Sustainable Livelihoods to Adaptive
Capabilities: A global learning journey
in a small state, Zanzibar
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Abstract

This thesis takes global learning out of the formal setting of a Northern classroom to a rural community setting in the Global South as a social learning process.

It begins with a critical reflection of a large EU project to develop a global learning programme as a Global North South initiative. The focus narrows to Zanzibar, a small island state, to critically reflect on the delivery of the programme. And then further to focus on the global social learning and change that occurred in a rural community setting in the north of the island.

Through participatory action research, I investigate the relevance of global learning as a social learning process, how norms and rules are shaped within a community setting and how these enable social change towards sustainable livelihoods.

The thesis splices the intersection between critical and social theories of learning and engagement, to include critical social theories of Habermas (1984) and Wals (2007); critical race theories of Giroux (1997) and Said (1994) and distributive justice and entitlements theories of Sen (1997) and Moser (1998). It demonstrates the importance of dissonance and a safe space for deliberative dialogue, to be able to consider the global pressures and forces on local realities as the precursor to social change towards sustainability. I conclude by relating the learning from this small island state to the wider world and the current discourse on quality of education in a community development context.

Key words: Capabilities, Sustainable Livelihoods, Dissonance, Global Learning, Critical Theory, Communicative Action, Social Learning

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

- CBO Community Based Organisation
- DFID Department for International Development
- EFA Education For All
- ESD Education for Sustainable Development
- ESDGC Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship
- EU European Union
- GLP Global Learning Programme
- GSL Global Social Learning
- IIED International Institute of Environment and Development
- IFC International Finance Corporation
- IISD International Institute of Sustainable Development
- INGO International Non Government Organisation
- ITC Information and Communication Technologies
- NGO Non Government Organisation
- PAL Participatory Action Learning
- PAR Participatory Action Research
- SIDS Small Island Developing State
- SLA Sustainable Livelihood Framework
- SUZA State University of Zanzibar
- UN United Nations
- UNESCO United Nations Education Science and Culture Organisation

Chapter 1. Context and Justification for my Research

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is a study of the relevance of global learning in enabling development of sustainable livelihoods in a small island state, Zanzibar. This is achieved through engaging in Participatory Action Research that involves community members in the design, data collection and analysis of the findings over a period of 48 months.

At the centre of the research is Global Learning, conceptualised as a just pedagogy to foster critical understanding of local and global pressures and forces from a wide range of perspectives and contexts. My hypothesis is that without this understanding, sustainable livelihoods cannot be achieved. I focus my research on Zanzibar, partly because of my historical familiarity with the islands and partly because of their microcosmic nature as a small island state.

I locate my research in relation to other research on global learning, sustainable livelihoods, socio-economic development approaches and Zanzibar. In bridging the gap in existing research I have sought to understand what are the barriers and constraints to challenging the dogma and drivers of unsustainable living. I have sought to understand what influences the formation of identity and moral values and to examine the cause and effect of predicaments and dissonances in order to assist others in making sustainable livelihood choices and decisions.

This chapter sets the context with both an academic and personal justification for the research. It also provides an overview of the structure of my thesis and of each of the chapters.

1.2. My Journey

In common with Freire (1989), I came to know my own country better through passing through other parts of the world. Unlike Freire I was an exile of choice rather than because of my beliefs, but like him, standing back seeing my country from a distance, I also came to understand myself better. By being confronted with others, I discovered my own identity. I was immersed in real and concrete experiences crossing both physical and intellectual borders that resulted in my adopting a critical scrutiny to the politics and privileges of what I called home and its complicity in maintaining injustices.

From a young age, I wanted to travel and work overseas. Drawn by the promise of new experiences, adventures and exchanges of experiences with others, at the age of 22, I travelled to Tanzania and began my relationship with that country – a relationship that has now lasted 26 years. Having grown up in a rural monoculture, a youth of the 1980s, my knowledge of Africa was pretty much informed by Live Aid and wildlife programmes. I arrived at Nairobi airport and was simultaneously greeted and challenged by the vibrancy, the smells, tastes, sounds and visuals of this bustling city and its people.

Having studied rural development and food technology at Agricultural College I worked, voluntarily, in a range of rural settings, with women farmers and delivering training to produce yoghurt and butter. After 9 months I secured paid employment on an island off the southern coast of Tanzania to manage a dairy

in a coconut plantation and make cheese. The only white woman on the island for the first three months, I was confronted with gender and race inequalities on a daily basis and was powerless to address them without losing or leaving my job. Later I travelled around Southern Africa, where I was exposed to the vulgarities of rural and urban poverty, white supremacy, black dictatorships, white poverty, black poverty and the debilitating effect of debt on African economies. My travels culminated in a visit to Zanzibar and work on a UN Development Programme project, researching income generating activities in dairy processing and appropriate food technologies. Through my experiences, which included Mandela's visit to Zanzibar on his release from Robben Island, I countered a growing cynicism of the 'poverty business' with an understanding and empathy for the people of Southern Africa and, in particular, mainland Tanzania and its semi-autonomous state, Zanzibar.

Returning to the UK towards the end of the 20th Century, I began a career in rural development and poverty alleviation as determined through EU structural funds. I came to understand the relativity of poverty and kept drawing on my African experiences of engagement and development to influence my work. Often I was shocked by the lack of participation and engagement of rural people in the processes that impacted on them. As a rural development officer for an EU development agency, I was able to apply my learning from rural East Africa to rural West Wales. Through my work I became aware of a UK organisation called the Development Education Association (DEA) and the world of development education. Development education is a body of practice established across the EU that promotes understanding, awareness and shared learning between the Global North and South in order to inform actions and decision-making. Its definition varies slightly between organisations and

between countries, but all are bound by a realisation of the importance of understanding global influences on local realities and the importance of considering a range of perspectives in decision-making processes.

Inspired by the development education community, I began the process of establishing a voluntary organisation as a means to learn from and share lessons in development between the Global North and South. The organisation became part of a UK network of development education centres (DECs) - independent, locally based providers of development education support and resources for schools and, in our case, communities. Over the next six years, I coordinated one of three DECs in Wales and became Vice Chair of the Wales DEA, Cyfanfyd. In doing so I became a key player in the development education movement, influencing policy and approaches in my native Wales, as well as contributing to UK policy on development awareness (DFID's interpretation of development education).

Focusing on informal and non-formal learning, I challenged the greening of the sustainability agenda and, in particular, Education for Sustainable Development. I did this by promoting the importance of seeing sustainability as a livelihoods issue and by putting people at the centre of the debate around the problem to be solved, rather than on the sidelines. At the same time OXFAM Cymru was lobbying for a global citizenship agenda via school based development education. As a result, the Welsh Government Sustainability Working Group merged with the Global Citizenship Working Group to establish the Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship (ESDGC) Action Group, which went on to enshrine ESDGC in education policy in Wales (Welsh Government 2006)

At the same time, I completed an MSc in International Development Planning and Management. Through this I was introduced to the world of academic research in my practice areas of participatory rural development and community learning and education.

I specialised in poverty reduction strategies and sustainable rural livelihoods. My dissertation was titled 'Globalisation of Youth Culture through Tourism in Zanzibar'. I drew extensively on the asset-based approaches of Moser (1999) and Bebbington (1997) as well as the emerging work of Carney, Leach and Scoones (2000) in framing the components of a sustainable livelihood. The resultant sustainable livelihoods' framework put people at the centre of their development and drew on the work of Leach (1997) and Sen (1996) to define their entitlements as assets. These assets, expanded upon by Moser (1999), were defined into five categories: Social Capital (social interactions and relationships that one draws on and/or shares); Human Capital (skills, education, experience and healthiness required to work); Physical Capital (infrastructure, housing, communication, utilities); Financial Capital (access to a salary, savings, saleable goods and credit) and Natural Capital (land, sea, clean air and water) as illustrated in figure 1.1 below.

Capital Assets Policies & Livelihood н Institutions Outcomes Government Sustainable Vulnerability Private Sector use of natural Context S resources Livelihood **Process** Shocks Increased Strategies Trends Laws Well-being Seasonality Policies Food Culture Security Institutions Key: H - Human Capital P - Physical Capital - Natural Capital S - Social Capital Financial Capital

Figure 1.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

This framework drew favour with the neoliberal agendas of the late 1990s as it used economic terminology to define livelihoods. In this context neoliberalism refers to the power of finance and major finance institutions in reducing global poverty by investment of foreign capital and aid. Use of asset-based terminology counters the need for foreign investment by focussing on what is already there and how it can be supported instead of what financial investment is needed to be contributed to 'fix' the problems. Economically, investments require returns and in the 90's those returns became the global debt, which in turn increased dependency.

Asset-based approaches challenge the dependency agenda of development by focusing on the 'social glue' that links different capital assets. Development support becomes focussed on how to increase access to these capital assets and in doing so determines peoples' ability to influence governance structures.

As well as enabling an understanding of the complexities of poverty and livelihood strategies, the 'poor' regain control of their livelihood strategies and choices through consideration of local, national and global interactions, and how to influence them. This critical consciousness is also what Freire (1974) refers to as conscientisation.

Through my 2002 MSc research I concluded that supporting more egalitarian-value systems and ways of looking at the world are critical to improving the livelihoods of young people everywhere, including Zanzibar. Ultimately, if global and/or local policies and processes are to support local livelihoods, then it is crucial that local consultation and participation is embraced in a way that is appropriate to local concerns and contexts. Capacity and capability, building at both organisational and community levels, is essential if young people are to engage meaningfully in debates regarding interpretations of their obligations as active members of local and global society. Only then will young people be able to to make claims and assert their rights. "Access to global information and inclusive policymaking are undoubtedly at the crux of the sustainable livelihood agenda...Information and development of local organisational resources to support youth development initiatives, enabling them to engage effectively with policy makers and to manage risk, is key for future development and research." (Al Kanaan 2002:69)

1.3. Bridging the Gap

In 2009, after thirteen years of engaging in development education practice, the globalisation of terminology and numerous semantic debates resulted in global learning and global education emerging as adjectival replacements for development education. While I consider these debates in more detail in the

next chapter, I found global learning more appealing as my interest remained aligned to the importance of critical understanding and consciousness in the context of globalisation, rather than development. This relates to my conviction that whereas development education was set in the context of development and under-development, global learning is set in the context of globalisation.

Grounded in practice, global learning (and its affiliates - development education, global citizenship education and global education) remained a pedagogy in search of a theory. Research focussed primarily on formal school and higher education settings from a Northern context and mostly tied in closely to government lead education agendas (see Harrison 2008, Bourn 2010, Andreotti 2011, Scheunpflug 2012, Brown 2013). There is very little research in this area that focuses on global learning in the Global South and where it does exist it tends to focus again on the formal education sector and often links and partnerships with the Global North (see Edge 2010, Leonard 2013).

Consequently my research provides an original contribution in that it explores the relevance of global learning in a social learning context as a precursor for sustainable change in the global South.

My research also provides an original contribution through its focus on sustainable livelihoods. This development approach, which I applied to my MSc research, was prioritised by DFID and subsequently by the UN and a number of International Non Government Organisations (INGOs) at the turn of the century. A great deal of research into its effectiveness and adaptability was carried out, applying it to rural development and tourism (see Chambers and Conway 1992 and later Scoones 1998, Carney 1998, 2002, Ashley and Carney 1999). It signalled a move away from dependency cultures and a move towards a culture

of empowerment. In doing so it focussed on input and output elements of livelihoods and sought to realise existing strengths and build on them rather than try and address needs. It enabled consideration of different perceptions of reality, interrelations and interconnections with the wider society and provided a tool for analysis of alternative paths for social transformation while considering the effect of structures and processes that define livelihood options. The sustainable livelihoods framework's emphasis on the capability and capacity of people to deal with local cultural practices, trends and shocks distinguished it from its predecessors (Carney 1998). My research focused on livelihood and environmental change. It emphasized history and the longitudinal change of dynamic ecologies, social differentiation, gender and cultural contexts in order to create a rich, detailed analysis of rural settings. The redefining of environment and development as sustainability overlapped with emerging research on political ecology (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987, Robbins 2003, Forsyth 2003). This research focused on the intersection of political forces and ecological dynamics and was committed to local engagement with an understanding of the complexities of local realities and livelihoods in a context of macro or global structural issues. The result, an uneasy combination of peoples' priorities and global concerns for the environment, was enshrined in the UN Agenda 21 motto 'Think Global, Act Local' – a notion explored through cross disciplinary research of socio-ecological systems and resilience drawing on both the social and natural sciences (Folke et al. 2002, Clarke and Dickson 2003). While all of this research has offered diverse insights into the complexities of poverty and engagement with decision making processes and has acknowledged the importance of individuals being able to influence and access them, I have not come across a study that addresses how people can

achieve that access, influence or engagement. I see global learning as this 'how'.

In 2009, Scoones produced a critique of sustainable livelihoods that described four recurrent failings in its application:

- Failure to address wider, global processes and their impingement on livelihood concerns at the local level.
- Missing connections between governance at local, national and global levels and the role of social movements within and between these levels.
- Failure to integrate livelihoods, thinking and understandings of local contexts and responses with concerns for global environmental change.
- Failure to address long-term shifts in rural economies and wider questions about agrarian change.

Scoones emphasised the need to "rethink, retool and re-engage, and draw productively from other areas of enquiry and experience to enrich and reinvigorate livelihood-perspectives for contemporary challenges..." (Scoones 2009:20).

Through my research I will demonstrate how merging the two people-centred approaches of global learning and sustainable livelihoods addresses economies of scales, focuses on societal as well as community responses, and responds to global governance and global pressures and forces.

My research is on global learning within a social learning context. By social learning I mean learning that takes place through social interaction between peers resulting in a change in behaviour or attitude. Consequently, I am interested in what happens when people from a range of contexts come together to consider local and global issues and how these affect or impact

upon individual and collective realities. In particular I'm interested in the social change that occurs as a direct result of this interaction and how this change can be influenced so that livelihoods become more economically, socially and ecologically sustainable. I further attest that global learning should not be considered as a Northern construct, but that it is globally relevant and I have illustrated this through carrying out my research in Zanzibar, a tropical island in the Indian Ocean.

1.4. The Context of Small States

The world in 2014 is in a worrying and unsustainable state of flux and conflict, which I believe is fuelled by dogma and a distinct unwillingness of some to listen to or consider another's perspective. Through my research I show that Zanzibar, as a semi-autonomous island, provides a microcosm of global conflicts driven by politics, religion and greed. Also, as a tropical island it is particularly vulnerable to climate change and climate variability, which brings additional pressures to consider.

Through my work as a development education practitioner in Wales and a development practitioner in Zanzibar, I have become interested in the similarities between these two semi-autonomous Small States. Confronted with the challenges and opportunities of globalisation, small states are, by their nature, more vulnerable to global pressures and forces than larger states. They often do not have sufficient institutional capacity to participate in international finance and trade negotiations. This is highlighted by the limited capacity of their private and public sectors to engage in the transition to globalised trade, and by the high volatility of their national incomes to external events such as natural disasters.

