International Journal of Educational Development 36 (2014) 51–62

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

International Journal of Educational Development

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ijedudev

Learning to trust: Examining the connections between trust and capabilities friendly pedagogy through case studies from Honduras and Uganda

Erin Murphy-Graham [a,*], Joseph Lample [b]

[a] University of California – Berkeley, Graduate School of Education, 5621 Tolman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720-1670, United States
[b] University of California – Berkeley, Graduate School of Education, 5529 Tolman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720-1670, United States

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Capabilities approach
Affiliation
Secondary education
Honduras
Uganda
Trust

ABSTRACT

Trust in others is a foundational feature of a prosperous and flourishing society and serves as the basis for collective action and cooperation. In this paper, we emphasize that trust is a *learned capacity*, one that educational efforts should attempt to cultivate among students. We provide an in-depth discussion of how trust is conceptualized, as well as how it relates to the capabilities approach in education. Drawing from qualitative data collected in Honduras and Uganda, we identify four potential ways that education can build trust: (1) teacher/student relations that emphasize shared learning; (2) peer relations that emphasize collaboration rather than competition; (3) direct engagement with the community through service projects; and (4) the incorporation of lessons about trust and community in the curriculum.

1. Introduction

The capabilities approach is a theoretically appealing and increasingly utilized framework in international development (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1993). Rather than focusing on individuals as a means to economic growth, the capabilities approach frames development as the expansion of what a person is able to do and be. A capability is "a person's ability to do valuable acts or achieve valuable states of being" (Sen, 1993, p. 30). Development, in this framework, is about expanding people's opportunities to lead lives that they have reason to value.

A number of recent publications examine the connections between education, the capabilities approach, and social justice (DeJaeghere and Lee, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Unterhalter, 2007; Walker and Unterhalter, 2007; Walker, 2012). A capabilities approach to education moves away from using years of schooling as a development indicator because it acknowledges that schools can reinforce social norms rather than reshape them, or even be of such low quality that little learning takes place. Walker and Unterhalter convincingly argue that not everything "counts as education" if we wish to argue that education expands human freedoms, agency, and empowerment (2007, p. 14). More recently, Walker (2012) has explained that education "might be operationalized to form human beings who can contribute to shaping the kind of society which values human capabilities" (p. 9). Research on the types of interventions that tap the potential of education to expand opportunities for all individuals to lead lives that they have reason to value is greatly needed.

In this paper, we make the argument that an explicit goal of education, from a capabilities perspective, should be to foster trust. We describe how trust is closely related to the notion of affiliation, which is one of the central human capabilities proposed by Martha Nussbaum, a key theorist of the capabilities approach. While previous research on trust and education has largely focused on how trust can lead to more effective school environments (e.g. Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Forsyth et al., 2011), we ask, what are potential pathways by which education might foster trust? And further, what is the value in educating students to learn to trust? To answer these questions we draw on qualitative data from a study of an alternative education program in Honduras (the *Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial*, Tutorial Learning System or SAT) and a program closely related to SAT in Uganda (Preparation for Social Action or PSA). Through our case studies, we build upon Walker's insights regarding what a "capability friendly pedagogy" entails, identifying four potential pathways by which education can foster trust in others (Walker, 2012, p. 7).

Abbreviations: FUNDAEC, Fundación para la Aplicación y Enseñanza de las Ciencias; Kimanya, Kimanya-Ngeyo Foundation for Science and Education; NGO, non-governmental organization; PSA, Preparation for Social Action; SAT, Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial; UPE, universal primary education; USE, universal secondary education.

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +1 510 642 8198; fax: +1 510 642 4799.
E-mail address: emurphy@berkeley.edu (E. Murphy-Graham).

0738-0593/$ – see front matter © 2014 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2014.01.001

2. Theoretical framework: trust as an essential goal of education from a capabilities perspective

2.1. Trust and affiliation: a capabilities perspective

In an effort to identify what individuals need to live lives that they value, Nussbaum developed a list of ten specific capabilities that she sees as central to human flourishing. These include life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination, and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; [respect for] other species; play; and control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 33–34). This list has been criticized for its universalistic stance (e.g. Biggeri, 2007; Raynor, 2007; Robeyns, 2003; Walker, 2012), and a key distinction between Sen's work and that of Nussbaum is their position vis-à-vis this list (Sen has not endorsed it). Nussbaum maintains that this list is a proposal, meant to be contested and debated (2011). We find the list to be a useful starting point for conceptualizing the requisite conditions for human flourishing, and focus here on the capability of *affiliation* given its theoretical linkages with trust.

Affiliation, according to Nussbaum (2011), means "being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, and to be able to engage in various forms of social interaction" (34). Affiliation also entails "having the bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; the ability to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others" (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 34). We argue that a prerequisite of affiliation is to trust others, and to develop trust as both an individual disposition and a shared culture.

We focus on the relationship between trust and affiliation in part because affiliation is one of two capabilities that Nussbaum has highlighted for its "distinctive architechtonic role" (2011, p. 39). Both *affiliation* and *practical reason*, explains Nussbaum, "organize and pervade the [other capabilities] in the sense that when the others are present in a form commensurate with human dignity, they are woven into them" (2011, p. 39). Given the architectonic role that affiliation and practical reason play in the capabilities approach, research that investigates and theorizes how education can support and foster these central human capabilities is needed. In this paper, we hope to contribute to an understanding of how education can foster trust and affiliation, and why it is beneficial to do so.

In focusing on the relationship between trust and affiliation, we build upon previous research that describes the ways education strengthens social ties. Studies of education programs in El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, and Brazil highlight strikingly similar patterns where students emphasized that one of the most important benefits of their participation was that they connected with others and formed friendships and alliances (Bartlett, 2010; Galván, 2001; Kalman, 2005; Prins, 2006; Purcell-Gates and Waterman, 2000; Stromquist, 1997). For example, in Prins's (2006) study in El Salvador, participants described how even though they were neighbors, they didn't know each other well until they began studying together. Prins points out that the program met the "human longing for affiliation" (2006, p. 21). Likewise, Raynor (2007) also suggests that affiliation is strongly linked with educational processes, drawing on data from her study of non-formal education for girls in Bangladesh. These studies did not explicitly examine trust and its role in facilitating students' new friendships and alliances. We hypothesize however, based on our empirical research and previous theoretical studies, that in developing affiliation, students learned to trust one another. More specifically, they began to rely on each other and to feel confident that their classmates would not exploit their vulnerability. To develop affiliation, or to live with and toward others and to engage in various forms of social interaction, one must trust others.

2.2. Conceptualizing trust

Scholars have described trust as the "civic lubricant of thriving societies," (Delhey et al., 2011, p. 787) and "the keystone of successful personal relations, leadership, teamwork, and effective organizations," (Forsyth et al., 2011, p. 3). The distinguished philosopher Onora O'Neill, in her Reith Lectures, stated that "each of us and every profession and every institution needs trust" (O'Neill, 2002, p. 4). Citing the scholar Niklas Luhmann, she agrees that, "a complete absence of trust would prevent [one] even getting up in the morning" (Luhman cited in O'Neill, 2002, p. 4).

Distinctions have been made between two forms of trust. The first involves a narrow circle of familiar others (our family, close friends, relatives), and has been called "particular," "thin," "personalized," or "specific trust" (Delhey et al., 2011; Putnam, 2000). The other, "thick" or "generalized" trust, refers to a phenomena that characterizes "connected, engaged, tolerant, prospering, and democratic communities" (Delhey et al., 2011, p. 787). This more general trust can be thought of as an individual orientation, and, at the collective level, as a culture. Generalized trust allows us to establish and maintain relationships with strangers.

What explains why one would trust others, particularly those whom one has no prior relationship with? Trust cannot be reduced to self-interested behavior, because there is variation in individuals' levels of trust in others, and their willingness to trust when there is little information about the other available (Delhey et al., 2011; Torche and Valenzuela, 2011; Uslaner, 2002). According to Uslaner, trust has a moral foundation:

> Most discussions of trust focus on instrumental or strategic reasons why one should trust another. If you kept your promises in the past, I should trust you. If you have not, I should not trust you... Yes, we talk of trusting specific people based upon our experience. But there is another side of trust as well that is not based on experience and this is *faith* in strangers, the belief that 'most people can be trusted' even though we can never know more than a handful of the strangers around us. And this *faith* in others is what I mean by the 'moral foundations of trust' (2002, p. 3, emphasis ours).

