teachers in Jamaica, and seven Cuban

sports educators in Namibia. Two factors suggest the potential benefits of utilizing them on a larger scale. One is that Cuban teachers have developed such extraordinary pedagogical skills in Mathematics, Science and Language that their school students exceed by far the performance of other Latin American students in these subjects (UNESCO, 1998, Hickling-Hudson, 2002, pp. 573–574). The other factor is the high quality of their work as teachers overseas. In Jamaica, school principals were pleased with the dedication and successful problem-solving approach of the Cuban teachers, although no formal study had been done of the extent to which they had helped students to improve or pass examinations. In Namibia, the development of an ambitious sports programme may not have been possible without the work of the Cuban sports educators, who have been the foundation of the spread of sporting capacity there. This expansion, together with the international sporting achievements, would not have been so quickly attained by a small, impoverished country without the significant internationalist help provided by Cuba.

Yet there is ambivalence about the utilization of the Cuban teachers in some of the collaborating countries. From my interviews I learnt that some people, still nervous about the aftermath of the Cold War, are concerned about the possibility that aid from some western countries, particularly the USA, might be jeopardized because of the employment of Cuban educators. Other concerns about the use of Cuban teachers include local suspicions that there might be a danger of them taking away jobs from local teachers. Yet another concern was that the foreign accent or beginning language skills of some of the Cuban teachers would be a great impediment in their teaching.

It seems to me, however, that policy-makers need to weigh up these fears against the potential value of Cuban educational collaboration. If Cuban teachers and teacher educators were to be used on a much larger scale and more systematically than at present, and if they were to be formally assisted with their study of the local language, they might make very significant contributions to improving the teaching of Mathematics, the Sciences and Spanish—subjects at which students need to excel if they are to help their countries improve their economies in the competitive global marketplace. This is not to ignore the fact that there are some very talented and successful local teachers whose students excel. It is simply to recognize that in current conditions, there are not enough of them to go round. Several modalities are possible to utilize the work of temporary overseas teachers such as the Cubans more

effectively. They could be strategically deployed to travel around to schools and teachers' colleges to do intensive seminars with students and teachers in selected subject areas. Some could be placed full-time in teachers' colleges for a few years. Exchange programmes could be set up between Cuban educators and their colleagues from other countries. They could be used to help develop distance education programmes, or a combination of these and other strategies could be used. It is interesting that the South African government is currently utilizing Cuban teachers of Mathematics and Science in teacher resource centres in remote rural centres. From this base, they provide in-service seminars for teachers, and visit schools whenever they are requested by Principals to help upgrade teaching skills in particular areas. Some of the Cuban teachers in South Africa are the very ones who have already improved their English and their knowledge of a British-derived system by teaching in the English-speaking Caribbean, Zimbabwe and Botswana. This has all the hallmarks of a promising and productive collaboration, both for South Africa and for Cuba.

Cuba's internationalist goals combined with its significant achievements in improving education have enabled it to develop a unique programme of collaboration with other countries in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. Scores of countries have drawn on Cuban assistance in teaching their students at every level of the education system, as well as in educational planning and infrastructural development. It is appropriate to conclude by discussing the theoretical and policy significance of this study of 'South-South' collaboration between Cuba and other developing countries which are Cuba's peers, in that they are at a similar economic level and occupy similarly limited levels of power in the international system.

Conclusion: the significance of studying 'South-South' collaboration

Small-scale interpretative case studies of policy and practice in education must be carefully justified in order to claim to be useful for the improvement, indeed, the rethinking, of education in the emerging conditions of the twenty-first century. Qualitative comparative studies such as this cross-cultural study of Cuban teachers in Jamaica and Namibia enable us to explore how policy developed between nation-states plays out at a local level, and the strengths and weaknesses of this policy as it becomes practice. This type of study is important for recording little-known, though

important educational policy exchange between developing countries. In the case of the present study, policy was characterized by the utilization of Cuban teachers to assist with a range of urgent goals, from the filling of curriculum gaps in a few key subjects, as in the Jamaican school project, to the collaborative building of a new educational structure, as in the Namibian sports education initiative. Further, such studies probe the interaction of cultural context and individual agency in educational settings.