Small Island Developing States (SIDS) have a number of common characteristics:

Isolation

75% of small states are islands, often widely dispersed and usually located far from major markets. High transport costs prevent engagement with world markets and when combined with small domestic markets, reduce competition, efficiency and innovation;

Influence

Small economies are dependent on global imports but have little, if any, influence over global markets and trade regimes;

• Climate Change

Extreme weather events associated with climate variability or anthropogenic climate change typically affect the entire population and the whole economy, rather than that of a region as in larger states;

Diversification

The small size of domestic markets generally results in a lack of diversification in production and exports with one dominant activity. The low diversification in production and trade and a dependency on imports increases vulnerability to globalisation and fluctuations in world markets and trends;

Resources

Competition for natural resources is often greater in small states because of their size. This increases populations' competing demands for development and production on land, sea and the coast;

Poverty

Poverty levels tend to be higher and income distribution more uneven than in larger states, especially in the global South. Such income volatility increases vulnerability to external shocks;

Capacity

Smallness of a state adds another dimension to the challenge of public and private sector capacity. They tend to have a relatively larger public sector, in relation to population size, than larger states, which, whilst reducing the distance between people and their governing structures, lacks the

economies of scale in provision of public services and the business of government;

Global Markets

Private markets tend to perceive small states as riskier than larger states, making market access more difficult and spreads¹ higher (World Bank 2000).

Zanzibar, although not acknowledged by the UN as a Small Island Developing State (SIDS), is a small island state and has many, if not all, of the attributes of a SIDS. It is extremely vulnerable to global pressures such as climate change and tourism. It is also affected by increasing competition for natural resources, internally from a growing local population and externally from tourism and other private sectors.

The result of this lack of diversification of local livelihoods and export markets, combined with the diseconomies of scale and increasing demand for natural capital assets, is unsustainable development. The world's largest global industry, tourism, is having the greatest impact of all. Unlike other global influences it impacts upon every aspect of island life.

1.5. Research Focus

My Doctoral research builds on my MSc dissertation, returning to Zanzibar and drawing on my practice in global learning. I define global learning as a critical pedagogy that enables the learner to consider and reflect on a range of perspectives in the context of globalisation and to inform their choices and decision making towards just and sustainable livelihoods.

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¹ The difference between the bid and the ask price of a security or asset.

As a social learning process that occurs in a range of formal, informal and non formal learning settings, I regard global learning as a collective activity that shapes individual values and social change. Consequently I seek to investigate further the importance and relevance of global learning as a social learning process.

My research straddles a number of discourses and strands associated with learning and development. Theoretically, I draw on Moser (1999, 2001, 2005, 2006) and Bebbington's (1997, 2001, 2008) work on asset based approaches. They define capital assets as the resources people utilise in the course of their lives and emphasise the importance of valuing these assets. In particular they draw attention to the value of social capital such as the friendships, networks and familial relationships people draw on. This social capital bonds all of the other asset groups.

An asset-based approach builds on strengths and uses what people have or have access to as a starting point. This puts participants in a position of strength and instils a notion of 'can do' rather than 'need'. This is important in that I attribute insecurity as fuel for dogma. Through my research I sought to show that starting from a position of acknowledgement of what someone has provides individuals with a sense of security and identity that enables them to consider another perspective or what Wals (2007, 2009) refers to as dissonances. It assists participants to cross the hegemonic borders of Giroux (1992, 2007) and Said (1994, 2003). I have also drawn inspiration from Habermas' (1984, 2004) 'Deliberative Dialogue' so as to define the safe space for the global social learning to take place. I describe the resultant change in values that inform and determine choices that are made to Sens' (1996, 1999)

capabilities as the ability to be and do what you value. This process of decision making, when collaborative, results in collective capabilities and communicative action (Habermas, 1984) thus increasing resilience and reducing vulnerability to change.

Pulling all of this together my hypothesis is: If an individual is secure in their identity and worth, they will be more open to a range of other perspectives. By facilitating a safe space in which to exchange views and discuss the impact of global pressures on local realities with a diverse group they will, collectively, be able and more inclined to make informed choices and decisions that determine the sustainability of their livelihoods.

My Research Question is:

What is the relevance of global learning as a social learning process in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?

1.6. The Research Process

Initially my research was linked to a large Europe Aid Project. The project was a development education project that focussed on Food Sovereignty as a global issue and developing a global learning pedagogical approach to increase awareness and positive action in six countries: Wales, Italy, Senegal, Tanzania, Ecuador, Bolivia. I had research and pedagogical responsibility for two of ten countries:

- The UK and the semi-autonomous state Wales;
- Tanzania and the semi-autonomous state Zanzibar

This Europe Aid project complements my research with its shared focus on the individual and social changes that occurred through development of and involvement in the global learning process by a group of actors from Zanzibar.

Initially, I decided to focus on Wales and Zanzibar. ESDGC had been mainstreamed through a series of well developed policies but subsequent UK and Welsh Government funding cuts constrained my research focus in Wales. The success of a subsequent funding application in Zanzibar enabled me to extend my research to carry out a more in depth study on the group of actors in Zanzibar and the individual and social change that occurred beyond the EU project.

Underpinning my research question and my methodology is the importance of an actor-orientated approach that puts people at the centre of their learning and development so as to

- Develop knowledge, skills and attitudes in enabling critical thinking and reflection about global issues from a variety of perspectives.
- Build on individual and community strengths.
- Enable actors to reflect on the implications of the previous two issues on their lives and how to engage in, and contribute to, a process of sustainable change.

Consequently, my research revolves around praxis and participation. It is longitudinal in that it takes place over a period of three years and is comprised of a spiral of three Participatory Action Research cycles of change. The first cycle focuses on the design and development of a global learning programme,

the second cycle focuses on the delivery of the resultant programme and the third cycle focuses on the wider community and the social change that occurs as a result of the programme

I carry out my investigation by engaging in a longitudinal, qualitative, ethnographic study. My research involves eight different actors' (educators and community activists) engagement in a global learning programme and critical analysis of rural Zanzibar, Tanzania, as a small island developing state in a Global Arena.

1.7. Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 is a review of the theoretical influences and concepts that I have drawn on in shaping my approach and analysis. The complexities of globalisation as an historical process in terms of economic domination, social change as well as time and space relationships, provide a contextual backdrop in which I have situated my research. I explore concepts of development education and education for sustainable development and global learning before moving on to the development approaches and paradigms that influence my approach. The chapter entwines the meeting point between local responses and the wider debate on the 'g-local' social dynamics of engagement. It is informed by post colonialism, critical pedagogy, capabilities approaches and critical theory. My theoretical influences and concepts are informed by social learning and critical theory as a means of framing an empowering process of engagement towards sustainable change.

Chapter 3, my methodology chapter, provides a detailed justification of the qualitative approach of my longitudinal study. It achieves this through a comprehensive review of critical theory, ethnography, participatory action research, appreciative inquiry and photovoice that become the methodological considerations of my research. Ethical considerations of such a qualitative study are also addressed. The resultant longitudinal study comprises a Participatory Action Research (PAR) spiral of three distinct cycles. Each cycle varies in length as the spiral's focus funnels down from the EU project to the communities of Zanzibar. The chapter summarises how change is captured within each of the cycles:

- The first cycle's development of a global learning programme at an EU level
- The second cycle's delivery of the global learning programme in Zanzibar
- The third cycle describes the global social learning process resulting from cycle two at a community level in Zanzibar.

Chapters 4 to 8 are the findings and analysis chapters. Chapter 4, The First Cycle of Change in the Participatory Action Research (PAR) spiral provides a critical inquiry and reflection on the development of the global learning programme. The goal of the EU Project was to research and develop an innovative global learning programme, using PAR to combine existing good practice in rural development and learning that empowered individuals and communities to engage in food sovereignty. My research records and analyses the learning that transpired as the project partners engaged in a critical inquiry to evaluate what can be shared from existing good practice in rural development and learning from six countries, two in the EU and four in the

Global South². It then documents the development of a transformative, global learning process towards sustainable livelihoods, focusing on food sovereignty. By food sovereignty I refer to a global movement of the same name and define it as the individual and collective right to access nutritious food that was sustainably produced and sustainably traded. I frame this 'cycle of change' within the PAR spiral with a series of sub questions that feed into my overall Research question:

What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?

The sub questions for this cycle of change are:

- 1. What knowledge, skills, values and attitudes can lead to enhanced collaboration, adaptation or conversely to failures in sustainable food systems?
- 2. What kinds of approaches, methods, and concepts have been successful in enabling social justice, equity and ecological sustainability?
- 3. How does collaboration enhance social learning and adaptation and how is it enhanced by increased global consciousness?

Chapter 5 provides the context and setting for my longitudinal PAR through an ethnographic, thick description of Zanzibar - the place and its people. The chapter summarises the socio-political journey that Zanzibar has travelled along over the last fifty years and how this inter-relates with economic policies and decisions made by the Government. It then opens a window on the realities of coastal livelihoods in Zanzibar to provide a baseline understanding of the

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² Italy, Wales(UK), Bolivia, Ecuador, Senegal and Zanzibar(Tanzania)

culture and environment from the perspectives of the people and communities I engaged with during the Participatory Action Research. Through analysis of secondary data, distillation of knowledge from my research practice and a series of semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions I illustrate what the rural coastal communities took for granted and the changes they had experienced at the outset of my I research. In doing so, I combine these community collaborations with secondary data to unpick the complex tapestry of coastal livelihoods.

Chapter 6, the 'Second Cycle of Change' presents the initial findings and reflections emerging from delivery of the global learning programme in Zanzibar. It focuses on the global social learning that resulted from the Global Learning Programme of Participatory Action Learning (PAL) activities. I attempt to highlight changes in relationships at a community level and also between external actors such as development workers, educationalists and myself as a participatory action researcher. The chapter combines my individual reflections with those of the participants in the Global Learning programme. The reflections focus on the formation and social construction of the knowledge, skills and values that support sustainable livelihood strategies, and specifically on the influences of global learning on the social learning process and deliberative dialogue as a result of an asset based focus.

Chapter 7 and 8 focus on the Third Cycle of Change. This cycle is divided into two parts to build on the previous Cycles of Change. It focuses on the social change and dynamics resulting from participation in the Global Social Learning process over a period of 18 months. Tied into this is a critical review and reflection process in and with rural communities across Northern Zanzibar

based on the experiences of the eight participants. Chapter 7 focuses on the delivery of the GLP at a community level and Chapter 8 focuses on global social learning for sustainable change.

Chapter 9 ('Emerging Themes and Learning') focuses on the interactions within and between the priority sectors. It shows how and what changes affect ability to engage with, influence and access decision making processes. The chapter returns to my theoretical framework described in Chapter 2 to frame a discussion and reflection of the PAR cycles of change. Throughout this chapter I refer to the series of social learning processes that emerged and reveal a gradual transformation of the patterns of interaction between the different participants and actors throughout the three cycles of change. Analysis of these changes draws attention to the importance of building on what actors have, in particular social capital. Exchanging in a deliberative dialogue to enable informed decision making based on a range of perspectives takes into consideration the local and global pressures and forces on local livelihood assets and ultimately on civil society.

In Chapter 10 I draw together my conclusion. I show that throughout the Global North and South globally aware and informed communities are more likely to make more sustainable choices. I conclude that for food sovereignty to be more than an intervention, empowerment becomes a process, rather than an outcome, that depends on understanding and building on perceived strengths. Experiential, hands on, peer led approaches are the most effective form of exposure to difference. The inclusion of a global learning pedagogy as the key component of social learning is unique in its ability to "translate" complex issues into clear and relevant messages. Understanding different perspectives

strengthens ability to consider the global pressures and forces on local realities and results in capability to aspire and to set priorities built on strengths.

The research provides examples of global forces and pressures such as climate change and tourism, linking poverty and conservation, ecosystem management and other sustainability issues, all of which are extremely complex and multidimensional. Yet unless an individual and community can relate to the issue at hand they will not understand it or see its relevance to them.

The particular vulnerability of Zanzibar, as a small island state, to climate variability and climate change presents a direct and timely link between the global social learning process and climate change adaptation. To be effective both are by their very nature place specific and grounded in local realities. Global social learning provides a unique mechanism to pull together theoretical insights from institutional perspectives, policies, global market considerations and local realities into a forum for collective decision-making and collaborative action. This ability to engage in a transition towards sustainability builds resilience and ultimately adaptive capability.

Returning to the beginning, my global learning journey starts with a theoretical exploration of the concepts, structures and themes that have influenced my thinking and ultimately this research study.

Chapter 2. Concepts, Structures and Influencing

Themes

2.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical concepts, influences and considerations of my research and presents my theoretical framework for the thesis. Its purpose is to answer my research question theoretically.

'What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?'

The first section details the development and educational challenges of globalisation and introduces global learning as a pedagogical response. The second section explores the socio-political influences on my research approach and my education and development experiences over the last 20 years as a practitioner. The third section draws on those actor-orientated approaches that have influenced my research (notably the schools of participation, sustainable livelihoods, capabilities, critical theory and critical pedagogy) to underpin and validate global learning as a key component of education and development. The chapter concludes with a theoretical framework for my thesis that designates the interrelated and integrated nature of my research in Zanzibar.

2.2. Making it about the Global

The 'Global', in all its complexity, has radically changed the role and importance of education and learning in society and it is important to understand the

context of globalization and how it has influenced social change. The growing interconnectedness of today's world has transformed socio-cultural and political economic processes. This homogenisation of the world's culture into a modernist and neoliberal ideal, resulting in a Northern globalisation model tied to the historical emergence and international diffusion of Western modernization, has been well documented. Notably Mignola (1998) attributes globalisation solely to the Western expansion of order since 1500 under the banners of Christianisation (Spanish Empire), Civilising Mission (British Empire and French Colonisation) and Development/Modernisation (US Imperialism). Likewise Wallerstein (1979) describes three world systems, distinguishing between national, imperial and global economies and Elias (1982) writes of a 'civilising process'. They all link global power and order with economic gain and cultural dominance. They all characterise globalisation as cross-border trade and movement of people controlled by the Western world or global North, first by European-led colonialism and then by a United States led neo-liberalism: '....globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations "at a distance" with local contextualities' (Giddens 1992:21). History shows us how policy decisions made within one country about taxation, labour standards, the environment, or social protection, have repercussions in other countries with a gradual shrinking of time and distance. Such time-space compression draws on an intensification of interdependence between distant localities and local happenings and how they shape social relations globally. This has been described by Harvey (2006) as an intensification of worldwide social and economic relations as a "current pattern of world integration via global markets, transnational corporations, and

electronic media under the political hegemony of the United States" (Connell 2005: 72).