The notion of trust as an expression of faith has its roots in the writings of German sociologist/philosopher Georg Simmel (1858–1918). In his comprehensive review of Simmel's work on trust, Guido Möllering traces Simmel's influence in the trust literature and highlights Simmel's recognition of "a mysterious further element, a kind of faith, that is required to explain trust and grasp its unique nature" (Mollering, 2001, p. 404). For Simmel, trust represents a *force* – it is something that rational thought alone cannot explain. It is "a force that works for and through individuals, but at the same time for and through human association more generally" (Mollering, 2001, p. 405). For Simmel and Möllering, there is a "mysterious element" involved in trust, one that is likened to religious faith.

Barbara Misztal's book *Trust in Modern Societies* also discusses the important contribution of Simmel (pp. 49–54) and other key social theorists (1996). More recently, Misztal has examined the connections between trust and vulnerability (2011). Misztal, summarizing the well-regarded definitions of trust that appear in the literature, argues that "the majority of definitions of trust refer to it as a confidence that partners will not exploit each other's vulnerability" (2011, p. 362). Citing Rousseau et al. (1998, p. 395) she supports the claim that "at the core of trust is the 'intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions of the behavior of another'" (Misztal, 2011, p. 362). The notion of vulnerability, also a complex concept, at its most basic level refers to the human capability of being wounded,

mistreated, exploited, and taken advantage of (Misztal, 2011, p. 364).

In this article, we draw upon the theoretical framework proposed by Misztal that sees trust and vulnerability as interrelated concepts. According to Misztal, vulnerability is rooted in the human condition of dependence on others. We are vulnerable because we depend on others, and trust allows us to take the risks associated with depending on others. In this way, trust is a solution to the problem of our vulnerability, yet it exposes us to more risks. In simplistic terms, a statement reflecting our vulnerability is "we depend on others." If we trust, then, we could say "we can rely on others." However, by relying on others, we become more vulnerable, more at risk for disappointment, hurt, and being taken advantage of. Misztal identifies "trust-related" remedies for vulnerability, the most important of which (for our analysis below) is to take responsibility for others. "Such a trustful care of the other, or responsibility, by increasing an awareness of mutual dependence, creates bonds of solidarity" (Misztal, 2011, p. 368). In short, trust is a multidimensional phenomena that is at the core of our social relationships and society more generally. It is closely connected to our dependence on others, and the vulnerability this dependence implies. Trust is a central force in tackling and reducing human vulnerability, yet vulnerability will never disappear, it is an essential feature of the human condition (Misztal, 2011).

2.3. How do we learn trust?

In his examination of the moral foundations of trust, Uslaner emphasizes that "**trust must be learned, not earned**," and that "trust stems from an optimistic worldview that we learn early in life, primarily from our parents" (2002, p. 77, emphasis original). In addition to learning trust from our home environment, we also learn trust through other formative life experiences. As Torche and Valenzuela explain, "as an individual orientation, trust is a learned capacity that develops through life experiences, particularly through continuous socialization into specific cultural milieus" (2011, p. 22, citing Sztompka, 1999, p. 65). Schools and educational experiences fit this category – they are places where students are socialized into cultural norms and values (Bourdieu, 1990). In fact, Uslaner finds that education is in many cases "the *most important* determinant" of interpersonal trust, and posits that this is not simply because education serves as a measure for class or status (2002, pp. 92–93, emphasis original). Yet the treatment of the connections between education and trust is not the focus of Uslaner's research, and therefore he does not thoroughly investigate these linkages.

Our interest is in better understanding how education can foster trust as an individual orientation and group culture. Relationships between students, their teachers, and their peers, are all important influences on trust in others. However, we still have much to learn regarding trust and what explains its presence or absence. As Delhey et al. (2011) explain, in spite of the "flowering of trust research in the social sciences, trust remains a puzzle…" (p. 800). In this article, we propose four pathways by which education can foster trust, and suggest that building trust should be an explicit feature of a capability friendly pedagogy because trusting others is a prerequisite of affiliation; an essential characteristic of a flourishing society.

2.4. Education and trust

A growing body of research examines the relationship between education and trust more explicitly, particularly the role of trust in school effectiveness. A seminal text in this genre is *Trust in Schools: A Core Resource for Improvement* by Anthony S. Bryk and Barbara Schneider. Published in 2002, the book focuses on the process of school reform in the early 1990s in Chicago, where the authors became convinced that interpersonal relations between teachers, parents, and school staff were an overlooked explanatory variable in understanding why schools function the way they do. "Schools are networks of sustained relationships" (Bryk and Schneider, 2002, p. xiv). They developed a theory of relational trust for analyzing school operations that they systematically used to analyze the social dynamics in three different school communities. Their study offers strong evidence that relational trust is a resource for school improvement.

Collective Trust: Why Schools Can't Improve Without It (Forsyth et al., 2011) complements the earlier work of Bryk and Schneider to articulate a theoretical framework of collective trust in schools. It also attempts to synthesize research on trust in schools and provide practitioners with a set of instruments to evaluate the trust culture for the purposes of school improvement. While both *Trust in Schools* and *Collective Trust* make strong claims about the importance of trust in schools, they do not hypothesize how schools might actively build trust among students, or more explicitly, how schools can "teach" trust. Furthermore, many of the quantitative instruments used in these studies would likely require significant adaptation to serve as reliable measures in other countries where schools have different organizational features (i.e. where there is a less hierarchical relationship between teachers and principals and where parent involvement is minimal). Nevertheless, we learn from this research that trust is a core dimension of effective schools, and that levels of trust among school personnel and parents vary. One might expect that more trusting school environments lead to more trusting students, but this would be difficult to verify empirically and was not the focus of Bryk and Schneider's (2002) nor Forsyth and his colleagues' research (2011).

Building upon the earlier studies on the role of trust in schools, Bartlett and García's (2011) ethnographic study of a bilingual high school in New York City investigates how school environments influence students' trust or *confianza*. They found that several students, originally from the Dominican Republic, felt that they could not trust others in New York the way they could back home, remarking that "*aqui no hay confianza*" (there is no trust here) (2011, p. 171). This was in sharp contrast to their school experience, where there were strong bonds of friendship and trust among students and between students and teachers. The relationships, or the sense of belonging that students felt in the school, were an integral part of the "additive" approach to schooling (Bartlett and Garcia, 2011, p. 191). They identify three ways in which the school fostered students' *confianza*: (1) encouraging students relationships with institutional agents such as teachers; (2) encouraging relationships with community-based organizations; and (3) building close relationships and a sense of belonging amongst peers (Bartlett and Garcia, 2011, p. 191).

In addition to these studies of school contexts, research in adult and popular education also helps clarify how interpersonal trust is related to other important goals of education, including women's empowerment, community solidarity, and literacy. In particular, the work of Prins (2005, 2007, 2008), based on her ethnographic study of a literacy program in post-war El Salvador, underscores the importance of building trust as a precursor of individual and collective empowerment. Prins's findings suggest that, in a social context characterized by gendered vulnerabilities and postwar social fragmentation, the importance of psycho-social goals of literacy programs cannot be overlooked. She found that the development of trust was essential for collective action and political empowerment. While her research did not specifically address the pedagogical strategies that might promote trust, Prins calls upon educators committed to fostering social justice to be

prepared to combat the local sources of fear, mistrust, and vulnerability that underpin mistrust. In particular, she highlights the need for "respectful communication" as a "first step toward decreasing alienation and building solidarity" and suggests that educators should create interactive communicative structures in the classroom (Prins, 2007, p. 425). Our study builds upon the work of Prins and other education scholars that have examined the theme of trust by identifying additional pathways through which educational experiences can cultivate trust and diminish vulnerability.