A postcolonial perspective on analysing these 'South-South' projects of educational collaboration puts them into the global context of the decolonization of many African, Asian, Caribbean and Pacific states during the latter half of the twentieth century. Decolonization, as Crossley (2000, p. 324) points out, is a feature of contemporary geo-political change that 'demands the forging of radically different relations between nation-states, as well as renewed principles and modes of operation for multilateral agencies'. However, in practice many of the old relations of asymmetrical disparities in power have continued in slightly altered guises (King, 1991; Crossley, 2000; Samoff, 2003). The 'South-South' projects of collaboration with Cuba arguably demonstrate one approach to the 'radically new relations' that are necessary to the decolonization process of building independent capacity and quality in education and other fields.

The work of Cuban teachers in Jamaican schools and Namibian sports programmes illustrates many of the issues of capacity and quality that have to be addressed as countries decolonize their education systems. There is the question of how to fill serious gaps in staffing, particularly in the poorer schools, and particularly in key science, mathematical and foreign language teaching, and the related problem of improving the quality of pedagogy in these subject areas. There is the question of whether placement of most of the Cuban teachers in schools is the best strategy, compared to strategies of utilizing them in teacher support and exchange where the ripple effect might be greater. Some governments, however, have to consider the political dilemmas that may be faced if they were to try to utilize the skills of Cuban educators in a high-profile way. An important issue for Cuba to consider is that of the benefits and costs of utilizing their best educators to do this kind of internationalist work overseas. Do the opportunities for travel, advanced professional experiences, and in some cases extra earnings for Cuban educators outweigh the very great financial costs for Cuba of its overall project of educational assistance to the 'South'?

Yet another issue, on a broader scale, is that of the role of the education assistance project in improving broader political, cultural and ultimately economic relationships between developing countries. As I have suggested in an earlier article (Hickling-Hudson, 2000, pp. 202–205), many exciting economic developments could become possible if there were to be increased collaboration between Cuba, which has a large proportion of the scientists and research capacity of Latin America, and some of the Latin American and Caribbean countries which have considerable natural resources and entrepreneurial experience.

Such collaborations could be a springboard for a celebration and development of Caribbean cultures, illustrating, as Tikly points out in discussing educational change in Africa, the notion of development on political and cultural as well as economic fronts (Tikly, 2004: 124). These are issues which invite deeper exploration as postcolonial educators consider the value of the forging of South-South collaboration which would be independent of traditional direction and financing with strings from the wealthy countries of the 'North'.

The study is also important for its ethnographic exploration of the experience of Cuban educators in working in educational systems still weakened by the many negative aspects of the aftermath of colonialism. It is on a small scale, but as Crossley and Vulliamy (1997) show in their volume on educational research on developing countries, qualitative case studies with their richness of contextual and observational analysis can provide important comparative insights into educational issues. Broadfoot (2000) points out that these kinds of studies 'have in recent years begun to add significantly to our collective capacity to engage fruitfully with the process both of diagnosing the cause of some identified weaknesses in particular education systems and of searching for remedies' (p. 362). She sees socio-cultural studies of education as a particularly exciting and important development in comparative education. However, she goes on to argue that many such studies are conceived within a conventional framework that takes the existing western educational system as a given—that is, they fail to critique the limitations of education's modernist arrangements of schools and teachers, curricula, textbooks and examinations. The existing arrangements arguably do not have the capacity to fulfil even their own aspirations of equity, quality and efficiency, let alone the emerging educational aspirations of the twenty-first century (Broadfoot, 2000, pp 363–364; Hickling-Hudson; 2002).