There is an alternative global historical standpoint, one that views globalisation as a longer term, multidimensional and diverse phenomenon. One in which the Global North figures predominantly but not exclusively, with a transcultural interdependence of ancient civilizations such as Islam in Asia and Africa (Hopkins 2002; Robertson and Inglis 2007). These ancient forms of globalization fostered outward looking cosmopolitan literary cultures during the first millennium followed by vernacular, inward looking thinking through the second. Such globalization refers to "the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992:8). This suggests increased interdependencies on one hand and a greater critical consciousness on another. As we enter a new phase or wave of globalisation, driven this time by expanding economies in Asia superseding European colonialism and US imperialism, there is emerging an acknowledgement of interdependencies and the need for coordination of responsibility at a global level. The inherent neoliberal 'dog eat dog' characteristic, reminiscent of 19th and 20th century global imperialism and capitalism has been highlighted by the ineffectiveness of the international community, represented by bodies such as the G20, in addressing global imbalances of interdependence and social instability within developing economies.

The persistence of these global imbalances is starting to provide an arena for debate. Intensified consciousness helps actors to question reasons, to refrain from or to take actions in the interest of others, especially if such actions contradict national interests or limit national capacity. Examples of these debates are global gatherings of some political leaders (such as at the world summit on sustainable development in 2002, the Rio+20 summit in 2012 and G8 summits and especially Gleneagles in 2008 and Fermanagh in 2013) which brought together the heads of the richest industrialised countries to discuss issues of mutual concern.

The constructions, understandings and explanations for this are yet to achieve their potential as a vehicle for international collective decision-making or responsible effective action. Until this happens, no matter who the dominant players are, the Northern model of globalisation will continue to accentuate imbalance and with it, global poverty. Global learning, as Asbrand and Scheunpflug (2006) suggest, is a pedagogical response to globalisation which emphasises the importance of a global consciousness and an understanding different realities.

2.3. Globalisation and Small States

The realities of small states have little prominence in this global arena, yet are impacted on far more intensively than larger states. While there is a growing acknowledgment of the exceptional disadvantages that they face, "the rules of globalisation are set by people who don't care about small places" (Finin 2001:1).

Small states are particularly vulnerable to globalisation, explained by their fragility of 'smallness' in terms of size, domestic market, available land and resources. This (when combined with their dependency on the global export and import markets, the romantic notion of small island tourism and their

proneness to extreme weather) increases their dependency and decreases their influence on the global stage. Individually, they are largely unknown. Collectively, as Small Island Developing States (SIDS), they have had an unsuccessful struggle to access special consideration to enable them to become resilient to the challenges of globalisation. This can be illustrated by the Alliance of Small Island Developing States (AOSIDS), which is little known, recognized or acknowledged outside of its membership.

In terms of globalisation, small states have historically been influenced by globalisation since the empire-building of European expansion via Vasco de Gama, Columbus and others. This influence has involved a changing globalisation (Firth 2000) of economic and political impacts through traders, missionaries, settlers, colonisers and slaves, not to mention geographical location and large neighbours (for example the Caribbean and the USA). While volumes and patterns have changed with time, small states are, for the most part, at the mercy of global institutions and industry with little ability to influence them.

The global scenario of small states resembles a concentrated version of Parson's (1968) liberal interpretation of global society; an interplay of particularism and universalism. He describes this as organised collectives, operating in a framework of institutionalised norms with consensus only on broad principles. Here there are suggested global expectations of distinct identities within society. The compression of "civilised structures, national societies, intra and cross-national movements and organisations, sub-societies and ethnic groups, intra-societal groups, individuals and so on" (Robertson 1992:61) has, I would suggest, paved a way for global fundamentalist

movements attempting to define the globe exclusively in terms of one set of 'value' principles.

The consequence is a world of global modernity, a reconfiguration of hegemonic conflict away from the East versus the West and socialism versus capitalism towards conflict between and within societies. This new platform is divided between those integrated into global capitalism and those marginalised by it (Hardt and Negri 2000, Dirlik 2006). An alternative framework for experience suggests that we can learn who or what we are in society, at an individual, societal and global level drawing on Bordieu's (1986) symbolic orderings of time and space. His work suggests a legitimisation of pluralism that counters the dangers posed by a single global order as more and more parts of the world become affected by what happens elsewhere, if not through communication technologies, through physical and financial exposure. In an inclusive global society, global concern and empathy are strengthened. The increased interdependence and interconnectedness of our modern world provides the development and education community with a timely opportunity to develop the capacity and/or capability to respond to change, but what should we learn and how?

2.4. Global Learning

How we know, what we know and how we organize our knowledge about the world is fundamental to the globalisation challenge. Just "...as capitalism goes global, so does this organization of knowledge" (Dirlik 2006:5). The neoliberal learning agenda of business and technical knowledge, in replacing the civilizing mission of the colonial learning agenda, is heightening global imbalance. Drawing on more than 20 years of professional experience in an increasingly

globalised world, I have been part of the Northern groundswell of a pedagogical challenge to such single-order globalisation (Bourn and McCollum 1995, Harrison 2008, Al Kanaan 2000). Historically, this movement supported alternative ways of knowing, through engaging in a process of critical thinking and reflecting on a range of perspectives. This was combined with an exploration of individual and societal rights and responsibilities, and notions of social and environmental justice. Working across the formal school curriculum, informal education with adults and young people and non-formal community learning, the movement developed and promoted creative ways to access different forms of knowledge. It also introduced different ways of learning and unfamiliar contexts and perspectives. In doing so learners' values were shaped through exposure to the complexities of globalisation. In this thesis I define this pedagogical challenge as global learning.

What distinguishes 'global learning' from previous learning agendas is an implicit understanding that 'realised critical thinking' involves knowing about global processes, as well as understanding why and what influence they have on what happens to individual and collective realities. Global learning, as a process of realised critical thinking, became about looking at social, cultural, economic, political and environmental issues from a variety of perspectives and contexts.

This notion of global learning belongs, sits alongside and overlaps with what Bourn (2011:257) refers to as the 'adjectival educations' and 'just pedagogies'. These include Development Education, Peace Education, Rights-based Education, Education for Sustainable Development, Global Citizenship Education and Global Education.

Global learning, as I have defined it, has evolved from and is increasingly associated with an interchangeable concept with many of these pedagogies. It challenges parochial and provincial, single-order attitudes and encourages exploring issues from a range of perspectives to support informed decision-making (Bourn 2008, 2010 and Scheunpflug 2011).

Global learning, as an emerging pedagogy, seeks to "provide learners with the knowledge and skills needed to live in a globalised world" (Scheunpflug 2008:18) and is "about enabling people to understand the links between their lives and those of people throughout the world" (Bourn 2008:3). It seeks to develop learners' ability to enquire from a critical perspective, assisting them in "…learning to unlearn, learning to listen, learning to learn and learning to reach out" (Andreotti 2008:29).

Realisation of this interconnectedness and its challenges has given rise to the term 'g-local' (Robertson 1995, Bebbington 2008, Scheunpflug 2011). In order to navigate these complex interactions and to be able to consider others in decision-making processes one must embark on a critical path through the politics of knowledge (Adler and Bernstein 2005, and Miller 2007) and consider the complexities of globalisation within a people, or actor-centred learning debate.

What is clear is that the importance of knowledge, skills and understanding sits alongside an implicit concern about global poverty and injustice "[and that]...by merely opening up spaces for different ways and forms of learning, development education has put on the agenda a potentially more transformatory approach" (Bourn and Issler 2010:14). The globalisation of capital has, as Dirlik (2006:5) writes, "called forth the universalisation of

technological ways of knowing the world and increasingly provides the basis for a transnational class formation."

This pedagogic praxis of social change and development actively challenges these drivers of global poverty and injustice, putting learning in a global rather than a technological context (Bourn 2010 and Scheunpflug 2011). It highlights the importance of developing competencies and skills, such as critical thinking together with an ability to explore core concepts such as social justice, from a range of perspectives. It also returns to the Freirean concepts of being able to gain a critical perspective from distance, through a "critical humanist pedagogy" (Kumar 2008:7) or scrutiny that assists individuals to challenge hegemonic universality and develop as active citizens with a global perspective.

Freire, influenced by post-colonialists such as Fanon, sought to expand understanding of the importance of critical consciousness or conscientisation. The aim of this was to challenge hegemonic and Eurocentric values of post-colonialism, echoing the writings of Marx, Engels, Luckacs and Gramsci on class consciousness (for example, regarding perceptions of an individual's social class or economic rank in society and the structure and interests of their class). Drawing on a Southern construct of transformation, Fanon (1961) and Freire (1972) were concerned with supporting actors to recognise and transform the debilitating effects of class consciousness influenced by colonialism. Their work influenced the post-development movement which pre-empted rights-based approaches to development as well as global learning. They shared a concern for the recognition of voices and experiences of people from the Global North and South - "where colonialism left off, development took over" (Kothari 1988: 143) - and advocated for change, "not more development, but a different

regime of truth and perception" (Esteva 1992:142). The desired effect of this new development was to impact on an actor's ability to critically evaluate and act synonymously within a given context.

Too often seen as Northern constructs, Global learning and its adjectival pedagogical associates have been misinterpreted as awareness about development and the Global South, resulting in what Andreotti (2008) refers to as 'soft global citizenship' and DFID (1997) referred to as 'development awareness'. These constructs misappropriate Freire's work, denuding it of its important political insights through teaching "without any consideration of imperialism and its cultural representation. This lacuna itself suggests the continuing ideological dissimulation of imperialism today" (Young 1990:158). I continue to draw on interpretations of global learning that engage in what Giroux (1992) referred to as "border crossings", to be able to engage in a productive dialogue with others that enables a safe space for the voice of the other, or what Spivak (2007) referred to as the "subaltern" to challenge the dominant ideologies, social relations and practices. In 1995 there was a global acknowledgement that voices needed to be heard and listened to and that education had a key role in changing the attitudes and values to enable this to happen. This was the launch of the UNESCO Decade on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). While Education For All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) beforehand had highlighted the importance of education, both were driven largely by the prevailing neoliberal agenda and the role of education and technical knowledge as a precursor to skilled labour. This new connection between educational values and attitudes necessitated a critical scrutiny and reflection on behaviour, actions and commitments in relation to sustainability. It was to be achieved through a

combination of skills, development, and the learners' capacity for critical thought (Parker and Wade 2008). The actors/learners became more important to development as realisation grew that there can be no sustainability without their [the actors'/learners'] active involvement.

There is considerable overlap and complementarity between ESD and Global Learning, and there are lessons to be shared between them. While initially portrayed as an environmental action-orientated agenda (Asbrand 2006) to improve the world for future generations (Scott and Gough in Bourn 2008), ESD effectively brought global environmental and social justice to the debate and created an educative space for critical dialogue at a global level.

This new humanist approach regarded people as part of the solution as opposed to the environmentalist's view of people as a problem to be removed from the planet so it can sort itself out. Unfortunately, although embraced by activists and practitioners, and acknowledged as important at a policy level, mainstreaming in the North diluted its impact as so often happens with critical discourse. In the South the EFA priority to increase access to education, through building schools resulted in its sister priority, focusing on the quality of education provision, being neglected (Wade and Parker 2008).

It is important to explore and understand why ESD was diluted in the North and neglected in the South. Relating knowledge to change and citizen action at a local level is pivotal in shaping accountability and challenging authority. Freire (1972), Leach and Scoones (2006) and Darnton (2009) have all designated critical awareness in actors as having been branded by the dominant regime (neoliberalism in this case) as irrelevant and potentially threatening.

The power to engage in transformation through people-engagement sits uncomfortably with the predominant neoliberal agenda that drives education policy across the world, hence rendering it irrelevant or out of kilter. At a time when much of the Global South is still coming to terms with notions of liberal democracy, a questioning and aware population can be seen as potentially destabilising for governing elites. Learning from a range of perspectives and the realisation of such timeless sentiments as 'the more you learn the less you know' makes the difference between being a vessel filled with information, in what Freire (1970) referred to as a 'banking' concept of education, and having knowledge and understanding as power to shape reality. This power enables actors to be "...adaptable, manageable beings ... [who can] adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them" (Freire 1970:60). Currently, the dominant global education policy prioritises production of applied knowledge rather than knowledge that analyses the structures and forces that create and maintain inequality, poverty and unsustainable environmental practices (Bazan 2008).

In the recent Institute for Public Policy Research review on the Future of Globalisation, Glennie and Straw state that the "...first priority and the cornerstone of a successful industrial policy is the systematic development of workforce 'human capital' " (2012:88). Governments have responsibilities in three areas related to this. They must ensure that:

- the overall education and skills level of the working population is as high as possible to allow them to compete
- the education and skills already existing in the economy are being properly utilised by businesses

 short-term skills' shortages in particular sectors can be filled by migrant workers (IPPR 2012).

There is no bullet point for a globally aware and critically minded workforce. Why that is so is beyond the scope of my thesis, but the current neoliberal regime is, like all dominant systems, deeply wedded to promoting stability (Parsons 1970). Yet with sustainability becoming more of a factor in global stability change is inevitable. What form that change will take or how that change will happen remains to be seen. Global learning nurtures a realisation that a learning dialogue is required to create a reflexive society capable of responding to changes for the better or worse (Wade and Parker, 2008; Wals 2009). In relation to the future of globalisation, pedagogical approaches that encourage critical understanding as a tool for social change are essential components of a sustainable global economy.

2.5. Global Citizenship and Global Social Justice

One consequence of the debates on education and globalisation has been the usage of the term 'Global Citizenship' in education, learning and society. As a term it has multiple meanings and connotations from a number of different roots³, but in most educational contexts it has a close association with Global Social Justice (Emdin 2011, Pashby 2009, Shultz 2010 and Banks 2008). Whereas citizenship is defined as "a mechanism for addressing issues related to the full participation of and the provision of fairness for all people" (Emdin 2011:285), I would suggest that citizenship is the outcome and social justice is the process of fairness and participation. 'All' as in Education For All, is also

³ See Oxley and Morris 2013 for a detailed review on Global Citizenship

problematic. At best it rarely means, includes or involves everyone in our diverse, complex societies or processes (Banks 2008).

While citizenship and global citizenship ideals of full participation can be achieved in the classroom, I do not think they transfer from that safe space into wider civil, political or social settings. Emdin (2011) believes that classrooms can serve as a pathway towards equity for all citizens of a nation, but I see this notion as exasperated by contradictions about rights or democracy. I do not see how the security of a classroom setting can serve as a model because learners are, by the nature of the formal education setting, protected from the external pressures, forces and influences that challenge participation and fairness in the wider world.