3. Building trust through education: The SAT program in Honduras and PSA program in Uganda

Our exploration into how education can foster trust was situated in two different national contexts, Honduras and Uganda. The study collected data from both locations because we were, broadly speaking, interested in understanding student experiences in the SAT and PSA programs. While much could be said about the differences between these sites, our findings suggest that building trust is not a country-specific process. We hypothesize that this is the case because there were common experiences among students in both locations. Both Uganda and Honduras are economically poor countries (ranking 161 and 120, respectively, on the United Nations Human Development Index), and large portions of their populations have been largely ignored, marginalized, and oppressed (see Acker, 1989; Grandin, 2006; Mutibwa, 1992). While it is beyond the scope of this article to provide a full description of the socio-cultural conditions that have contributed to the need to foster trust in both locations, we recognize that the need to build trust among students and the ease or difficulty of doing so will vary depending on the geographic location, community and family history, and other characteristics that shape individuals' life experiences.[1] Our interviews with Honduran and Ugandan youth revealed that a scarcity of resources was a common feature across communities, coupled in some instances with conflict, violence, and political instability; factors which contributed to a prevalence of fear, competition, and mistrust between neighbors and within communities. Likewise, with regards to student experiences in school, respondents in both countries described having felt at one time or another humiliated, ostracized, or simply unable to grasp the academic content of lectures, all of which contributed to feeling vulnerable in the school setting. In contrast, the SAT and PSA programs attempt to implement a distinctive model of education where students feel empowered rather than marginalized.

3.1. The SAT program

The SAT program was developed in the late 1970s by a Colombian non-governmental organization (NGO), the *Fundación para la Aplicación y Enseñanza de las Ciencias* (Foundation for the Application and Teaching of the Sciences, or FUNDAEC). The program is accredited as an official secondary education program in Colombia and Honduras. FUNDAEC partners with institutions in several countries that implement SAT, including Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Ecuador. After Colombia, Honduras has the largest number of students attending the SAT program, and is run by the Bayan Association.[2] It has been operating in Honduras since 1996, and currently reaches approximately 8000 students.

In Honduras, one of the poorest countries in the western hemisphere, fewer than one-quarter of young adults in rural areas had completed lower secondary (grade 9) in 2007, and fewer than 10% completed the full secondary cycle of 12 grades (Umansky et al., 2007). Comprehensive Honduran high schools, or *Institutos*, are typically located far from rural villages. Government policy in the last decade has focused on expanding the supply of rural secondary schools in part by accrediting a range of secondary school alternatives, and SAT is one such program.

SAT's goal is to help students develop a set of capabilities[3] that enable them to take charge of their intellectual and spiritual growth and at the same time to contribute to the building of better communities and the transformation of society (FUNDAEC, 2007). There are four key features of the SAT program: textbooks, tutors, the study group, and the implementing institution. Each is described in greater detail below.

Textbooks: In total there are sixty textbooks that comprise the SAT curriculum. The texts are not organized around traditional subject areas, but rather are conceptualized units of instruction designed to help students acquire a small set of related "*capacidades*" or "capabilities," defined in this context as "an instrument for the integration of knowledge in the development of curricula" (FUNDAEC, 2008, p. 187). Students study several textbooks simultaneously. The capabilities include mathematics, sciences, language, technology, and service to the community. In Honduras students are responsible for purchasing their own copies of the texts. The textbooks also include activities that require students to leave the classroom to gather information from households or perform acts of community service.

Tutors: A tutor works with groups of students, as a teacher would in a traditional classroom. The use of the word "tutor" instead of teacher, and the overall program title, Tutorial Learning System, emphasize the idea of guiding a student in a learning process, rather than teaching a student information. Tutors are supposed to learn alongside students from the SAT textbooks and practical exercises, and not adopt an expert or all-knowing attitude. The program attempts to hire (tutors are paid) and train tutors with the same social and cultural background as the students. At minimum, tutors must have completed secondary school, though some have completed university. The tutors receive training in each textbook's content from FUNDAEC or the local implementing institution. In Honduras and Uganda training sessions are designed to mimic how tutors will conduct their classes, and tutors study the same set of textbooks that they will eventually teach.

Study group/class: Ideally, a SAT group/class has fifteen to twenty-five members. The program targets adolescents who have finished primary school, but often adults study in the program as well. The group meets during the week for 20–25 h according to a schedule designed with their tutor. The schedule ideally allows them to complete all their study requirements as well as meet their family and economic responsibilities. Once set, the schedule is implemented with formality but flexibly enough to accommodate the needs of students. During periods of intense agricultural production (e.g. coffee harvesting), the group can postpone class and make up for missed hours.

Implementing institution: FUNDAEC works with institutions that implement the SAT program, in most cases registered nongovernmental organizations that oversee the day-to-day operation of the program. FUNDAEC and the majority of these institutions cover their operating costs with grants from private

[1] We thank one of our reviewers for bringing this point to our attention.

[2] For more information see http://www.bayan-hn.org/.

[3] FUNDAEC has used the term "*capacidades*" (in Spanish) and capabilities (in English), yet it has no formal connection to the capabilities association or the capabilities approach. It uses the word capabilities very specifically to describe how the curriculum is organized. Rather than specifying the need for subject area mastery, FUNDAEC stresses the development of scientificic, linguistic, technological, and service capabilities.

foundations and bilateral and multilateral donors. However, in Honduras and Colombia, the Ministry of Education covers the tutor salaries, which is the largest recurring cost of program implementation. The collaborating institution in Honduras, Bayan Association,[4] conducts the training of tutors, the evaluation of students, and social promotion of the program in new communities that are unfamiliar with SAT. In Colombia and Honduras, where SAT has the official recognition of the Ministry of Education, FUNDAEC and Bayan Association also serve as liasons between SAT groups and the ministry.

3.2. The PSA program

To respond to the interest being shown in a number of countries worldwide to adopt SAT, FUNDAEC modified the curriculum for use in Asia and Africa (and translated the textbooks into English). The resulting program is called Preparation for Social Action, or PSA. There is a great deal of overlap between PSA and SAT, as students study very similar texts. However, while SAT students receive government accreditation for their coursework, PSA students do not.

The PSA program consists of twenty-six textbooks, each organized around the development of one or more capabilities. As in the SAT program, the textbooks are interdisciplinary and do not mimic traditional subjects normally found in secondary schools. The texts are grouped into the same five capability areas as SAT texts: language, mathematics, science, technology, and service to the community. Students study these textbooks under the guidance of a trained tutor. Again, while students in PSA do not currently receive any formal recognition for their participation in the program, the curricular content is intended to cover what would normally be the last two years of primary school or the first two years of secondary school, depending on the educational system of the country.

FUNDAEC, whose offices are still located in Colombia, collaborates closely with local institutions to implement the PSA program. In 2007, FUNDAEC received a grant from the Hewlett Foundation to support the implementation of PSA in Kenya, Zambia, and Uganda. Since then, FUNDAEC has provided training to local institutions in each country to ensure that they successfully oversee and expand the PSA program in their region.

In Uganda, the PSA program attempts to respond to the pressing need to expand secondary education coverage for adolescents and adults who have not had the opportunity to study beyond primary school. PSA is implemented by the Kimanya-Ngeyo Foundation for Science and Education (Kimanya), a small, nongovernmental organization based in Jinja, in the southeastern part of the country. (Kimanya-Ng'eyo means "the large enterprise of knowing."). Compared with other countries in East Africa, Uganda experienced comparatively slow educational expansion in the first two decades following its independence from Great Britain in 1962 (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007; Penny et al., 2008). Despite this delayed start, Uganda eventually adopted universal primary education (UPE) policies, as well as a fairly ambitious set of universal secondary education (USE) policies (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007; Stasavage, 2005). While UPE in Uganda has largely been considered a success because enrollment increased from 2.8 million to 7.6 million between 1997 and 2004, gains at the secondary level have been much more modest (Chapman et al., 2010). As of 2009, attendance rates at the secondary level had increased just 15% since the establishment of USE. Uganda has one of the lowest secondary school gross and net enrollment rates (both around 25%) in East Africa (EACS, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). Thus, there is great potential for PSA to expand and provide quality secondary educational access in Uganda.

[4] http://www.bayan-hn.org/.

4. Methods

Qualitative case studies (Yin, 2000) were carried out in both Honduras and Uganda, involving two methods of data collection: interviews and observation. Because the SAT program in Honduras is far more extensive than the PSA program in Uganda, our sampling strategy differed in each locale. In Honduras, we selected four SAT groups from a list of approximately fifty sites, two in the western part of the country and two on the north coast, where SAT has been in operation for approximately a decade. We used administrative data provided by Bayan Association to identify average or typical sites, because we were not interested in seeking out extreme cases.