New kinds of lessons could be learned from studies such as this one by education policy-makers in developing countries about how to improve education settings, structures and pedagogy. For example, the Cubans teaching in Jamaica and other Caribbean countries not only gain cultural knowledge of their island neighbours, which they will certainly use in future teaching in Cuba, but also develop their professional and intellectual skills through grappling with unfamiliar curricula which they are required to teach in a second language. For my part, my own understanding of policy possibilities and pedagogical concerns for developing countries was enhanced by my fieldwork in this project. I learned a great deal from listening to the Cuban teachers comment on educational issues from the comparative perspective that they had acquired during their experiences in schools overseas, some only in Jamaica and others in a range of additional countries including Ethiopia, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

In our free-flowing, minimally structured interviews, Cuban teachers discussed with me the pedagogic significance of the intellectual demands of examination syllabi in the Sciences in the English-speaking Caribbean compared with equivalent syllabi in Cuba, and the social consequences of how different countries organized the education of adolescents in compulsory and post-compulsory education. They analysed for me some of the problems that their Jamaican students were encountering as they wrestled with traditionally troublesome subjects such as Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics, their insights challenging my own lack of knowledge of these science subjects. They discussed the kinds of timetabling approaches needed to support serious foreign language study, the effects that they were witnessing of problems of student poverty in given school environments, and the possibilities for student development when certain policies are put into place. Their conversations reminded me of the importance of peer support among teachers, for example the effectiveness of their systematic efforts to help each other improve their English and of their regular meetings among themselves to discuss their teaching experiences and how they could progress further as professionals. Witnessing a teacher with minimal English teach Music and Dance and warmly relate to large groups of middle-school Jamaican adolescents, both boys and girls, was a revelation to me as to what could be achieved through body language combined with superb pedagogic skills. In Namibia I learned about the kind of institutional policy and support that is necessary to stimulate the creation of new educational structures; and

in South Africa I learned about additional ways of utilizing the knowledge and skills of Cuban educators in locations other than school-level classrooms.

Colonial histories have taught most decolonizing countries to rely to a large extent on the wealthy countries of the 'North' for educational advice, research, ideologies, blueprints, loans and personnel in order to continue and expand the conventional model of education. But this model to a large extent fails to engage the minds and hearts of perhaps the majority of students, thus disposing many people to want to discontinue learning after leaving school. This situation is 'profoundly inhibitory to the inculcation of the attitudes needed to support lifelong learning' (Broadfoot, 2000, p. 365). An outdated, inefficient, inequitable and oppressive model of schooling (Hickling-Hudson, 2002. p. 571), particularly in developing countries, reduces the ability of individuals and societies to cope with the educational and cultural challenges of the twenty-first century. Cuba's education model is also an imperfect modernist one, but Cuban educators have been supported in developing within it some practices which have successfully tackled some of the deepest problems of the colonial aftermath. The exploration of other insights and models through collaboration between diverse countries of the 'South' might at least energize alternative postcolonial thinking, a necessary step in facilitating the building of a high quality of 'education for all'.

Notes on contributor

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Appendix

Interviews in Jamaica

Interview 1 – Cuban Programme supervisor, March 2001.

Interview 2 – Physics teacher, March 2001

Interview 3 – Education Officer in Spanish, Ministry of Education, Jamaica, March 2001

Interview 4 – Mathematics teacher, March 2001

Interviews 5 & 6 – Spanish teachers, March 2001

Interview 7 – School Deputy Principal, March, 2001

Interview 8 – School Principal, November 2001

Interview 9 – Cuban Programme Supervisor, November 2001

Interview 10 – Chemistry teacher, November 2001

Interview 11 – Mathematics teacher, November 2001

Interview 12 – Group of teachers, November 2001

Interview 13 – Cuban Programme Supervisor, November 2001

Interview 14 – Science teacher, November 2001

Interviews in Namibia

Interview 1 – Member, Namibia-Cuba Friendship Association. November 2001.

Interview 2 – Lecturer, School of Education, University of Namibia, November 2001

Interview 3 – Group of Namibian Educators, November 2001

Interview 4 – Director of Sports, Government of Namibia, November 2001

Interview 5 – Cuban Sports Coordinator, November 2001