Outside the classroom Global Citizenship has provided a platform for Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and policy makers to voice their views, but there has been a missed opportunity to create open spaces for critical reflection, and for learning to support a global social justice process of potential social change to develop "a transformatory approach" (Bourn 2010:223). This has been further highlighted by the UK Education for Global Citizenship agenda of the early 21st century. In England, Scotland and Wales, through a range of curriculum changes, the term global citizenship emerges albeit in rather different forms. In England it was promoted as part of the Citizenship curriculum, in Wales explicitly as Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship, in Scotland as a theme to recognize the common outcomes and principles of education for citizenship, international education and sustainable development education and in Northern Ireland through a curriculum for local and global citizenship. Alongside this, the concept has been promoted by NGOs

such as Oxfam in the classroom, and associated with making a difference as opposed to its political definition of belonging.

As a political concept, global citizenship is bound up with demands for recognition of intrinsic human worth, respect for difference and an implicit notion of justice. Yet as it is simultaneously about exclusion as well as inclusion, vertically (between state and individual) or horizontally (within society), it presents a contradiction in interests signified by the simultaneous trend and backlash against global migrants (Kabeer and Yashar 2005).

The notion of communal power emanating from 'inclusion' by a State is at the heart of citizenship, but Global Citizenship, in the absence of a global state, does nothing to challenge existing inequalities in itself, as it does not challenge the status quo of the reality of global geopolitics (Falk 1999). Global Citizenship, instead of emphasising duties of citizenship by association (Kabeer 2008), has become bound up with economic respectability. In this guise it reinforces the neoliberal agenda and neglects the opportunity to reinforce the importance of the 'other' or to create space for the subaltern's voice. Spivak (2013) articulates its failure, as a concept, to challenge injustices, ethnocentrism and prescribed views. Neither the neoliberal nor the emerging neoconservative education agenda appear to have space for a challenge to global social injustices. This suggests that global citizenship as an educational concept, is unable to challenge power-relations that fuels its exclusivity (Andreotti and de Souza 2008). The result is an uncritical and ethnocentric approach which reproduces mechanisms that actively supported inequalities and subalterns (Spivak, 2007, 2013). Reinforcing such neoliberal cultural hegemony in education and society

as Alasuutari (2011) suggests ignores any individual or global responsibilities associated with notions of interdependence (Fraser 1997).

In our globally differentiated world, universalism is not a given. Aside from post-colonialism and historical 'exclusions from without', there are the exclusions from within on the grounds of class, ethnicity and gender. Coupling of rights and duties dates back to Roman and Greek concepts of citizenship, yet a series of neoliberal policies has reinforced that citizens earn their rights and their citizenship, and that both are preceded by duties. (Kabeer 2002) Even if rights are, as in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1999), associated with duties and responsibilities, can and should rights be earned? Surely, if they are not a given entitlement, the earning process serves to reinforce existing global hegemony. With large trading partners, determining what appears to be globally acceptable and who can be a global citizen.

Global learning, as a process of fairness and participation instead of being an outcome, provides a less divisive notion of equitable society. Global Learning promotes the importance of considering different perspectives and in engaging in new visions and models. This increases people's capacity to learn individually and collectively at multiple levels of scale from the personal to the global. It also provides a viable, politically less loaded and more globally relevant alternative to global citizenship.

2.6. Critical Pedagogy

With this emergence as a just and critical pedagogy, global learning focuses on the role of knowledge-making and decision-making in the context of globalisation. It is transferable and is about having the capability to engage with global processes and forces that shape someone's life choices wherever they are in the world. This is particularly relevant in a Southern context like Zanzibar, where learning by rote was the educational method of choice in responding to post-colonial challenges. The dominant pedagogical paradigm has been not to question but to adopt what Freire (1970) refers to as a 'banking' approach to learning, where learners are vessels to be filled with information. This contrasts starkly with what Bourn (2009) refers to as the 'Globalist Approach', and what Harrison (2008) deemed a Northern response to de-colonialism and a growing awareness of global inequalities and critical perspectives on neoliberalism (Pike and Selby 1999, Hicks, 1990 and 2003). Just as there cannot be sustainable development without social change, Freire(1970), Andreotti(2008), Bourn(2010) and Scheunpflug (2011) have argued that there cannot be sustainable social change without a critical aspect to education or learning.

Understanding someone's situation from a variety of perspectives as the starting point of a discussion is also what Giroux (1992) believes education should be for. His critical pedagogy draws on the work of Freire (1970) and Said (1994). Giroux believes that education should not necessarily be a tool for changing your reality, but to give those whose voice is not heard an opportunity to be heard. He called this 'Border Pedagogy', an opportunity for learners to articulate their experiences in a language that is meaningful to them. He stressed the importance of remembering that "experience does not speak for itself, but is given shape and meaning through language" (Giroux 1992:20). He categorised the borders that needed to be crossed as the "epistemological, political, cultural and social margins that structure the language of history, power and difference" (Giroux 1992:28). By this he meant that borders are constructed by those who dominate, privileging some and excluding others,

echoing a Parson-esque Global Society and its interplay of particularism and universalism.

In my mission to take Global Learning out of a classroom setting, I have also been drawn to Said. A political exile, he spent his life focussing on connections between pedagogy and agency, knowledge and power, thought and action that must be mobilized to link text to context, knowledge to social change, culture to power and commitment to courage. By providing a language for politicising pedagogy he refused to separate learning from social change and expounded that knowledge needed to connect learning with global public spheres and issues (Said 1994).

Like Giroux and Freire, Said viewed the oppressed not as doomed actors but as individual and collective agents. Awareness was to be achieved through a pedagogy that valued critical thought and social engagement and was not confined to the classroom, but "in the force of wider culture" (Said 1994:9). He believed that criticism was intertwined with public life and that considerations of power politics and justice were critical activities within the global public spheres of materialism or globalisation. Said linked a healthy scepticism for authority to the history-making ability of people through a notion of secular criticism. He put this before all forms of solidarity, religious or political. "... even in the very midst of a battle in which one is unmistakably on one side against another, there should be criticism, because there must be critical consciousness if there are to be issues, problems, values, even lives to be fought for" (Said 1983:28).

Being able to take a step back from everyday realities to reflect, analyse, critique and plan what changes to make is increasingly being regarded as a key component of empowerment in development spheres, and is regarded as 'good

development' by enlightened practitioners (see Fiedrich et al 2003). I agree with much in this analysis, just as many educationalists would agree critical reflection is also a key component of good education, it is not the norm in either, and a key question is, why not? This suggests an opportunity for a practical framework in education or development that creates what Said (1994) would refer to as an integral space for critical reflection and social engagement with global spheres.

Many of the theorists I have been inspired by belong to a 'critical school'. Philosophically, they draw on the Enlightenment belief that society is made and unmade through rational human agency, in that "change – or 'development' – occurs when individuals ... take control of their predicament" (Fiedrich et al 2003:23). The importance of a critical pedagogy to understand the global forces that shape individual realities and the learner-voice resonates with post colonialists such as Freire, Said and Giroux. They collectively advocate an opportunity for the learner to read, write, speak or listen in a language that is capable of looking simultaneously at a number of social facets facing learners (multi-accentual), while ensuring that it remains open. Creation of such spaces is consequently a key aspect of the relevance of global learning. If someone is unable to relate what they learn to their reality, surely they are banking information rather than engaging in critical scrutiny or reflection. Through applying that knowledge or information to their own personal circumstances and engaging in the consequent transformation or social change.

2.7. Border Crossings of Critical Pedagogy and Global Learning

The safety of "those places and spaces we inherit and occupy, which frame our lives in very specific and concrete ways" (Borsa 1990:36) have cultural,

theoretical, and ideological borders. Understanding how lives are framed and contained is the first step to being able to peek at, look towards or cross a border of critique or transformation.

Understanding how one's own life is framed and interactions between self and other is important, as Spivak (2013) concurs, in understanding how identities are constructed, not only within the communities they belong to but also between different communities. The centrality and importance of identity in securing confidence to consider another's perspective or situation resonates with the global learning emphasis on the consideration of 'the other'. Andreotti (2008), Bourn (2010) and Scheunpflug (2011) all include local voices and perspectives in their writings, and concur that there are often multiple perspectives to consider. A global learning space can, as Bourn (2010: 255) suggests, provide "opportunities for intercultural research and learning based on equality of partnership ... [it] supports international understanding, but also investigation of indigenous cultures and provides a voice for minority and marginalized groups in any society".

Global learning, in this guise, has the potential to be a liberating force to challenge social exclusion to provide, as Giroux (1992: 33) writes, "opportunity to engage in systematic analyses of the ways in which the dominant culture creates borders saturated in terrors, inequality, and forced exclusions." Learners who actively engage in education enter into a process of socialisation that is influenced by larger economic, social and political forces. It has been widely accepted that those most likely to succeed are those who align themselves with, and participate in, other mainstream communities of practice that are congruent with the dominant culture and elites. Those least likely to

succeed and most likely to experience difficulties are those who are different and socially excluded, people on the margins, women, ethnic minorities and those who are poor. Global Learning provides a means to actively challenge these exclusions. Through gaining a range of perspectives and engaging in a critical reflection in a classroom or social-learning setting this in turn provides opportunities to cross borders of dominance. Vibrant self-criticism should be coupled with social criticism in order to reject "the seductive persuasions of certainty" (Hussein 2003:297) and to foster critical positions without becoming intractable or dominant: "...the role of engaged intellectuals was not to consolidate authority but to understand, interpret and question it" (Said 1994:9).

Perspectives can also be drawn from the past so those designated as 'other' can reclaim and remake their histories, voices and visions as part of the wider struggle towards pluralism (Lauzon1999). This is important when exploring residual effects of colonialism and the sometimes supposed superiority of western European experiences or the neoliberal hegemony of globalisation.

This relates directly to the challenges faced in Zanzibar. In a global arena how can the people of a small island with a complex colonial history and socio-political context reclaim their identity and history? How can they challenge the prevailing conflicting and emerging global order to legitimize pluralism and secular criticism?

In order to understand these challenges and with them my theoretical justification, it is also important to understand the interplay between education, social change and development agendas and discourse.

2.8. Development Agendas

The education agenda has undoubtedly been dominated and restricted by neoliberalism. The just and adjectival pedagogies have provided a disparate and, to date, ineffectual challenge to the dominant order, however there are lessons to learn from a similar struggle of development paradigms.

The development agenda has seen a significant shift in terms of focus and language away from traditional neoliberalism values and towards one of participation, empowerment and livelihoods. Poverty has shed its purely economic status and is widely accepted as a complex, multidimensional issue related to and linked with social change. Reflecting on how and why this happened is important in relation to my research justification and in particular my research focus on sustainable livelihoods.

The 'change-makers' in this process challenged neoliberalism towards the end of the twentieth century by focussing on local actors and local situations (Long 1994). Situations became social interfaces and arenas; people became stakeholders and actors interested or involved in the issues or resources, and development became a process that was people-orientated.

2.8.1. Participation and Empowerment

Participation became the new professionalism for development, focussing on decentralisation and empowerment, so that people were better able to exploit the complexities of their own conditions and adapt to change (Chambers 1994). Participation and empowerment became the 'buzz words' in development policy,

with the seductive suggestion of a sense of optimism and purposefulness (Cornwall and Brock 2005) where everyone has a chance to take part in the decisions that affect their lives. Yet the mainstreaming of these terms, has a tendency of detaching participatory methodologies from their historical roots in political processes and social change. Participation and participatory methods are designed to be challenging, as they do not rely on deductive reasoning or necessarily result in an objective truth or a neutral response. Freire's approach to generating reflection and critical thinking as a foundation for building and strengthening social change movements contrasts with the functional neoliberal notion of participation where engaging with civil society is a valid replacement for consulting with the 'poor'. Where as spaces for participation have been regarded as spaces for change and opportunities to strengthen the voice of the poor, for example mechanisms such as citizens juries, participatory budgeting and planning, participation doesn't always focus on making and shaping policies and practice (Gaventa 2004). There are all too often issues in relation to representation and power relations as who enters, who speaks, with what knowledge/voice and who benefits from participation.

Such power over others often stems from what Navarro (2006) relates to a struggle for control over resources reinforced by social order.

Gaventa (2004) defined power as having visible, hidden and invisible faces that operate in spaces from household to international levels, whereas Chambers (2006) regards power as capability and that changing power relations involves the identification of win-win situations, so that participation is meaningful and productive in transforming social relations and power is expanded rather than won or lost. For such participation to take place, trust, reciprocity, reflexivity and

self-scrutiny are required. There is a growing perception from donor literature on the instrumental value of voice and accountability in sustainable development (Taylor and Boser, 2006, Pettit 2012). Many development organisations integrate *participation* into their work (Khan 2005, O'Neil 2007). There is an unspoken assumption that promoting 'voice' with strategies that link development and participation with a deeper understanding of power and social change will ensure better lives for the marginalised.

There is, however, widespread concern that such concepts of empowerment have not brought about any fundamental changes in development practice and that all too often participation retreats to the 'users and choosers' (Waring 2004, Hickley and Bracking 2005; Kabeer and Cornwall 2008) it loses its ability to strengthen critical understanding of power and with that the ability to influence change. (Fiedrich et al 2003). Its adoption as a development 'buzzword', linked in a 'chain of equivalence' to concepts such as social capital, has stripped it of any political potency (Cornwall and Brock 2005). Without genuine empowerment, participation is reduced to a tokenistic exercise or a way of maintaining power relations. Likewise, without meaningful participation, empowerment can remain an empty, unfulfilled promise (Cornwall and Brock 2005, Pettit 2012). The complementarity of empowerment and participation should be considered as both means and ends, processes and outcomes.

This has implications for my research and wider development practice, in terms of the power of identity, sense of place and belonging. As Petit (2012) suggests, empowering participatory practice should be power conscious and involve engagement in reflective, experiential and embodied learning to complement analytical insights and processes. Furthermore, in line with my intentions, this

can be achieved through facilitation of experiential and reflective action learning and experiential immersions into community realities (Chambers and Pettit 2004, Pettit 2006; Hunjan and Pettit 2011; Pettit 2012).

If power is internalised and embodied, empowerment becomes the experience of capability, with the expansion of choice as the essence of development. Sen (1997), influenced by Bauer (1976), associated participation and empowerment with individual freedoms and capital, as not simply the resources people use to develop and build a livelihood, but as the assets that give them the capability to be and to act. In this Sen is referring to capital assets that can be owned, utilised and allocated. He is also referring to the freedom and choice to be and do what one values. How those freedoms and values are determined brings the discussion back to Giroux (1992) and Said (1984) and ultimately global learning with choices being determining by critical scrutiny and reflection on the situation at hand from a range of perspectives.