Our four research teams, each consisting of one North American doctoral student and one Honduran researcher from the National Pedagocial University, carried out fieldwork in these sites.[5] In each community 6 focal students from the class roster (for a total of 24 students) were randomly selected in an effort to document "typical" (as opposed to particular) student experiences. The research teams conducted in-depth interviews in Spanish with these students that lasted approximately 1 h (quotations that appear in this article were translated by Murphy-Graham). The interviews covered a range of topics, including family background, future aspirations, and student perceptions of community life. However the main focus of the interview was on student experiences in school, and we asked students approximately fifty questions designed to elicit a rich and detailed account of their perspectives. We also conducted in-depth interviews with the four classroom tutors each lasting between 1 and 2 h. In these interviews we focused on the tutors' experiences in the SAT program as well as their pedagogical philosophies. In addition, the research teams conducted approximately 40 h of classroom observation at each site and took extensive field notes. These observations were informed by a classroom observation guide designed by the research team, focusing on classroom climate, pedagogical considerations, and classroom management.

To analyze the data, each interview team began by writing a case study profiling the community where they conducted research and the themes that stood out from their interviews and observations. Using thematic analysis strategies (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 131), we identified cross-cutting themes from these cases, and then developed a preliminary deductive code list. We elaborated on this code list and developed further inductive codes as we formally coded our data using the software program Atlas Ti (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In total we had fifty-five codes that were categorized into ten code clusters (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 248). For this paper we focused on the clusters we termed 'interactions and relationships;' 'community life;' 'in the classroom;' and 'teacher perceptions and teaching.'

In Uganda, the PSA program is implemented on a very small scale (roughly 350 students in 25 groups in 2011) in comparison to SAT in Honduras. Given the limited time that PSA has been present in Africa, however, Uganda proved an ideal research location given the growth and size of the program there compared to other sites around the continent.[6] The main focus of our investigation in Uganda was to understand the progress, growth, and challenges of PSA in Africa. As such, we selected a convenience sample of program staff, students, and tutors, drawn in consultation with Kimanya's directors. The sample was intended to represent groups of varying strength and years of exposure to the program, of

[5] Erin Murphy-Graham was the Principal Investigator of this research project. Research team members included Claudio Aguilar, Brent Edwards, Aaron Espinosa, Joseph Lample, Hilda Rosario Mesa, Isabel Perez, Rebecca Tarlau, and Kimberly Vinall.

[6] PSA also operates in Cameroon, Kenya, and Zambia.

differing modalities (e.g. PSA in schools vs. PSA with school dropouts), and of multiple regions.

Consequently, in June 2010, a four week qualitative study was carried out by Lample, with an additional two week visit in July of 2011 serving to further explore our preliminary findings. During the first visit in 2010, classroom observation, interviews, and focus groups were conducted covering three of the four districts where PSA was operating in Uganda. All research activities were carried out in English, the language used in PSA and secondary schools around the country. In all, observation was conducted in seventeen of the thirty PSA groups, including observation of multiple PSA service activities, and a training session for tutors. Extensive field notes were taken during observations. Nine interviews were conducted for a total of 11 h of interviews. Interviewees included three program coordinators, three tutors, fourteen students, and Kimanya's executive director.

The focus of our inquiry was on the implementation and impact of PSA in Uganda as perceived by Kimanya staff (including coordinators, tutors and administrative heads) as well as program participants. Interviews with institutional staff such as coordinators and tutors focused on the growth of PSA as well as on the quality of its implementation (how well the experience on the ground matched the design and aims of the original program). Interviews with students and with focus groups emphasized the classroom experience, how it differed from previous educational experiences, and what students' felt they had gained – if anything – from the program.

Viewing our work in Uganda as a compliment to the SAT investigation in Honduras, our approach to analyzing PSA data was similar in design. Interview transcripts and field notes were initially used in the preparation of a detailed case study outlining the experiences and growth of PSA in Uganda. Later, thematic analysis strategies modeled after our approach to the Honduras data were repeated and a list of codes was generated for manual coding of interview transcripts and field notes. The four codes in our analysis relevant to the data included here were: 'instruction through the curriculum;' 'peer norms and relationships;' 'teacher/student relations;' and 'participatory projects in the community.'

5. Results and discussion

5.1. Teacher/student relations that provide a break from the past and emphasize shared learning

Previous research has identified the existence of warm, caring relationships between teachers and students as a key determinant in fostering trust (Bartlett and Garcia, 2011; Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Valenzuela, 1999). Our findings suggest that in addition to creating a trusting school culture and sense of "family" among students (which we describe at the end of this section), the pedagogical approach and the teacher's stance toward the learning process are also important to creating trusting student/teacher relations because they signal changes in institutional structures and policies that allow for the construction of trust (Misztal, 2011).

We found that teachers used simple but influential pedagogical strategies to signal institutional and structural change and allow for re-establishment of trust among SAT/PSA participants. For example, across SAT/PSA sites, we noted the physical organization of the classroom: chairs were in a large circle or square, promoting the possibility of face-to-face discussion and debate. This classroom arrangement is not typical in traditional classrooms in Uganda or Honduras, which normally arrange chairs in rows with the teacher at the front of the room. One SAT tutor described the benefit of this classroom layout being that "nobody has their back to another person. We're all at the same level. We are all learning." We also observed that this physical arrangement facilitated participation among students. We frequently found SAT/PSA students engaged in collective discussion with the teacher, taking turns participating in class readings, or actively working in small groups.

While there are of course important hierarchal differences between students and tutors (age, social status in the community, teachers are employed to be in the classroom, etc.), the tutor's words regarding the physical configuration of the classroom signaled an effort to minimize these differences. Tutors described attempting to build trust with their students by being forthright about their own vulnerability: they did not have all of the answers. In saying that "we are all at the same level" the tutor is recognizing the potential contributions of students to the learning process. As Misztal describes, this social recognition is fundamental to individual self-realization, as to recognize another is a requisite of human engagement. Indeed, Misztal argues, "we are vulnerable because we are dependent on others for our self-realization, thus for the development of self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem" (2011, p. 365). In allowing students in SAT/PSA to physically see each other, to discuss their ideas, and conceptualize participants as being "at the same level," important conditions for the establishment of trust are in place.

Additionally, an important component of the conceptual framework of SAT/PSA is that tutors tutors should see themselves as co-learners and guides to their students as they discover knowledge (Murphy-Graham, 2012). This attitude among teachers, that they don't "know everything" allows students to feel more comfortable asking questions and taking risks. The comments of Clara,[7] a tutor in Honduras, reflected this attitude. "[T]he idea is that we don't give the student the answer, but that s/he[8] searches for it, that s/he comes to learn what s/he is studying." Expanding on this idea further she remarked, "[T]his gives them trust (*confianza*) because if they don't understand something they can say it to me, and if they have a problem they can trust me and approach me and tell me." This type of classroom environment, according to Clara, helps to assure students that nobody is going to laugh at them or make fun of them if they do not know the answer or do not understand something. Thus, Clara's statement implies that while students are in a vulnerable position in that they must risk humiliation, the classroom environment, as described by various tutors, allows students to take these risks because they have learned that their peers will not judge or ostracize them, but rather support them as they struggle and learn. In short, this classroom environment enables students to depend on each other, which Misztal has described as the "basic element of social life, the default position of human beings" (2011, p. 365).

The National Coordinator of PSA in Uganda in 2010, Debbie Singh, elaborated on the idea of teaching as a reciprocal relationship and discussed how difficult it is to find tutors that have this idea about teaching:

> The tutor challenge is extremely complex because sometimes you can find someone who has all the abilities in terms of their English, but their attitude is really critical, because you really have to build a relationship with your participants. You [tutor] are not the teacher but are walking the same process together... It's so much based on relationship. And a trust, and a sense that,... you're kind of walking this path together, that you're not superior, that you're not, you're not the teacher... You're facilitating this process of learning together.

[7] All student and tutor names are pseudonyms.

[8] In Spanish she used the gender neutral pronoun "el," which we have translated to "s/he."

One of the reasons finding tutors with this attitude is so difficult is because the school system does not reflect this philosophy, or as Debbie remarked, "it's not necessarily a part of the way the educational system works here. I mean in fact it's very contrary to the way the educational system works here." Students we interviewed confirmed this observation, and in a few instances discussed the widespread use of corporal punishment. For example, a student named Moses explained:

> And, in PSA I think it is really good because here if you come across to the word which you don't understand you ask for the tutor and [s/he] tells to you what does it mean. But when you try to ask the teacher, what is the meaning of any word which you don't understand in those schools sometimes *he may even beat you*. So, that's one of the things I see that it is different from those schools.

In fostering trust among PSA participants, many of who entered the program with prior negative schooling experiences (as Moses shares), institutional changes offer the possibility for a fresh start. This is significant because our past experiences are another source of vulnerability – our prior trauma, sufferings, or wrongdoings (Misztal, 2011, p. 366). The physical beatings and psychological humiliation that students recalled as they contrasted their experience in PSA with traditional schools highlighted how PSA allowed them to break with their past and begin something new.

Despite the challenge of finding tutors from that region who shared the philosophy of the program, tutors we spoke to discussed the idea that they were learning alongside their students. For example, Nakimera, a tutor in Uganda, said that sometimes her students struggle to understand the academic content, but she attempts to make them understand that everyone is learning:

> There are times, especially for the studies, one can give up a hand and say that, 'I'm confused. I'm totally confused and I'm not understanding what you are doing.' So, I have to tell the rest that it's our responsibility to help this one, not to leave him behind. 'Let us pause, and start helping.' He comes to a level of understanding, because we want to understand together at the same level.

Again, this remark underscores the vulnerable position that students take in admitting that they are confused, and the culture of shared responsibility for learning that tutors attempted to cultivate. Over time, students began to depend on their peers and their tutors to help them learn, rather than seeing learning as an individualistic process.

In addition to how tutors supported learning, our interviews and observations suggested that tutors attempted to create close personal bonds with their students. The tutor Elisa, from Honudras, explained how she became an important confidant for her students:

> I have always wanted for them to see in me a person in who they can confide, and that I can help them to resolve certain problems that they have, not all, but at least I can give them some advice. I want them to have this idea, and I think they have responded to it because at night I get at least three, four text messages from them, '*profe* good night, let the angels take care of you' and things like that. So I think that, really, I have a good [relationship]. Even the kids who are *malcriados* [who misbehave] send me good night messages, so I think this is something that I am doing.

Elisa also shared the story of a girl in her class that was particularly quiet and shy and was not actively participating in class discussions. After talking with the girl one-on-one on a regular basis, she learned that the girl was embarrassed of her own voice, and feared that other students would make fun of her. Eventually, however, Elisa's close connection with this student would pay off as it led her to begin speaking up on occasion in class (a stark contrast to her strict silence of the past). In the case of this student, her vulnerability was extreme, and she did not even feel comfortable speaking, never mind sharing her thoughts and opinions. Through the introduction of new institutional policies (e.g. seating arrangement) and even more importantly, the stance of the tutor as mentor and confidante, Elisa and other tutors in SAT/PSA were able to build trust in their classrooms and relationships.

5.2. Peer relations that emphasize cooperation, not competition

Similar to the relationship between students and their tutors, peer interactions in Honduras and Uganda were influenced and strengthened by the norms of collaborative learning and close, family-like relations. For example, in Honduras one student remarked "when one person knows the [answer to the] question, he can tell someone else. And if I don't know the answer and someone else does, they can tell me. We all help each other." Similarly, many students pointed out that helping one another with assignments, both inside and outside the classroom, is quite common in SAT. Asked how his peers in SAT share their ideas, a student in Honduras responded that, "when we work in groups, then the tutor has us think about things, and we share our ideas. We each say what we think, like that." Students admitted that they often had a hard time completing assignments, and relied on their peers for help. They learned to depend on each other and to take responsibility for others, each important strategies for reducing vulnerability and increasing trust.

While having students work together in small groups may be common across other schools in Honduras and Uganda, what we found noteworthy about participants' commentary during interviews was their mention of the classroom being like a family. Betty, a student in Uganda, explained:

> For PSA, we are a family. For example . . . us the students, we see [our tutor] as a mother to us and so the environment is friendly. And . . . our fellow students and maybe the other tutors who are like age-mates are like brothers and sisters.

Given that many of the PSA groups had a small number (10–15) of students – relative to secondary schools in Uganda where the average class size is estimated at 68 students (EACS, 2010) – we wondered whether the sense of family that Betty mentioned was a consequence of such a small class size. We inquired, "How would you deal with so many students in one classroom in a PSA group? How would it change what you do?" Betty's response suggested that extended exposure to a collaborative learning environment led her to adopt a unique attitude toward collective learning; an attitude that would ensure no one would be left behind as the group moved forward or as they increased in size. She replied:

> I think that even if in the PSA group we were many, still it would be easy for us to handle because as we had said before . . . we consult and understand together. So the quick learners could pick the first time, and then these quick learners can help together with the teacher to help the slow learners learn. Because as it is in PSA, we can't move from one thing to another unless everyone has understood. And everyone is given a chance to read and give an idea. So it would still be the same.

Another student from PSA, Juliet, further explained that this attitude was very different from what she experienced in the national education system, where competitiveness was the norm:

> I have seen many difference[s] between the PSA program [and the] Uganda curriculum. In Uganda curriculum they don't care about other children. For example the quick learner and slow learners. For them, they just go with quick learners and leave

> slow learners behind, which is not in PSA. For the PSA program, whether you're a slow learner or quick, they have to [help] the slow learners so that they can get together with the quick learners. Another thing in PSA, we share different ideas which is not in Ugandan curriculum. And another thing in Uganda curriculum, there is competition, which is not in PSA. Because in Uganda curriculum each one wants to be in the first position, which is not in PSA.

Rather than emphasize competition, we found consistent evidence that peers collaborated, cooperated, and supported each other. For example, the tutor in one SAT community in Honduras explained that when a student drops out of SAT, the whole class goes to visit the student in his or her home. She believed that this helps students understand that this is a "group problem that fellow students are dropping out of school, and that everyone has to be concerned about it" again emphasizing the norm of collective responsibility.

Likewise, the cooperative norm that PSA students described also influenced their level of comfort in speaking English. In Uganda, English is taught beginning in upper primary school, yet emphasized more substantively at the early secondary level. Several PSA students spoke specifically about their fear and position of vulnerability with regards to speaking English and how they gradually became more comfortable and confident in the classroom. For example, Charles explained:

> I remember the day I joined this program. I found these guys here they were studying, they told me to read but I was like, maybe I was at gun point [laughs]! I was like [stressed sigh]. But now, I can see confidence, confidence in me. Because I used not to express myself among people, but now I can.

One of the reasons why students felt comfortable is that they trust each other and are not afraid of being wrong. In our interviews students and tutors described SAT and PSA as learning spaces that differed from the traditional classrooms they had previously experienced. Learning was not a competition between quick and slow learners, but rather a space in which every opinion was sought out, and ultimately put to collective examination. Anthony, a tutor in Uganda clarified:

> We don't believe in the idea of the wrong and correct answers, always mostly, for the first time we interact with the material. Because sometimes someone needs to use his or her brains to discover if this is the correct or wrong answer. So if, as a tutor, I come out and say this is the correct answer, I have right away cut this one's path of walking toward discovering this answer by themselves. ... From my experience I've realized that, when we reach some higher units in the other [books] you find that students are going to remember and say, 'Oh, which means the answer was this,' by themselves without any straight answers from the tutor. ... They just need guiding, that's why maybe they don't call us teachers but tutors, because we do guide we don't teach.

Here, Anthony, explained that the confidence to share one's views is closely tied to a realization that there is no consequence to making mistakes or providing wrong answers. Furthermore, his statement suggests that confidence is enhanced when students are committed to learning not only from their textbooks and their teachers, but also from their prior life experiences and their peers.

Our data suggests that the spirit of collaboration in SAT and PSA classrooms, fostered by mutual trust and support between students, has two implications. First, students developed the confidence to share their opinions based on the assurance that their ideas would not be derided or looked down upon by their peers. They allowed themselves to be vulnerable, because they trusted that they would not be humiliated. Secondly, because students trusted each other, they were not afraid to admit when they did not understand something, and this assisted their learning, as well as the collective learning of the group. These positive learning experiences in SAT/PSA are likely to go a long way in reinforcing positive attitudes about the benefits of collaboration and mutual trust in other contexts in the future.