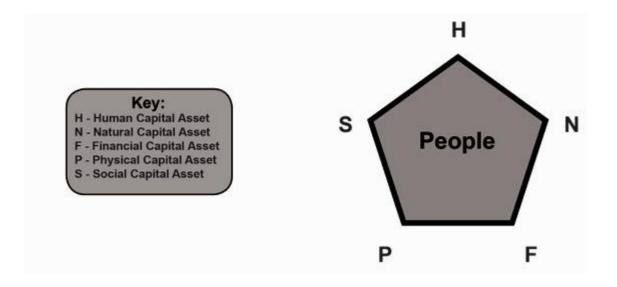
2.8.2. Capital Assets

The concept of assets is an important one in terms of my research and my theoretical framework. The five themes embodied in the asset pentagon are present in debates on access to resources (Blaikie, 1989; Bryant 1992), entitlements and capabilities (Sen, 1981; Leach *et al.*1998). Being able to frame your livelihood and or identity by what you have is in itself an empowering process. Bebbington (1999) and Moser (1998), suggest different types of capital as the resources that make livelihood strategies possible and reduce vulnerability. Together with Sen and Chambers, they argue that what people are capable of being or doing with their capital assets is what makes livelihoods meaningful and viable. Capital assets are themed as follows:

- Social capital assets: Social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives; the quality of relationships among people; the extent to which one can count on support from family or friends
- Human capital assets: Skills, knowledge, creativity, experience, ability to work and good health
- Natural capital assets: Crops, forests, wild plants, water, land, clean air and biodiversity
- Physical capital assets: Affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, affordable energy, access to information and communications and household goods
- Financial capital assets: Cash, savings, salary, credit and access to credit.

Collectively these five asset groups make up the asset pentagon which forms the basis of the sustainable livelihoods framework. The pentagon provides a visual representation of information about people's livelihood assets. It brings to life important inter-relationships between the various assets. In doing so, it illustrates the interactions between the different groups and how the assets are utilised productively to determine and develop livelihood strategies with people at the centre and a capital asset at each point.

Figure 2.1 The Asset Pentagon



Social capital requires a bit more exploration for the purposes of my thesis, as it is the least tangible of the five assets described above. Considering the importance of social relations in my research and appropriating an 'assetsbased' discourse, social capital can be regarded as an asset of the poor (Bebbington 2006). In doing so it subscribes a tradable value on social relations, networks of obligation and collective action. The notion of social capital also overlaps with the notions of empowerment and participation as it is created through social cohesion and relationships of power between individuals and communities (Pridmore et al 2007). There have been distinctions made between different types of social capital. Putnam (1995) defined vertical and horizontal social capital in his study of rural Italian society. He defined horizontal social capital as the relations that inhabitants drew on in their livelihoods within communities and vertical social capital as the relations between authority and communities that were drawn on. In societies where vertical social capital is limited, a large proportion of contracts may depend horizontal social capital and trust.

Social capital may produce either a positive or a negative output. For example, Olson (1982) argued that groups may be willing to impose costs on non-members to achieve their goals. In contrast, Putnam and Helliwell (1995) argue that co-operation among members of a group creates habits and attitudes towards serving the greater good that carry over to members' interactions with non-members.

Uphoff (2000) distinguished between *structural* and *cognitive* social capital. Structural social capital involves various forms of social organisation, including roles, rules, precedents and procedures as well as a variety of networks that contribute to co-operation. Cognitive social capital includes norms, values, attitudes and beliefs. Structural and cognitive social capital are complimentary: structures help translate norms and beliefs into well co-ordinated goal-orientated behaviour.

I would suggest that it is possible to create social capital, through shared understanding and commitments to shared goals, although the process is incremental. Furthermore, I would argue that social capital can be eroded faster and more easily than it can be created. This build up of social capital facilitates extending group activities into previously unexplored areas. Falk and Kilpatrick (1999) also suggest that the social capital can be accumulated through the social processes of *learning interactions*, *or social learning*. Learning interactions require a *learning event* (an actual occasion) and occur in a contextual dimension (the broad, socio-cultural and political frame of reference). A precondition to building social capital is the existence of a sufficient quantity and quality of learning interactions. For example Falk and Kilpatrick suggest that quality learning interactions include a historical context,

external interactions, reciprocity, trust, shared norms and values. This resonates with the planning and implementation involved in the Europe Aid project associated with my research.

2.8.3. Sustainable Livelihoods

In 1987, 'sustainable' and 'livelihoods' were first connected in a report for the Brundtland Commission as a term referring to a development approach. This report advocated an approach to development that was 'people-orientated' and started from the realities of the rural poor (Chambers et al 1987). In 1992 Sustainable Livelihoods entered an already crowded conceptual landscape for development:

"A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base" Chambers and Conway (1992:07).

This new approach for development sought to empower individuals to be locally responsible, attractive to business and, at the same time, contribute to sustainable human development. The combined notion of livelihoods, capital assets and capabilities evolved into Leach's Environmental Entitlements Approach (1997 and 1999) and what would become more widely accepted as the new development paradigm. Identifying the assets that people had access to was seen to force "users to think holistically rather than sectorally about the basis of livelihoods, and to start with an analysis of strengths rather than weaknesses" (Moser 2001:15).

These theorists' shared response on poverty eradication was to develop individual, family and community capacities and capabilities to improve their livelihood systems. Understanding the links was seen to improve the scope for collaboration and synergy between colleagues and development partners who have different standpoints. They highlighted a need for these systems to be understood from within the context of people's coping and adaptive strategies, to augment reviewing what local people already do well and the assets to which they have access. The sustainable livelihoods approach focussed on a person's actual ability to be or do something that they value and how to engage them in their own development. Using the language of neoliberalism and introducing new forms of capital, it influenced a new form of analysis of institutional economics, social relations and culture (Scoones 2009).

This shift in development-thinking highlighting poverty as a multidimensional composite is important in relation to my research. Just as I draw on the post-colonial critical theorists, such as Giroux and Said in defining global learning, my research applies global learning to people-centred approaches to development that seek to influence existing systems and structures and build on strengths.

As definitions of poverty evolved from being an income issue to a multidimensional and complex issue with people at the centre of their development, education agendas, from a development context were, and to a large extent still are, value-laden. Interventions focus on developing a viable

work force or act as "a rite of passage through which one is converted from an ignorant, uneducated person to a decent and educated person who is close to God" (Freidrich and Jellema 2003:9).

This quote refers to the Reflect project that Action Aid implemented in more than 60 countries; a Freirean-based literacy and health education project for women with critical literacy at its core that sought to combine Chambers' work on participation with Freire's 'conscientisation' to empower women. According to its DFID (2003: 7) evaluation, it was often stigmatised by community members "as a kind of 'school' or 'education' for unlettered adults, run by a rich and powerful outside institution, and sought to exploit or control any prestige and material rewards generated through association with such an activity". It is relevant to my research in that it provides an example of how Freire's work is taught rather than practiced "without any consideration of imperialism and its cultural representation. This lacuna itself suggests the continuing ideological dissimulation of imperialism today" (Young 1990:158).

Starting with what people have, challenges hegemony, its counter subalternism and ultimately ideological dissimulation. Defining a livelihood through availability of or access to capital assets, put people at the centre and in control of defining their livelihoods. Sustainable livelihood approaches also acknowledge the importance of being able to access and influence the decision-making bodies which govern or control these assets and their application, in turn creating a space to challenge and influence the dominant hegemony. These are referred to as the Policies, Institutions and Processes (PIPs). While people are increasingly seen as legitimate stakeholders in their own development, their ability to access or influence the PIPs that govern and control their assets is

often determined by their education and learning, which in turn is 'owned' by the said institutions that control them, namely the state.

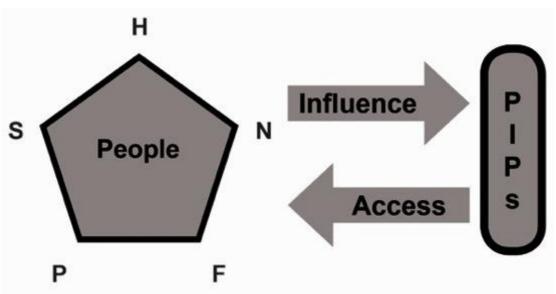


Figure 2.2 Accessing and Influencing PIPs

The mainstream view of education is constrained by its emphasis on conformity and employability skills of literacy and numeracy. There needs to be a shift towards critical literacy skills of informed choice and decision-making and towards the social change and learning inherent within this to enable a sustainable global economy and in turn reduce global poverty. What is missing are the parallel and overlapping discussions on education and development, in particular discussions around the role of education and social change as illustrated by education initiatives such as REFLECT. If sustainable development as a concept, backed by the Brandt Commission(1980) with subsequent summits to thrash out a global framework for agreeing mutual rights and responsibilities, is still not prioritised as part of the learning agenda, what changes can be achieved without learning and "what knowledge, skills and values should be learnt, and how?" (Darnton 2009:13).

2.8.4. A Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The people-centred Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) identified and provided opportunities to build on existing strengths rather than addressing needs, and looked at the 'real world' to develop understanding of complex local realities from a range of perspectives. It challenged the single sector approaches, opening up spaces for dialogue across the natural and social sciences and for reflection on complex local realities from a variety of perspectives.

It is an example of a multi-capital approach where sustainability is considered in terms of available capital assets (social, human, natural, physical and financial) without any being given weight in priority or value over the other. These are examined in the context of vulnerability shaped by the seasonality trends and shocks livelihoods are exposed to and in which the assets exist now and will in the future. It is also important to understand the policy and institutional context in which the assets exist to be able to understand their influences on local livelihoods (see Ashley and Carney (1999); Leach, Mearns, and Scoones, (1997, 1999)).

Consequently this approach, through a set of guiding principles, put people, their knowledge and understanding at the centre of development. It provided an analytical framework within which to understand what is and what can be done through appreciating what strengths are present (in the form of these capital assets) in order to be built on and thus reduce vulnerability and increase influence within the institutional context. The framework is influenced by the work of Moser (1998, 2001) and Sen (1997, 1999) and their work on assets and capabilities respectively. Enlarging choices can be achieved by strengthening

the capital base, putting people at the centre, rather than the resources they use. People, not governing institutions, should determine the form of support and provide the basis for evaluating success. The consequent holistic multisectoral approach was instrumental in establishing a principle that sustainable and successful development interventions must start with a reflexive process of evidence gathering to understand the context, what, how, why and who is to be involved in bringing about meaningful change. Involvement of the people at the centre of the intervention provides community based learning opportunities within communities and with outsiders (Butler and Mazur 2007). This in turn draws on the participatory development movement and associated methods (Pretty and Ward 2001) to build on existing knowledge and experience rather than enforcing or imposing a new direction from outside. The historical context is also important in appreciating decision-making processes and conflicts that occur. Ultimately through an assumption that livelihoods are dynamic and change, diversification is regarded as a means for limiting exposure to risk.

In terms of widening choice and expanding the capital asset base, I agree with Parker and Wade (2008:3) in that "enabling people to free themselves of poverty and to build sustainable livelihoods is both a key role for education and a prerequisite for sustainable development". There is emphasis that the key role for education has to be one that is comprised of critical reflective enquiry and understanding of the global forces and pressures that impact on local livelihoods in order to enable informed choices and decision making. This is a concept that I explore in the next section as it is central to my theoretical framework.

2.9. A Global Learning Approach to Sustainable Livelihoods

Global learning, as a mechanism to foster such critical reflexive practice, is well placed to step up to this challenge if practitioners can resist the temptation to become prescriptive and instrumental in finding solutions. Grasping this nettle of promoting critical reflection and informed decision-making through consideration of a range of perspectives can engage people in social change actions towards sustainability. As Wals suggests,

"...learning in the context of sustainability is open-ended and transformative, but also is rooted in the life-worlds of people and the encounters they have with each other" (2007:40).

These realities or encounters are, as Wals suggests, essential in enabling people to relate to the wider world and the global forces and pressure that impact upon them. Global learning when combined with sustainable livelihoods approaches can provide an opportunity for meaningful learning, constructive dissonance and improved social cohesion.

Global Learning can create a safe place to explore "...basic questions of political economy and history [that] matter: the nature of the state, the influence of private capital and terms of trade, alongside other wider structural forces, [that] influence livelihoods in particular places" (Scoones 2009:15). Engaging in a critical reflection on the histories of people and place how they interact with the global pressure and forces that influence their livelihoods enhances the relevance of global learning.

Both global learning and sustainable livelihoods have their roots in peoplecentred approaches and a critical understanding of the complexities and interconnectedness of local and global society. Access to and influence on power and politics are also central to both; not just politics as a context, but as a focus for analysis in and of itself. In terms of global learning or sustainable livelihoods, neither participation nor empowerment makes much sense without the ability to hold power and take part in decision-making. Indeed, both involve participation and empowerment as a process rather than an outcome, requiring more than a neutral apolitical nod to giving the poor a voice Al Kanaan (2010).

Combining them can contribute to a more reflective relationship with the basic patterns of understanding involved in shaping the relationships between people and with society and the wider environment. Ultimately this can lead to a critical revision of the norms, rules and power-relations through which the people involved define their actions.

I perceive the key contribution of the sustainable livelihood approach as the assumption that individual, and communities' livelihoods are multidimensional and complex, with the acknowledgement that there are existing assets and strengths to build on. These increase capability to be, and choose, what one values. Global learning draws attention to just how such values are determined and puts access to global information and influence to policy making at the crux of this approach. Conscientisation enables actors to experience an informed realisation of individual and societal rights as entitlements as well as to enjoy responsibilities and duties as citizens of both local and global society. This, in turn, supports more egalitarian value systems and ways of looking at the world that are critical to improving the livelihoods of people everywhere.

If one knows what people value, what they do and how people select their unique set of values, then it is possible to develop a framework of rights, justice, freedoms, respect and shared responsibility. Utilising these concepts, an increase in agency and freedom for the individual is directly related to the

existence of a fair society with accessible structures and processes (political, legal, media and education institutions).

Whereas Scoones (2009) compares neoliberal governance framings with the obscurity of rights, justice and struggles for equality within the framework, Broad (2006) refers to this challenge as 'knowledge' and in particular the importance of understanding the role of institutions such as the World Bank and the politics of knowledge. These framings are reinforced by education and training institutions as they co-construct scientific knowledge, policy and practice. For livelihoods to be sustainable people at the centre of their own development need to be able to unpack, challenge and understand different perspectives. Global learning pedagogy can ensure that assessments and interventions are not compromised by neoliberal reforms but that they remain open and attention is paid to the processes through which livelihoods- knowledge is negotiated and used (Stirling 2008).

The significance of transnational livelihoods and the analytical value of political ecologies of globalisation in notions of livelihood scale, place and network, (see Bebbington and Batterbury 2001), also need to be considered. By this I mean the importance of scale and how particular forms of globalisation and associated processes, from post-colonial to neoliberal economics, create marginalisation. Once understood and reflected upon, the local and the global are combined and considered together. Global learning pedagogy enables a sustainable livelihoods analysis to consider this and expose the implications of globalisation on diverse livelihood pathways.

The result is a new kind of thinking with consideration of alternative values and co-created, creative solutions co-owned by more reflexive citizens living in a

more reflexive and resilient society. Unpacking this inter-relatedness between resilience and vulnerability instead of abandoning local contexts broadens the analysis and the perspectives of people at the centre of the analysis. Such "dimensional solutions for dealing with the complexities of a global world society are exposed very quickly" (Scheunpflug 2011:34). These complex issues require a language for politicising pedagogy, a safe space to explore the connections and a voice to be able to analyse critically the 'other' from a range of contextual perspectives. When combined the ability to question and cross hegemonic borders can arise and with it the capability of voice.

2.10. Capability of voice and ideal speech conditions - a border crossing

In order to facilitate a process of deliberation, my theoretical framework draws on both Said and Sen's conviction that the educator must understand how resources and influence will impact on the learners' or actors' lives. The ultimate outcome for a learner or person should therefore be the development of both critical and political literacy, including an appreciation of the value of tolerant behaviour in a society where not all social attitudes are compatible (Holden 2007). As Sen (2006) draws on identity as a central issue, in particular the multiple identities an individual, a culture and a civilization can assume, so Said (2001) draws on the plurality within cultures as an issue that should not be ignored. Both of them saw the value and importance of multiple perspectives and an engagement with the other in understanding ourselves. This is where Global Learning should have its niche, both in and out of the classroom, as an integral part of the development process.

A critical understanding from a range of perspectives is essential in shaping the values that determine what we choose to become and do. Individual capabilities are dependent on the dominant global or national order and ultimately restrict sustainable development or livelihoods so that "a choiceless singularity of human identity not only diminishes us all, it also makes the world more flammable" (Sen 2006:16).

Habermas (1984) refers to this egocentric approach to development and its reliance on technology, competition and self-interest as Strategic Action. He contrasts it with Communicative Action that results from a social learning and collective action process. From his pragmatic perspective, social learning approaches, aside from being participatory, must contribute to creating spaces for a joint definition of action-relevant situations, transforming strategic to communicative action. Furthermore, this transformation requires a deliberative dialogue between the different people involved and/or interested in the 'arena', which is a space to question and express concerns, wishes, ideas and a symmetrical distribution of opportunities and capacities of expression.

Deliberative dialogue provides a process through which discussions around complexities of issues are facilitated rather than diminished (Dryzek 2006, Gaventa 1993,2006 and Habermas 1984). This 'ideal speech' condition resonates with Sen's (2006) capability of voice and Said's (2003) linking of learning and expression with social change. The criteria of "comprehensibility, truth (with respect to the objective world), rightness (with respect to the normative social world) and honesty (with respect to the people's' subjective world)" are used by Habermas (1984:99) to define communicative action. Such a cognitively inclusive process enables a reflexive consideration of experiences

and facts from a range of perspectives, where participants are able to see their views through the position of others. From such a deliberation, shared meanings, consensus, deep divisions and emergent possibilities can surface through an engagement in difference (Streich 2002).

Deliberative Dialogue and Communicative Action are particularly interesting as they relate different forms of knowledge and perspectives. Instead of a discussion, dialogue or consultation being orientated towards an 'objectivist' definition of truth, communicative action is based on a range of perspectives and understandings and determining grounds of inter-subjective validation. Essential to such an approach is a reflexive, deliberative and participatory dialogue, which enables a shift from multiple to collective cognition (Roling 2002). The participants' social realities focus on transformation, innovation and creation of structural arrangements that put sustainability at their centre. The power of collaborative action stems from social cohesion, diversity and dissonance preserving the (unique) qualities of each individual. Such active social learning "supports the generation of new knowledge and novel strategies for addressing real-world problems" (Glasser 2007: 51). It bridges the potential gap between the values gained and actions implemented as a result.

According to Wals (2007: 41), for learning to be transformative it should be on the edge of people's dissonance comfort zones: "There is no learning without dissonance, and there is no learning with too much dissonance!" Just as Said (2001) refers to the edge of dissonance as the sense of being awake, that feeling of imminent displacement suggests a "notion of worldliness". Through empowerment and participation becoming a process rather than an outcome, strategic action is challenged and the space for communicative action is

extended. This collective learning process increases access to and influence over the forces, processes and complexities that shape global governance. Engaging in this social learning process provides a means to identify the skills and competencies required to understand individual realities and an understanding of global processes (Wals 2007). Gaining access to alternative perspectives, values and attitudes stimulates learning and change. Such alternative ways of knowing, valuing, being and doing result in capability of voice as borders are crossed.

2.11. A Global Social Learning Framework

Pulling this together, my theoretical framework draws on the importance of gaining an historical perspective on the current situation and thinking, so those designated as the 'other' can reclaim and remake their histories, voices and visions as part of the wider struggle towards pluralism (Lambert and Morgan 2011, Lauzon 1999). In doing so, I draw on components of the sustainable livelihoods framework to explain the people's' realities, how resilient or vulnerable they are and where the edge of their dissonance is.

Harnessing this power of social cohesion creates change. Building resilience in complex situations characterised by varying degrees of uncertainty requires social capital. This is achieved through providing an opportunity to interrogate social attitudes and the general, cultural orientation that underpins livelihoods and approaches to making decisions.

Through this Global Social Learning pedagogy the idea of human interdependence is considered while having the capability to travel through

learning and engage with the notion of being "quite not right" (Said, 1999:295). Being able to 'unlearn' privilege is what Spivak (2007, 2013) deems essential in being able to listen to another constituency and also to speak in a way, so to be taken seriously. As Sen (2006) suggests, to challenge social inequalities there needs to be a better understanding of the multiplicities of identities as an integrated picture that begins with the individual.

The result is a Global Social Learning Framework that takes the centrality of identity from Sen, Spivak and Said, strengthening it through the assets that an individual and/or community has access to in a collective setting. Building on these strengths, through creating Habermas' ideal speech conditions, enables individuals to engage in a deliberative dialogue and to understand what values determine the choices and decisions that people make. Exposure to Giroux's critical pedagogy and border crossings to connect learning and understanding with global public spheres and issues will influence pre-existing values through Wals' dissonances, increasing individual and collective capabilities to access and inform the decision making processes that in turn determine sustainable social change. Utilising the shared dynamic between learning, values and social change, global learning encompasses a focus on social justice that opens "people's minds to the realities of the world" (Bourn 2008:8).

This Global Social Learning Framework detailed in Figure 2.3 creates a structure for a participatory and empowering process to develop knowledge, values and action-competences in harmony with a people's capability to participate more fully and more effectively in personal, organisational or societal issues. It focuses on how people know, what they know, how they organize their knowledge about the world and how they utilize this knowledge. These

'how's' resonate with Said and Giroux's Border Crossings: How do people learn? What do they want to know and learn? How can they transcend borders?

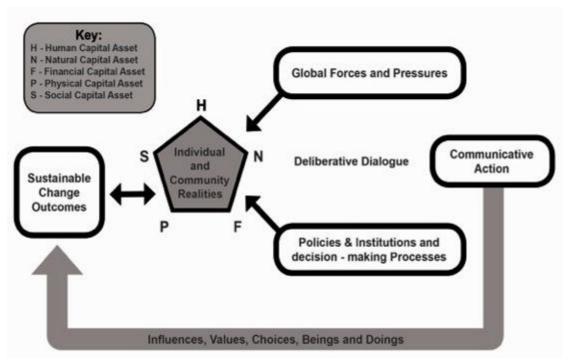


Figure 2.3 The Global Social Learning Framework

The starting point of my theoretical framework is the capital asset pentagon from the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. Being able to define what someone has puts him or her in a position of strength. It also acknowledges Said's and Sen's recognition of the importance of identities with all their multiplicities, dynamisms and pluralities. Knowing this enables someone to look over the dissonance wall or border and be able to consider another's perspectives.

At the centre of my framework is Deliberative Dialogue; a safe, social learning space for critical reflection and analysis of global pressures, forces and issues as well as of the policies, institutions and decision-making processes that

impact on local realities. This replaces the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework's acknowledgement of the importance of being able to access and influence the Policies, Institution and Processes that control or govern the capital assets one draws on, with a means and a 'how' to influence and access them.

From such a deliberative dialogue, opportunities result for communicative action and active engagement. This in turn influences the values, choices, beings and doings of collective capability, reducing vulnerability and strengthening resilience to change. In my diagram this interacts with the capital asset pentagon to reflect the cyclical nature of livelihoods and the continuous need for critical reflection. Through the following chapters, I will apply this framework to my research question:

What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?

In doing so, I detail my methodological considerations and the ethnographic approach to my research thus enabling me to capture the social change that occurred in Zanzibar as a result of my global social learning intervention. My research and findings draw on this framework to pull together a coherent picture of theory and praxis that illustrate the relevance of Global Learning to social change towards sustainable livelihoods.

Chapter 3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I set out the methodological approach I used to answer my research question

'What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?'

The chapter is structured as follows: I begin by explaining the link between my research and a large European Aid project that funded and influenced the initial stages of my research. In the next section, I introduce and examine the methodological considerations to defend the participatory research paradigm providing a sound theoretical basis for its practical application. In doing so I pay particular attention to the theoretical underpinnings of participatory action research and how it complements global learning to justify my critical and reflexive research practice. I then detail the research process, focusing on the structure of the participatory action research, the research design methods, data collection tools, data analysis, and finally the ethical and praxis considerations and the lessons I learned through their application.

3.2. The Europe Aid project

Between 2008 and 2011, I was involved in an EU project (the project) with six partner countries across the global North and South. The project's focus was on

'food sovereignty'⁴ as a global issue with the aim of developing an innovative global learning pedagogical approach to increase awareness and positive action, grounded in praxis. I coordinated the research, design and piloting of a global learning programme aimed at rural development workers and community activists. The project aimed to move beyond traditional, sustainability-awareness approaches to engage in participatory action research as an emancipatory research approach and an educational, reflexive tool (Kemmis 2007). In practice it involved working with communities in the six partner countries to support the sustainable, social change they were aiming for (Kindon 2007). In doing so, the project combined research, learning, practice and analysis in a way that "affirms people's right and ability to have a say in decisions which affect them" (Reason and Bradbury 2006:10).

Through the project, I coordinated the partners' engagement in an ethnological approach to research and learning that was oriented to problem solving in social and organisational settings, in what Dewey (1916) conceived as learning from experience or 'learning by doing'.

This involved engaging in a holistic study that combined the use of secondary data and extensive fieldwork. The secondary data was gathered to provide an historical context and an analysis of the terrain, climate, habitat and socioeconomic conditions. Secondary data collection focused on other education, learning and empowerment approaches that resembled or complemented the projects goals. The fieldwork inquiry was appreciative, reflexive and identified examples of good and effective practice at a community level that contributed

⁴ Food sovereignty is the aim of a global peasants' movement called Via Campesina and defined through the Nyeleni Declaration. The project defined it as an individual and community right to nutritious food that is sustainably produced and traded.

towards an understanding of social change. This was achieved through collecting expressions of credible realities, combinations of social imaginaries (values and ideas) and material practices with the willingness to unlearn, to discover something new. This "...collective self-reflexive enquiry [would]...improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of those practices and the situations in which the practices are carried out... (Kemmis and McTaggart 1988: 5-6).

3.2.1. Focus of my Research

While this process involved representatives from each of the project partners, I engaged in a critical reflection of the learning and social change process that occurred during the development of this global learning programme. On completion of the Europe Aid project, I focussed directly on the associated changes that occurred through the delivery of the programme and the outcomes of its delivery in Zanzibar, Tanzania. It was my initial intention to extend my research to two small states involved in the project - Wales in the United Kingdom (UK) and Zanzibar in Tanzania. Unfortunately, the end of the project coincided with a series of severe UK and Welsh Government funding cutbacks and the Welsh participants were not able to engage further without external funding. The Welsh Government mandate of Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship was no longer a priority in adult or community education, and food sovereignty was not regarded as an important enough issue to spend constrained resources on.

Zanzibar, in contrast, did not pose any such problems and eight of the community activists and educationalists, which had participated in all the development and piloting of the global learning programme, agreed to continue

to participate in my research. This was then followed by a successful funding application to extend the project in Zanzibar, providing them and myself with a clear mandate to continue our collaboration. My research focus was Zanzibar and the social change that occurred because of the global learning programme, which I had developed and was facilitating.

3.2.2. Linking the Project to my Research

Participatory Action Research (PAR) framed the theoretical, methodological and pedagogical aspects of both the project and my research. As a learning approach and a research method it enabled credible research outcomes to be delivered in a highly relevant manner (Heron & Reason, 1997). In describing his work, Freire said - "by doing it, you learn to do it better, because putting this methodology into practice, you are creating methodology" (1982: 37). In doing so, I acknowledge the difficulties and challenges in its implementation, in particular the challenge of differentiating between learning and research as detailed in section 3.5.4 (Gaventa, 1993).

Both research and project focused on people "co-creating their realities through participation; through their experience; their imagination and intuition, their thinking and their action" (Reason 1998:262). I measured the effectiveness and ability of the European Aid project to achieve its stated goals and outcomes based on people's understandings and social change. I also engaged in a critical enquiry of the empowering transformative process that resulted from the facilitation of in-depth, multi-faceted understandings of complex livelihood issues in their real-life contexts (Pridmore and Rifkin 2001). Through the project, production of knowledge and action was relevant to the partner localities and their priorities. Whereas the European Aid project sought to "empower people at

a deeper level through a process of construction and using their knowledge" (Nieuwenhuys, 2004:210), the PAR involved a critically reflexive enquiry and analysis of this construction of knowledge during the project and for two years following. Via the PAR, I guided the participatory development of practitioners through the introduction of global learning. This was achieved by enabling them, as practitioners, to develop a conscious understanding of the 'history making' significance of their collective work at a local and a global level.

3.3. Methodological Considerations

Combining the role of practitioner and researcher throughout the research meant that extra consideration was given to the nature of my role in the research and also the nature of data to be collected. In terms of epistemology, I was actively involved, so my data and findings would be an inter-subjective product of my role as a researcher and practitioner. Ontologically, I considered the nature of being and an understanding of the impact of different factors, be they social, economic, situational, experiential, personal or political. To understand the rural realities and the changes that my research focused on, it was important to understand the congeries of historical realities of Zanzibar that had influenced and shaped them. Epistemologically, I had interactive links with the research participants through the PAR. I both researched and influenced practice and hence the critical enquiry. My findings were consequently influenced by my role as a practitioner and also by the virtue of my being a white British woman. I was aware that this posed a challenge to traditional distinctions between epistemology and ontology. While I was an external actor or outsider, I was aware of this and consequently conscious of the importance of adopting culturally acceptable practice and continually seeking to verify data

collected. Through adopting a PAR approach to the research, data was also collected and analysed by the other co-inquirers as participants engaging in a critical reflection of their learning, with my role varying between facilitator and co-inquirer in this process. What was known was inextricably linked with my interactions and this fusion required a critical investigation of the process to transform ignorance and misapprehensions into informed consciousness or conscientisation (Freire1970). I focus more on my dual role of facilitator and co-inquirer in Section 3.6

This essential component of my research was shaped by understanding how structures might be changed and what actions were required to effect change. I aimed to engage as a "transformative intellectual" - to peel away different forms of knowledge that lead to understanding of conflict and collective struggle, linking a "notion of historical understanding to elements of critique and hope" (Giroux 1988: 213).