5.3. Direct involvement in the community through service projects

Among the aspects of SAT/PSA that distinguish it from many traditional schooling systems within Honduras and Uganda is the integration of practical activities – to be carried out within students' communities – as part of the core requirements of the program. These activities encompass a range of actions including, but not restricted to: regular interviews with community members, community service projects (from children's education to public health),[9] agricultural experiments, income generating projects, and visits to local environmental sites and industries. Our findings suggest that direct involvement in the community fosters a generalized form of trust and affiliation within students as a result of their close engagement with their wider community.

In Honduras, the experience of establishing a school garden led to close collaboration between students and community members, and created opportunities for the school and its representatives to develop greater bonds of trust. As Bryk and Schneider (2002) explain, understanding schools requires that one understand interpersonal relations between not only teachers and students, but between teachers, students, parents, and school staff. One way in which trust has emerged was through the donation of land, tools, local knowledge, and often time from parents and community members in the support of SAT's efforts. In our field notes we highlighted that:

> The garden is one project that stands out as involving the community at different levels. For example, the land used was donated by parents and it appears that the students bring most of the tools they use from their homes. The tutor, Lucia, was supposed to have received seeds for the garden from the local SAT coordinator, but she never did. As a result, she consulted a local farmer at the *pulpería* (local market) one day because the students were ready to plant and she didn't think she should wait any longer. What ensued was a long discussion about what the most appropriate crop would be given the season, the soil, and the time frame for the students to complete the project. Lucia asked many questions and the farmer patiently answered them for her. In doing this, the farmer passed along collective community knowledge about farming to the SAT students.

We also discovered other agricultural projects that were established through the support and voluntary offerings of local families and craftsmen. For example, during their third year of study, students raise chickens. During our site visit, the group visited a woodworking shop and collected the wood shavings to use as bedding in the chicken coops. This project and others necessitated that students and tutors leave their classrooms and interact with members of the community they might not have otherwise.

In Uganda, a sense of generalized trust was demonstrated through the donations and support of the local community. Likewise, PSA students and tutors were keen to share all that they learned from their agricultural activities with their peers. One PSA tutor, Nakimera, explained that they try to emphasize the importance of serving one's community and not just one's own family:

[9] See VanderDussen's (2009) MA thesis, which explored the PSA program in Uganda and its approach to service-learning, for an extensive discussion of the community service component in PSA.

> We have learned much about helping our communities, as well as our families from the program. Because we have to share with the community members whatever we learn, we have to do services in our communities due to what we learn. . . . We are helping our families because they are in our communities. So if your family is far from your community where you are living, where you have to do the service, that means you can't jump from your community and run to your family because you want to serve your family. But if the family is within the community, you are doing the service, good. You serve them as well as the whole [community] equally.

The distinction raised by the tutor seems to closely overlap the contrasting notions of general versus particular trust, in that she wanted her students to learn to prioritize helping the greater community and move beyond a preference for helping only their immediate families.

While the agricultural activities within SAT and PSA are often praised by students because of their potential to generate individual and group income (such as raising chickens), other activities are not remunerative and focus on children's education and the environment. The activities in these lessons are intended to benefit the surrounding community as well as SAT/PSA students through the development of positive attitudes toward collaborating with and supporting their fellow community members. Charles, a PSA student, describes,

> [N]ow there is this kind of service, this character of serving the community which has grown in me. And yet before I didn't [think] of this. I was planning [to] go and study in these high schools, after that get a job and then help my family only. . . . Before I used to think that, if like, if Olive come[s] and tell[s] me that 'come and help me somewhere,' she has to pay me. She has to pay for that work. But now there's this thing that has grown in me of service. . . . I know that, if I do this, I know I'm helping people. I'm helping my community to develop. . . . In life, we don't always have to work for money. But we have to, I can say, sacrifice.

The notions of a "kind of service" and personal sacrifice to benefit others echo the idea that, "by taking responsibility for others we can mitigate the vulnerability which results from dependency" (Misztal, 2011, p. 368). By taking responsibility for others, an attitude and action that students practice in SAT and PSA, their care, respect, and self-esteem for themselves and for others are positively shaped. Misztal explains that trustful care of the other – or responsibility – increases awareness of mutual dependence and therefore fosters solidarity. In short, by actively engaging in the community, PSA and SAT participants strengthen community solidarity.

We also found that PSA students described changes in their feelings of self-worth and belonging as a result of efforts to educate the young within their communities. While they developed greater responsibility toward others, they simultaneously felt better about themselves and about their potential to make significant contributions to the community. In regards to her work with young children, Betty explained:

> On the side of service, youth nowadays rarely have good terms with parents or elders in the community and the younger children. . . . For example, in children's classes, very few of us . . . are willing to handle children or be with children. You feel you're superior and they're inferior, and they're just disgusting. So with PSA we were able to set up children's classes. First, before setting up children's classes, you have to be at good terms with the parents and elders in the community to enable them to give you their children. And after those who are willing and satisfied with the way you are acting and speaking toward them give you their children, the way you handle the children you already have according to what you have learned from PSA and the virtues you've improved. For example, kindness and other qualities. Those children are able to go to their parents and show what they've learnt and also bring other children. And now the community begins seeing that you're worthy and you're not useless.

Here Betty mentioned being recognized by others, which has in turn boosted her self-confidence. The PSA student Moses provided a similar comment:

> On the side of service . . . for us right now, the inhabitants of our communities take us as responsible people because we help them in the way of teaching their children. . . . But, also, when serving the community we've become really known by the people. Because for me [laughs] I was like a man which doesn't have any use but right now in my community everyone looks at me as a responsible man. Which, I've got it from PSA.

Ultimately, we found that the sense of recognition cultivated (at least in part) through the curriculum, and the strong relationships between peers and students, play an important role in the success of participatory and service projects. By successfully translating attitudes about cooperation from the classroom to the surrounding communities, students in these programs engage in both thin and thick forms of trust. The lesson of particular, or thin trust is first learned through the bonds that develop among students and eventually between teachers and students. Thick, or generalized trust, on the other hand, results when students extend those particularized feelings of trust and collaboration toward those outside the classroom. Living toward others takes on greater meaning, then, as students become engaged in participatory projects and community involvement. In order for the trust and collaboration fostered within the PSA and SAT programs to be translated into any practical form of affiliation, it would have to be demonstrated (and experimented with) through applied efforts outside of the school. Thus, the practical extension of lessons learned within PSA – whether of an income-generating or service-based nature – provide an ideal avenue for values such as trust and responsibility toward others to concretize within the behavior of maturing students.

5.4. Incorporation of material about trust and community in the curriculum

Finally, the fourth pathway whereby SAT/PSA builds trust is through the incorporation of explicit lessons about trust and community in the curriculum. A pivotal support to creating a culture of responsibility toward others and cooperative norms are the SAT/PSA textbooks. One of the goals of SAT/PSA is for students to become engaged in the construction of knowledge that is both locally relevant and globally informed. Essential to this goal are the programs' textbooks, which FUNDAEC describes as records of dialogue:

> The main instrument of the pedagogy is an ongoing dialogue pursued by the student – with FUNDAEC itself, with the tutor, with other students, and, increasingly with the community and the institutions of society. Textbooks, then, are records of this dialogue; they are revised from time to time to reflect the way this discourse is advancing (FUNDAEC, 2006).

SAT/PSA relies heavily upon its textbooks to set a tone for the type of learning environment, peer interaction, and attitudes toward service and knowledge application that it hopes will characterize students and classrooms in the program. The notion of texts as recording and facilitating dialogue is of particular relevance given how dialogue is conceptualized in Misztal's work on trust (2011). The tone of the texts, through the lens of theory on trust-building,

attempts to construct a "bond of cooperation" and it involves a "suspension of judgment which allows for a dialogue" (Misztal, 2011, p. 374). Thus, while the text is rich with information, the goal is for the students to engage in knowledge-generation, not just the regurgitation of information. In this way, the text is positioned as a tool in a process of learning that ultimately the student will take charge of (see Murphy-Graham, 2012 for examples of lessons in the texts and further detail on the pedagogy used).