Focussing on the process of change through PAR enabled me to adopt a role of critical inquirer and reduce the influence of my ethnicity and gender on the research. I achieved this through utilising an ethnographic approach to engage in the critical inquiry of knowledge development and change. This dialectical process of reflection, through the PAR enabled me to gain informed insights into the changes resulting from the global learning process. My epistemology assumed that knowledge, rooted in social relations of my research participants, was most powerful when produced collaboratively through action (Fine 2001). These orientations justify the importance of fieldwork and my ethnographic immersion through participatory action research to "provide rich, holistic insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature (that is, sights, sounds) of

the location they inhabit, through the collection of detailed observations and interviews" (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges 2008:512).

3.3.1. Critical Theory

The methodology for my research draws extensively on critical theory and reflexive practice. It involves informed and committed actions of those involved in the development action as well as shaping wider social formations, ideas, priorities and consciousness.

Critical theory combines the teachings of the social theorists and philosophers who linked philosophy to the human and social sciences, blending empirical concepts of truth morality and justice (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972; Habermas, 1972) with ideological consciousness and freedom (Lukács 1923 and Gramsci 1971). Through critical theory, my research combines explanation with understanding and structure with agency through a practical rather than an instrumental sense. Theory is defined as being critical when it seeks social transformation, "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (Horkheimer 1982: 244). As such, critical theory provides a practical and pluralist justification for my practical PAR approach to carrying out an enquiry of the social relationships between the research participants and me as inquirer.

Critical theory also justifies the duality of my role within the PAR, in particular with relation to the notions of first and second person understandings. Habermas (1984) and other critical theorists prioritise first and second person understanding and regard social enquiry on the 'explanatory perspective' or the problem-solving strategies through third party knowledge of impersonal consequences as 'technocratic'. Focusing on social change and transformation

through global learning necessitates a critical inquiry that incorporates a range of views of the complex realities of my research focus. This involves combining first person interpretations with second person practical knowledge. The 'know how' as a participant in dialogue provides an alternative perspective (Bohman, 2003, 2004) that can be related to third person knowledge and theory. Assuming the role of first and second person, the goal of my critical enquiry is to not "... control social processes or even to influence the decisions that agents make in any determinate sort of way [but]... to initiate public processes of self-reflection" (Habermas 1971:40-41).

Using PAR enables me to both facilitate and document a critical reflexive inquiry of the social-change process of individuals and their practices towards achieving sustainable livelihoods. In doing so I am able to perceive 'things' through other eyes, enabling an interpretation of how things are for the 'other' by seeing "another form of life in the categories of our own" (Bonham 1991:132). Using PAR, I intend to be able to understand just "how speaking and acting subjects acquire and use knowledge" (Habermas 1984:11). This involves focussing on the capability of speech and action to distinguish intuitively "between valid and invalid expressions" (Habermas 1990: 31) and to capture the "happening-ness of praxis" (Kemmis 2010:11). My research (through its nature of being people-orientated, with aspirations to be practical, explanatory and normative so as to identify the people, examine their social realities and achievable practical goals for social change) has "as its object, human beings as producers of their own historical form of life" (Horkeimer 1993:21). Consequently, through critical theory, my research question justifies PAR as my methodology to collect and analyse data.

In revisiting Habermas' (1972) theory of knowledge-constitutive interests I am also able to relate his pragmatic, practical forms of knowledge and reasoning to distinguish between technical, practical and emancipatory interest within my research. Whereas technical interest influences production, a desirable product and practical interest influences behaviour through reasoning, an emancipatory interest construes a critical construction and reconstruction in how people say, relate and do (Kemmis 2008). I see symmetry between an emancipatory interest and my empowering research focus and method. Seeking to connect public deliberation with the continuing development practice traditions from within echoes Kemmis' (2008) debate about praxis and the character of research into practice. He challenges the status quo of researcher versus practitioner and, like the critical theorists, suggests a duality of roles can enable the practitioner to improve their practice through participatory action research. Engaging in this duality of roles resonated with the European Union (EU) project I was involved in, linking to my doctoral research and what it was trying to achieve. It also legitimised my dual role as both a practitioner and a researcher, echoing Pridmore and Rifkin's (2001:285) aphorism: 'Information is knowledge; knowledge is power; sharing knowledge is empowerment'.

3.3.2. Duality of Research and Praxis

Being involved as both a researcher and a practitioner I had a first-person, critical relationship with the practice that I was seeking to influence through a second person, interpretive role. But to measure and record this my research approach should value contemplative life, but not from the side lines, and take cogniscence that the practice is in the 'doing' and not in contributing to a deliberation about power and social consequences.

Praxis is a term used by Aristotle (2003) to define the art of acting upon conditions one faces in order to change them. It deals with the disciplines and activities predominant in the ethical and political lives of people. Praxis can be defined as "action that is morally committed, orientated and informed by traditions in a field" (Kemmis 2008:4) in the Aristotelian sense - as 'history-making action' in that social formations, ideas and theories emerge from collective social praxis and this social action (praxis) makes history. Central to Aristotle's conceptualisation of praxis was the sense of knowing what one is doing in the 'doing' of it. He differentiated such conscious self-aware action from technical action or theoretical contemplation (Kemmis and Smith 2008). This is especially pertinent to my research methodology and how it influences social change. What actually happens when people act is a 'practical critical activity' (Bernstein 1971) in the context of social change. Adapting this to my research context, I defined praxis as action aimed at self-conscious change of individual circumstances and collective conscious change of collective circumstances.

My research focuses on the drivers of such practical critical activity, as the process of change, through increased consciousness leading to collective praxis of dialogue and the 'happening-ness' of practice. The 'sheer actuality' (Arendt cited in Dunne 1993) of praxis, in which knowledge is not apart from action, is what Bernstein (1971:11) referred to as "practical critical" activity in the context of social change. This ethnographic acknowledgement of the potential duality of practitioners and researchers (as action researchers and praxis-related researchers endogenous to the 'happening-ness' of praxis that transforms the way praxis happens) is how I frame the participatory action research methodology.

3.3.3. Participatory Action Research

From the perspective of both the project and my research, PAR is seen as an emancipatory praxis, a critical enquiry that seeks to facilitate social change through enabling an empowering process of critical enquiry, reflection and action. Bogdan and Biklen (1992: 223) define it as, 'the systematic collection of information that is designed to bring about social change". They associate it with traditions of citizens' action and community organizing where the practitioner is actively involved in the cause for which the research is conducted. In relation to the PAR I engaged in a systematic investigation with the collaboration of those affected by the issue being studied, for the purposes of learning, action and social change (George, Green and Daniel 1996).

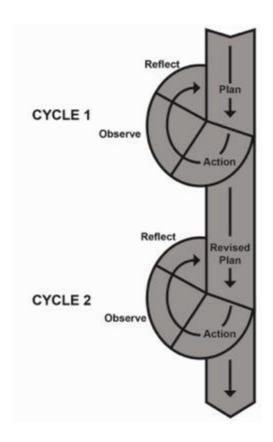
While different from hermeneutic approaches of ethnography that I also utilized in my research, PAR shares its qualitative ability to establish verifiable knowledge claims and this enabled me to analyse the social change that occurred as a result of the development and delivery of the global learning process. Through PAR, I contributed to and analysed the improvement of social practice and the links between knowledge-production and social justice (Kemmis, McTaggart and Benhabib 2005). In so doing my subject matter, method and political intent are mutually constitutive in accordance with critical theory and critical pedagogy.

In order to research the process of social change through learning it is important to differentiate between my methodology and action research in that it is 'with' rather than 'on' the research subjects as a distinct, lone activity. Engaging in the PAR I saw it, "not as a 'method' or 'procedure' for research, but as a series of commitments to observe and problematise through practice, a series of

principles for conducting social enquiry" (McTaggart 1996:248). As a process of critical enquiry, PAR encapsulates both relevance and rigour through production and analysis of knowledge that can guide practice, with the modification of a given reality occurring as an integral part of the research process. Throughout the PAR my critical enquiry consists of iterative cycles of planning, action, reflection and replanning to focus on what Pettigrew (1985) refers to as a contextualist and processual transformation that takes into consideration the multifaceted dimensions of social change as well as the external and conceived factors that influence it. This cyclical nature enables a continual process of communicative action, practical knowledge and know-how underlying such basic human competences as speaking and understanding, judging and acting "embodied in cognition, speech and action" (Habermas 1984:10).

PAR "embraces principles of participation and reflection, and empowerment and emancipation of groups seeking to improve their social situation" (Seymour-Rolls and Hughes, 2002:1). As an approach, it involves creating critical consciousness, which aligns it with my discussions regarding global learning and communicative action in my previous chapter. Primarily it is regarded as an empowering approach that supports knowledge development through social construction and the accumulation of power by those who control knowledge creation. New ways of knowing are supported through the four stages of the PAR cycle as illustrated in Figure 3.1 and detailed in tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Figure 3.1 Cyclical Nature of the Participatory Action Research



- Planning Critical examination of issues to identify and agree how to achieve desired change (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988).
- Action/Doing Implementation of plans to address desired change.
 "This action will be deliberate and strategic" (Grundy, 1986: 28).
- Observation The effects of planned changed are observed and researched in the context of the situation simultaneously with the actions (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988).
- Reflection Examination, construction, evaluation and reconstruction of achievements, challenges, concerns and desired changes to re-plan the actions (Grundy, 1986).

PAR distinguishes itself from other research methods in that the actions are happening in reality and not as an experiment and I consider how I apply this approach in the next section. The purpose of PAR was to enable the

participants in each cycle to engage in a critical reflection of the process and inform the subsequent cycle.

3.4. The Cycles of Change

The PAR of the social transformation resulting from each cycle of change involved participatory examination and reflection on issues of concern and solutions proposed and developed by the participants and other actors. Adopting this dynamic and responsive approach, subject to a cyclical process of reflection and self-evaluation, enabled me to follow, measure and analyse the participants' progress towards self-determined goals, reshaping their plans and strategies accordingly, generating illumination, and actualising liberation and empowerment. Each cycle was collaborative and involved a critical examination in order to understand and challenge the constraints and nurture the drivers that affected partners' and participants' ability to change their perceptions. The constraints and changes were analysed using a combination of thematic and critical discourse analysis. In doing so, this critical enquiry process sought to build Stringer's (1999) basic phases into each step:

- Look building a picture and gathering information. When evaluating
 define and describe the problem to be investigated and the context in
 which it is set. Also, describe what all the participants (educators, group
 members, managers etc.) have been doing.
- **Think** interpreting and explaining. When evaluating, analyse and interpret the situation. Reflect on what participants have been doing.
- Act resolving issues and problems. In evaluation, judge the worth, effectiveness, appropriateness and outcomes of those activities. Act to formulate solutions to any problems (Stringer 1999:18,43-44 and160).

This took place over a period of four years as illustrated in table 3.1 below. The architecture of each cycle varied slightly as detailed in this table. Table 3.1 illustrates the relationship between PAR as my approach and how each cycle was framed. The first cycle of change was structured around the appreciative inquiry, the second and third cycles around the global learning programme with a critical reflection on the sustainable change outcomes structured around photovoice. Each of the cycles of change differed in length, content and focus, bound by a shared assessment of the links between content, context and processes of transformation, differential achievements and movement towards communicative action (Habermas 1984, Pettigrew 1985). The research activities and data analysis for each of the three cycles are summarised in table 3.1

Table 3.1 Cycles of Change Approach, Methodology, Data Collection and Analysis

Approach	Methodology	Data Collection	Data analysis	
Participatory Action	Appreciative Inquiry	Photovoice	Participatory Activities ⁵	Qualitative Analysis
Research (PAR)	(First Cycle of Change)	(Second and third		Methods
		Cycles of Change)		
Planning	Best of What Is Identification of best practice	Identification of		
		Community Issue	Participatory focus	
			group discussions	
	What Might Be: Identification of appropriate	Participant recruitment		
	alternatives, adaptations	training and engagement		Thematic Analysis
	What Should Be:	Framing questions for		
	Analysis of information to propose viable	photographic	Semi structured	
	adaptations	assignment	Interviews	Ranking Analysis
	What Can Be:			
	Development of plans of action for change			
Action	Global Learning Program development	Photographic evidence	Participatory Action	Critical Discourse
		of assets and/ or social	Learning activities	Analysis

⁵ Participatory Action Learning Activity in Appendix 3

		change		
Observation	Best of What Is: Identification of best practice	Discussion and analysis		
		of findings	Participatory focus	Ranking analysis
			group discussions	
	What Might Be: Identification of appropriate	Presentation of	Semi Structured	Thematic analysis
	alternatives, adaptations	Photovoice Findings	Interviews	
				Critical Discourse
				analysis
Reflection		Identification of Key	Participatory Focus	Critical Discourse
	What Should Be:	Influences	group discussions	Analysis
	Analysis of information to propose viable			Ranking Analysis
	adaptations			Thematic analysis
Re-Planning		Creation of plans of	Participatory focus	Discourse analysis
		Action for change	group discussions	,
				Thematic analysis

Table 3.2 Cycles of Change Gant Chart

Cycle of	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q6	Q	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16
change	1	2	3	4	5		7									
1.Research		Арр	reciat	ive In	quiry											
and							C+br									
Development								nogra								
of Global							phy									
Learning																
Programme																
2.Delivery of																
Global									GLP							
Learning										1						
Programme									Phot	0						
and									voice)						
Development																
of Global																
Social																
Change																
Outcome																
3.Social											GL	P		G:	SL	
Change																
towards														Photo	voice	
Sustainability																

3.5. The Research Process

I have been working with rural communities in Zanzibar for 25 years as a practitioner and ethnographer and, fluent in Kiswahili, I am confident in my ability to situate and place control of my research within the community activity systems. This enables me to ensure the continued relevance of my research in relation to the local realities of Zanzibar. My research took place over a period of four years focusing on the transformation of intricate connections between social, historical, political and personal contexts that determine social change as a result of global learning. The contextual setting for my research is established by an ethnographically thick description of Zanzibar. I will describe this before moving to the PAR to describe how I frame, gather and analyse my research findings. Throughout my research, I define participants as those who were directly involved in the second and third cycles of change and actors as everyone else.

3.5.1. Ethnographic Enquiry

My ethnographic enquiry provides a 'thick description' of Zanzibar and of the rural realities of my research area. More specifically, the ethnography describes the wider social, political and environmental contexts that the rural communities exist in, their ideational systems (values, beliefs and attitudes), their behaviours and the influence of historical events and processes on their lived in realities.