One of the interview questions that we asked students in Honduras was to tell us about something they had studied in SAT in the previous week.[10] Across the research sites, students frequently recalled short stories or parables that they had read and discussed as a group. As an example, several students we interviewed discussed the story of the lion and the mouse. In the story, a trembling mouse, feeling small and insignificant, is gathering seeds in the shadow of a small tree. A lion, fierce and fearless, decides to strike. The mouse pleads with the lion to let him free, telling his predator that if he lets him go he will be his friend forever. This makes the lion laugh, "'A friend!' said Lion. 'Of what use is your friendship to me?' he roared with laughter. 'You make me laugh. It is good to laugh. For that I will let you go this time.'" A few days later, the lion becomes trapped in a large net set out by hunters. The mouse, hearing the distress of the lion, goes to his aid. The lion dismisses the mouse, saying, "It is not a good laugh I need now, but strength and force!" The mouse, undeterred, chews through the ropes until the lion was free. To conclude the story, the lion says, "I misjudged you, my little friend. Your friendship turned out to be more valuable than all my power and strength."

In Honduras our first round of interviews with students took place just three months into their studies (they were in the first year of *ciclo común or* seventh grade). We found they were very shy in interviews, yet several were able to explain important details from the story and the lessons that they learned. For example, Saul, a student on the north coast of Honduras, mentioned the importance of "being good." When asked what he remembered from his classes, he mentioned the story of lion and mouse:

> Interviewer: What do you remember from this lesson? From the lesson about the lion and the mouse?
> Saul: Well, it seems that the mouse helped the Lion
> Interviewer: Um hmm. Who helped whom? Tell us more.
> Student: Well, it seems the Lion was in danger, and the mouse helped because (pause) because the lion didn't harm him at first when they met, so he helped him, because he owed him his life.
> Interviewer: Did the lion harm the mouse?
> Student: No
> Interviewer: What did you understand, what idea stays with you from this lesson?
> Student: To be kind (*bondadoso*)
> Interviewer: And what does that mean to you?
> Student: To be good (*ser bueno*)
> Interviewer: (repeats) To be good?
> Student: Yes, to help others
> Interviewer: Okay, to you is it important to help others?
> Student: Yes
> Interviewer: Why?
> Student: Well (pause) to help people. They (*nos enseñan*) teach us that we have to help others, to be good, and if anyone is in trouble that we have to help him.

It is unclear from the student's comment, "they teach us," whether "they" refers to the textbooks, the lessons, or perhaps his tutor/peers. Nevertheless, the student recalled the importance of "being kind" to others, to help others when they are vulnerable. That several students remembered this story suggests to us that, like the mouse, they have felt vulnerable and insignificant, and through the story they see that friendship and doing good deeds can be indispensible tools in feeling more powerful.

A comprehensive analysis of how the textbooks in SAT/PSA attempt to teach trust and other social values is beyond the scope of this paper.[11] However, our findings provide further support to those of Honeyman (2010) who found that SAT students "seemed to sense a profound depth of meaning" in the parables and quotations in the texts (p. 10). Largely overlooked in recent work on trust in schools, our findings suggest that the incorporation of curricular materials such as parables may be an important means of fostering dispositions associated with affiliation and trust, more specifically being "*bondadoso*" (caring), being honest, and helping others in need.

In short, our findings provide insight into how trust can be cultivated as a "learned capacity" (Torche and Valenzuela, 2011, p. 22) through the introduction of curricular material that emphasizes trust as a value.

6. Conclusion

In this paper we have attempted to contribute to a growing literature on the role of trust in schools by identifying four pathways by which education can foster trust. We emphasize that trust is a *learned capacity*, one that educational efforts should attempt to cultivate among students. Through our research on SAT in Honduras and PSA in Uganda, we identify the ways in which vulnerability and trust are connected (Misztal, 2011) and describe concrete ways that these programs have supported the development of trust among participants. These findings are consistent with previous research on SAT in Honduras (Murphy-Graham, 2012; Honeyman, 2010) and PSA in Uganda (Murphy-Graham and Lample, 2012; VanderDussen, 2009), and point to the potential of these programs to shape the kind of society that values and allows for the development of human capabilities.

Furthermore, while the focus of this article was not the academic quality of the PSA and SAT programs, our analysis of student test score data in Honduras suggests that students in SAT villages outperformed adolescents in traditional secondary school villages (McEwan et al., 2014). Thus, an additional implication of our research is that SAT and PSA merit further attention and investment from international governments and donors not only because of their potential to improve educational access and quality, but also given their readiness to foster trust and affiliation.

Much of the recent educational literature suggests that not all school experiences will foster trust (e.g. Bartlett and Garcia, 2011; Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Hull et al., 2010). The building of strong social relations, a sense of belonging, and concern toward others, requires a deliberate pedagogical and ideological stance, one that is lacking in many schools around the world. In fact, given recent global trends toward increased reliance on standardized testing, many schools might do quite the opposite of promoting trust in others by emphasizing competition and individualism rather than innovation (Darling-Hammond, 2009; Ratvitch, 2011; Taylor, 2010). Too often the moral purpose of education is overshadowed by a focus on achievement and accountability, and a better balance needs to be reached that emphasizes both individual and collective excellence.

Finally, this article has attempted to further articulate why trust is an essential component of a capability-friendly pedagogy. The importance of trusting others, particularly the ability to trust

[10] We did not ask this same question to Ugandan students, and so in this section report only on data from Honduras.

[11] See (Murphy-Graham, 2012) for a more comprehensive analysis of the curriculum and sample textbook lessons.

people that may not be like you (generalized trust), is at the core of a strong social fabric. In describing the consequences of trust, Uslaner (2002) makes a compelling case for why trust is essential:

> Cooperation and compromise can only flourish when people respect each other, despite their differences. So a trusting community is a tolerant community, where discrimination is anathema. Generalized trusters have a distinctive view of civil society: They see it as *one* society unified by a set of common values. They oppose efforts to split the society into groups that might foster particularized trust. . .An engaged, tolerant, committed group of people who believe that others share their values seems to be the perfect recipe for a cooperative society (p. 191).

Here we have also attempted to illustrate the connections between trust and affiliation, thereby building on recent work on the capabilities approach (DeJaeghere and Lee, 2011; Nussbaum, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Walker, 2012). An ethic of trust in others allows individuals to live with and toward others, to share the values that do away with discrimination, and to work together to build a cooperative society. Education can play a pivotal role in building a society where people trust and care about each other, even those they do not know personally via teacher/student relations that emphasize shared learning; peer relations that emphasize collaboration rather than competition; direct engagement with the community through service projects; and the incorporation of material about trust and community solidarity into the curriculum.

Building trust is also important for cultivating a cosmopolitan worldview (Appiah, 2006). Cosmopolitanism is a "habit of mind" (Hull et al., 2010) that emphasizes our obligations to others, "obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind" (Appiah, 2006, p. xv). Our research did not investigate how PSA and SAT students view themselves and their relationship to the world outside of their communities, and this is an important area of research for the future. Nevertheless, enabling students to think about their relations with others, particularly those that are not their family members, and introducing the idea of the SAT class as a "family" might be a first step in seeing oneself as a member of a global, interconnected, family that is consistent with cosmopolitan ideology.

While trust and affiliation are of paramount importance, cultivating these dispositions will not solve the problems of poverty and inequality. As a global community, we must strive to secure to all citizens at least a threshold level of the central capabilities of life; bodily health and integrity; senses, imagination and thought; practical reason; emotions; respect for other species; play; and control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 33–34). Efforts to combat poverty and social disintegration must simultaneously improve access to and the distribution of material resources. However, a more equitable distribution of resources requires a renewed commitment to the welfare of distant (and not so distant) others. Trusting others means to accept that we have common bonds and to seek ways to better the lives of those who are in need (Uslaner, 2001). Trust, in its most mature form at a societal level, can be expressed as *collective trusteeship*, or the notion that each individual is born into the world as a trust of the whole. Under a collective trusteeship, all human beings – local, distant, and yet-unborn – will have the maximum opportunity to realize their potential. Change toward this goal will take time, and education, if informed by the capabilities perspective, will play a vital role.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Florencia Torche, Rebecca Tarlau, and the anonymous reviewers for helpful comments and advice on this paper.

References

Acker, A., 1989. Honduras: The Making of a Banana Republic. South End Press, Cambridge, MA.
Appiah, K., 2006. Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers. W.W. Norton & Co, New York.
Bartlett, L., 2010. The Word and the World: The Cultural Politics of Literacy in Brazil. Hampton Press, Creskill, NJ.
Bartlett, L., Garcia, O., 2011. Additive Schooling in Subtractive Times: Bilingual Education and Dominican Immigrant Youth in the Heights. Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, TN.
Biggeri, M., 2007. Children's valued capabilities. In: Walker, M., Unterhalter, E. (Eds.), Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 197–214.
Bourdieu, P., 1990. The Logic of Practice. Polity Press, Cambridge, England.
Bryk, A., Schneider, B., 2002. Trust in Schools: A Core Resource for School Improvement. Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
Chapman, C., Burton, L., Werner, J., 2010. Universal Secondary Education in Uganda: The Head Teachers' Dilemma. International Journal of Educational Development 30, 77–82.
Darling-Hammond, L., 2009. The Flat World and Education: How America's Commitment to Equity will Determine Our Future. Teacher's College Press, New York.
Delhey, J., Newton, K., Welzel, C., 2011. How general is trust in "most people"? Solving the radius of trust problem. American Sociological Review 76 (5) 786–807.
DeJaeghere, J., Lee, S.K., 2011. What matters for marginalized girls and boys in Bangladesh: a capabilities approach for understanding educational well-being for empowerment. Research in Comparative and International Education 6 (1) 27–42.
EACS (East African Community Secretariat), 2010. East African community facts and figures. Retrieved from: http://www.eabc.info/files/EAC_Facts_and_Figures_2009%5B1%5D.pdf (13.04.11).
Forsyth, P., Adams, C., Hoy, W., 2011. Collective Trust: Why Schools Can't Improve Without It. Teachers College Press, New York.
FUNDAEC (Fundación para la Aplicación y Enseñanza de las Ciencias), 2006. Preparation for Social Action: Education for Development. FUNDAEC, Cali, Colombia.
FUNDAEC, 2007. Empowering Promoters of Local Prosperity. (Unpublished grant proposal)FUNDAEC, Cali, Colombia.
FUNDAEC, 2008. Education: A Discourse on Social Action. FUNDAEC, Cali, Colombia.
Galván, R.T., 2001. Portraits of mujeres desjuiciadas: womanist pedagogies of the everyday, the mundane, and the ordinary. Qualitative Studies in Education 14 (5) 603–621.
Grandin, G., 2006. Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism. Henry Holt and Company, LLC, New York.
Honeyman, C., 2010. Social responsibility and community development: lessons from the Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial Program in Honduras. International Journal of Educational Development 30 (6) 599–613.
Hull, G., Stornaiuolo, A., Sahni, U., 2010. Cultural citizenship and cosmopolitan practice: global youth communicate online. English Education 42 (4) 331–367.
Kalman, J., 2005. Discovering Literacy: Access Routes to Written Culture for a Group of Women in Mexico. UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg.
McEwan, P., Murphy-Graham, E., Torres Irribarra, D., Aguilar, C., Rapalo Castellanos, R., 2014. Improving middle school quality in poor countries: Evidence from the Honduran Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Forthcoming.
Miles, M.B., Huberman, A.M., 1994. Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook. Sage Publications., Thousand Oaks, CA.
Misztal, B., 2011. Trust: Acceptance of, precaution against and case of vulnerability. Comparative Sociology 10, 358–379.
Mollering, G., 2001. The nature of trust: From George Simmel to a theory of expectation, interpretation and suspension. Sociology 35 (2) 403–420.
Murphy-Graham, E., 2012. Opening Minds, Improving Lives: Education and Women's Empowerment in Honduras. Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, TN.
Murphy-Graham, E., Lample, J., 2012. Epilogue: SAT in Africa. In: Murphy-Graham, E. (Ed.), Opening Minds, Improving Lives: Education and Women's Empowerment in Honduras. Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, TN.
Mutibwa, P., 1992. Uganda since independence: A story of unfulfilled hopes. Africa World Press, Trenton, N.J..
Nussbaum, M., 2011. Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Oketch, M., Rolleston, C., 2007. Policies on free primary and secondary education in East Africa: retrospect and prospect. Review of Research in Education 31 (1) 131–158.
O'Neill, O., 2002. A Question of Trust. BBC Reith Lectures. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Penny, A., Ward, M., Read, T., Bines, H., 2008. Education sector reform: the Ugandan experience. International Journal of Educational Development 28 (3) 268–285.
Prins, E., 2005. Learning to communicate: An adult literacy programme in postwar El Salvador. Convergence 38 (1) 69–90.
Prins, E., 2006. Relieving isolation, avoiding vices: the social purposes of participation in a Salvadoran literacy program. Adult Education Quarterly 57 (5) 5–25.

Prins, E., 2007. 'Aqui no somos unidos'/'We're not united here': Adult literacy and the obstacles to solidarity in postwar El Salvador.
Prins, E., 2008. Adult literacy education, gender equity, and empowerment. Insights from a Freirean-inspired literacy programme. Studies in the education of adults 40 (1) 24–39.
Purcell-Gates, V., Waterman, R., 2000. Now We Read, We See, We Speak: Portrait of Literacy Development in an Adult Freirean-Based Class. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ.
Putnam, R., 2000. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. Simon and Schuster, New York.
Ratvitch, D., 2011. The Death and Life of the Great American School: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education. Basic Books, New York, NY.
Raynor, J., 2007. Education and capabilities in Bangladesh. In: Walker, M., Unterhalter, E. (Eds.), Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 157–176.
Robeyns, I., 2003. Sen's capability approach and gender inequality: selecting relevant capabilities. Feminist Economics 9 (2–3) 61–91.
Rousseau, D., Sitkin, S., Burt, R., Camerer, C., 1998. Not so different after all. Academy of Management Review 23 (3) 393–404.
Sen, A., 1993. Capability and well being. In: Nussbaum, M., Sen, A. (Eds.), The Quality of Life: Studies in Development Economics. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 30–53.
Stasavage, D., 2005. Democracy and primary school attendance: aggregate and individual level evidence from Africa. AfroBarometer Working Paper #54. Retrieved from: http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/stasavage/APSA2005%20education3.pdf (20.07.11).
Stromquist, N.P., 1997. Literacy for Citizenship: Gender and Grassroots Dynamics in Brazil. State University of New York Press, Albany.
Sztompka, P., 1999. Trust: A Sociological Theory. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.
Taylor, K.A., 2010. The Global Infestation of U.S. Educational Ideas: A Cautionary Thought. Journal of Educational Controversy Blog. Retrieved from: http://journalofeducationalcontroversy.blogspot.com/2010/09/global-infestation-of-us-educational.html (16.07.12).
Tikly, L., Barrett, A.M., 2011. Social justice, capabilities and the quality of education in low income countries. International Journal of Educational Development 31, 3–14.
Torche, F., Valenzuela, E., 2011. Trust and reciprocity: a theoretical distinction of the sources of social capital. European Journal of Social Theory 14 (2) 181–198.
Uslaner, E.M., 2002. The Moral Foundations of Trust. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.
Umansky, I., Hernandez, R., Alas, M., Moncada, G., 2007. Alternative upper secondary education in Honduras: Assessment and Recommendations. Unpublished Report commissioned by the United States Agency for International Development.
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), 2010. Reaching the Marginalized: Education for all Global Monitoring Report 2009–2010. UNESCO, Paris.
Unterhalter, E., 2007. Gender, Schooling, and Global Social Justice. Routledge, London.
Valenzuela, A., 1999. Subtractive Schooling: U.S. Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring. SUNY Press, Albany, NY.
VanderDussen, E., 2009. A spirit of service: conceptualizing service learning through the Preparation for Social Action (PSA) Program in Uganda. (Unpublished MA Thesis)Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. Retrieved from: https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/18111/1/vanderdussen_elena_200911_MA_thesis.pdf (10.07.12).
Walker, M., Unterhalter, E. (Eds.), 2007. Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
Walker, M., 2012. A capital or capabilities education narrative in a world of staggering inequalities? International Journal of Educational Development 32 (3) 384–393.
Yin, R.K., 2000. Case Study Research: Design and Methods. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.