Through this ethnographic enquiry I sought to learn as much as possible about the rural realities in the research locality, to be able to understand them, the connections between them and to be able to situate them in their historical, political, social and environmental context. This involved drawing on secondary

data collection and analysis and engaging in fieldwork. The secondary data collection involved availing myself of as much information that existed and was accessible on Zanzibar regarding rural livelihoods and socio-political and economic contexts, before engaging in primary data collection through field work. This involved sourcing and reviewing the following:

- Scholarly articles and publications
- Media publications
- Archival and statistical data collected by the Government and administration
- Records and data collected by other entities such as international agencies
- Personal and individual data from biographies, auto-biographies and journals

Through secondary data collection and thematic analysis, using a combination of online and hardcopy sources, I was able to gain additional insight, explore my research assumptions and identify gaps in what was currently known in terms of the 'what's' and the 'how's'. Included in the secondary data was previous research I had carried out in Zanzibar and the appreciative inquiry carried out in the first cycle of change and detailed in section 3.5.5.

My ethnographic fieldwork took place over a period of six months during the first cycle of change, on completion of the Appreciative Inquiry in Zanzibar, drawing extensively on my longstanding relationship with Zanzibar, my understanding of the local culture and my fluency in Kiswahili. This enabled my enquiry to be immersed personally in the on going social activities (Wolcott 1995), I engaged in a livelihoods analysis of capital assets in the rural communities of North

Zanzibar. This was a thematic analysis with themes predetermined by the five capital assets.

I engaged in a series of situational observations to place my study participants in socio-cultural contexts that had meaning for them. This involved me engaging in focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews in community based setting such as sitting with young people after school, with fishermen while they mended their nets, with women weaving and young men 'hanging out'. These group discussions were arranged through liaising with school head teachers and Shehas (village leaders) who helped to post notices and inform as many people as possible about the date, time and venue of meetings. In this way my sample was random with a purposive aspect in that the meetings were aimed at specific sectors of society: men, women, boys, girls and elders (men).

This involved repeated participation rather than just observations, conversations and structured interviews. This meant that my interviews and discussions with these different groups were semi-structured with checklists of areas to cover rather than a series of questions or an interview script. In some instances, I followed the respective groups' train of thought directing themselves towards cultural phenomena most meaningful to them and their communities. This also enabled me to remain neutral and to ensure the cultural relativity of the context rather than my findings are skewed by my personal perception. To understand Zanzibar and its complexity it is important to capture the "social meanings" of people in "naturally occurring settings" and the links between knowledge and power (Ybema, Yanow, Wels and Kamsteeg 2009:15).

To measure the effectiveness of my ethnography I used the five criteria developed by Gubrium and Holstein (cited in Richardson 2000:254) and kept these as a checklist throughout my ethnographic data collection:

- Substantive Contribution: Does my ethnography contribute to an understanding of social life in Zanzibar?
- Aesthetic Merit: Does my ethnography succeed aesthetically? By this, I
 mean does it aid in the expression and communication of an overarching
 theme or set of ideas.
- Reflexivity: Do I illustrate adequate self-awareness and self-exposure for the reader to make judgments about the point of view?
- *Impact*: Does this affect the reader emotionally and/or intellectually?
- Expresses a Reality: Does it provide a credible account of a cultural, social, individual or communal sense of the 'real'?

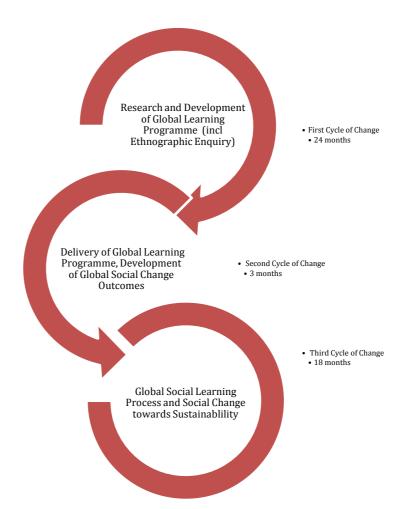
3.5.2. Ethnographic Data Collection and Analysis

I chose a variety of ethnographic data collection methods that were participatory and allowed the establishment of a chain of evidence forwards and backwards. I focussed on the 'how's and whys' of the social changes and their respective social dynamics thus allowing the participants' voices to be heard. I combined semi-structured interviews (which I also refer to as focussed conversation) with different sectors of rural coastal society. Analysis was predominantly thematic with some ranking, as detailed in Section 3.4.7 and 3.4.8.

3.5.3. The Participatory Action Research

As a practitioner and researcher, I engage in a reflexive practice and critical enquiry spiral of three distinct cycles of change, as illustrated in Fig 3.2 below:

Figure 3.2 The Spiral of three Cycles of Change



- 1. The first cycle of change is a situational analysis that focuses on the research and development of the global learning programme through the Europe Aid project. During this cycle, an ethnographic, thick description of Zanzibar and the communities the second cycle of change focuses on was also carried out.
- 2. The second cycle of change involves engaging the actors in the PAR through the global learning programme and pedagogy and the resultant global social change outcomes.

3. The third cycle of change focuses on evaluating the global social learning and changes that resulted from the actors disseminating their learning from the global learning programme.

3.6. A Facilitating Co-inquirer

During the different cycles of change, whereas the participants in the research cycles, were both co-researchers and also co-subjects, I was both inquirer and facilitator. According to academic texts, the duality of these two roles is referred to as co-inquirer or action inquirer (Heron and Reason, 2006; 2008). What is important is an understanding of the underlying theories that underpinned my inquiry. As detailed in Section 3.3.1, my research methodology was underpinned by critical theory. I engaged in a spiral cycle of steps through three cycles of change, each consisting analysis, fact-finding, conceptualization, planning and evaluation of results, all of which were conducted simultaneously to understand local realities and generate new knowledge and understanding.

The research was with the participants rather than on them with an awareness of the sensitivities and reflexivities required. Reflexivity consists both of reflection on action and reflection in action. Consequently, reflexive practice provides a meaningful way for participants to gain genuine understanding through processes that "involves first, a state of doubt, hesitation, perplexity, mental difficulty from which thinking originates, and second, an act of searching, hunting, inquiring to find material that will resolve the doubt and dispose of the perplexity" (Dewey 1933: 12), while allowing participants to evaluate the significance of their experiences within their context (Gustavsen 1992).

The focus on shared group experience provides the platform for learning whilst participating in the process of change (Gustavsen 1996). "To experience anything is to participate in it, and to participate is both to mould and to encounter, hence experiential reality is always subjective-objective" Herron and Reason (1997:5)

The quality and degree of the my, as the inquirer, reflexivity as a sociological instrument was critically important in order for me to be able to validate and account for, rather than minimise, my impact on the realities being examined. As a facilitator/ trainer/ co-inquirer, through reflexive practice I was able to link experience, interpretation and subsequent action.

Autonomy and cooperation were also both necessary and mutually enhancing values as my role of facilitator, trainer or researcher were reversed and combined at the same time The idea is that those involved are active cosubjects, participating with awareness in the activity being researched (Reason, 1994). According to Reason and Bradbury (2001) such a cooperative approach brings together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others in the pursuit of practical solutions,

Through the cycles of change all involved engaged together in deliberative dialogue as co-researchers in reflecting on the changes and as co subjects engaging in the action and experience the research focused on. As Kindon et al (2007:13) argue, 'such a perspective opens up spaces for different forms of knowledge generation through methodological innovation and political action'.

However, just as the inquirers' values and traditions come under critical scrutiny, equally so do those of the facilitator and his/her aims. In order to ensure rigour

and validity, all dialogue was adopted as a collaborative rather than an adversarial exchange which ought to reflect a zero-sum game. The purpose of dialogue was understood (a process of sense-making) rather than attaining 'instrumental' achievement, so that consensus over any issue and recommendations concerning ways forward represented a common interest arising from constraint-free consensus (Habermas 1979).

Facilitating such dialogue allows for the emergence of a collective insight, a collective wisdom, a non-confrontational way of solving problems and change of perspective (Gerard and Teurfs 1997). From this perspective, the pursuit of change is a recursive process of social construction in which new realities are created, sustained and modified in the process of communication, conversation and dialogue (Habermas' 1984).

Ultimately my combined role as researcher and facilitator was not just data collection but learning, empowerment and action too (Kindon et al, 2007). Data collected during the cycles of change was either a reflection on learning and changes that occurred during the global learning programme or the social changes that occurred as a result of participating in the programme. In this way the research was able to understand how and when changes occurred at individual and collective levels.

3.7. Methodological Considerations

The realities of the research include a high time cost related to participation, high dependence on qualitative data, a range of potential methods, potential errors in quantitative data collection and insufficient data analysis techniques and procedures (Gaventa 2003).

In order to address these challenges, through each cycle of change, global learning pedagogy supported an action learning approach. This aimed to improve actors' skills and confidence when participating in the planning, actions, observations, reflections and re-planning of each cycle.

A purposive sample of key representatives from diverse backgrounds related to rural development and education were involved in each cycle of change. This included the planning and development of actions and the instigation of the research agenda. There was a funnelling aspect to this in that a global community of rural development practitioners and educationalists were involved in the development of the learning programme. Furthermore, a national community of rural development practitioners andeducationalists participated in the global learning programme and a national and regional community of rural development practitioners and educationalists participated in the Global Social Learning, as illustrated in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3 Actors Participating in Each Cycle

Actors	Cycle of Change			
Rural Development Practitioners and	Development of global learning			
Educationalists from UK, Italy, Ecuador,	programme			
Peru, Senegal and Zanzibar				
Rural Development Practitioners and	2. Delivery and participation in the global			
educationalists from Zanzibar and the UK	learning programme			
(me)				
Rural Development Practitioners and	3. Participation in global social learning			
educationalists from UK (me), Zanzibar				
and North Region				

Within each cycle of change, the actors participated alongside each other to collaborate in planning actions, observations, reflection and re-planning,

addressing opportunities and constraints. This process of critical enquiry was driven explicitly by a concept of self-determination and collaboration with an unambiguous value orientation towards global learning. Analysis of the social changes that occurred was also collaborative in nature with actors, in each cycle of change, exchanging perspectives, moderating individual biases and agendas.

I adopted the role of critical friend in order to facilitate reflections on linking local realities with global pressures and forces. Through this research approach, where the researcher is placed in the position of co-learner, community participation is accentuated through analysis and translation of research findings into action for education and change. Consequently, qualitative thematic analysis of outcomes was achieved through consensus and the agreed outcomes were used as indicators to assess subsequent actions. Quantitative data collected focused on attitudinal change and bias in relation to these agreed outcomes. How this was achieved is detailed in section 3.5, Data Collection.

Ultimately, utilising a PAR approach, my research "centres on community strengths and issues" and "explicitly engages those who live in the community in the research process" (Hall 1981:14). The active involvement of people in each phase and the shared commitment fostered through this approach resonated with the social change I was seeking to influence - in particular, the blurring of roles of the researcher and the researched (Freire 1982).

"Through processes that accent the wealth of assets that community members bring to the process of knowing and creating knowledge and acting on that knowledge to bring about change." (Wallerstein 1999:42).

PAR is an approach that guides the research process but does not prescribe the methods. Therefore, a range of methods can be used in pursuit of its transformatory aims (Seng, 1998). This diversity of data-gathering methods is one of PAR's strengths when working in international settings. A major challenge of working internationally, either to conduct research or implement interventions, is being fully aware of local issues and how they are understood (e.g., Shweder, 1997). I combine appreciative inquiry and photovoice, as the PAR methodology to enable me to fully combine my role as a reflexive practitioner and a critical enquirer into the social realities and complexities of Zanzibar. The PAR is framed by appreciative inquiry to identify globally relevant good practice amongst the project partners and to inform development of the global learning programme and photovoice. Its aim is to 'take stock' of the current situation and determine and analyse desired goals from each of the participants' perspectives.

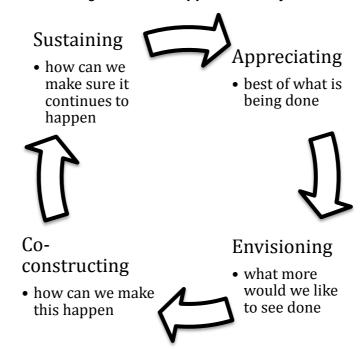
3.7.2. Appreciative Inquiry

Appreciative Inquiry is a PAR approach designed to build on positive experiences. It encourages constructive questions about what works and why and "focuses on building, improving and regenerating and not on recording, reporting and justifying" (Tiernan 2007:5). Developed in the early 1990s by David Cooperrider at Case Western Reserve University, Appreciative Inquiry (AI) turns the problem-solving approach on its head by focussing on a community's achievements instead of its deficits. This enables a re-thinking of how to analyse achievement and progress. AI provides a mechanism for

practitioners to move beyond traditional problem-centred methods (such as participatory problem and needs assessment) to identify and build on achievements and existing strengths within a community, establish consensus around a shared vision of the future, and construct strategies and partnerships to achieve that vision. Al is rooted in a philosophical belief that the past successes of individuals, communities, and organizations are the basis for future success.

Al's were carried out in the six partner localities of the EU project to formulate a grounded observation of the 'best of what is'. I had responsibility for the coordination of the research in each locality and specific responsibility for the research in Wales and Zanzibar. The project partners then collaboratively applied vision and logic to articulate 'what might be' and 'what should be' in terms of the global learning programme content and structure, collectively experimenting and piloting with 'what can be' to finalise the programme. This was done with the caveat that continuous learning and adjustments should continue as new information, perspectives and community strengths are discovered. This is summarised in Figure 3.3 below.

Figure 3.3 The Appreciative Cycle



As a strategy for purposeful change, Al identifies the best of 'what is' to pursue dreams and possibilities of 'what could be.' Through this cooperative approach the EU project and I used Al to identify the strengths and potential for inspired, positive change. As a collaborative form of inquiry, there was a common research and analysis framework. (see Appendix 1). The Al was based on interviews and affirmative questioning to collect good and positive stories and practices that enhance cultural identity, spirit and vision. Through this approach local people use their understanding of 'the best of what is' to construct a vision of what their community might be if they identify their strengths, then improve or intensify them. It is a process of continuous learning, adjustment and improvisation in the service of shared community ideals. The momentum and potential for innovation is high as there is a collective vision of the future, enabling a collaborative approach to realigning work to co-create a shared future (Bushe 2007). There are four steps to the appreciative approach in my first cycle of change, as set out in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4 Appreciative Inquiry Steps to my Research

Appreciative Inquiry Steps	My Research Response				
Appreciating: Best of What Is	I developed a research framework to capture				
	excellence and achievement in the six localities:				
	Wales, UK; Italy; Peru; Ecuador; Senegal and Zanzibar				
Envisioning: What Might Be	Visioning based on findings of what the project sought				
	to achieve based on good practice identified				
Co-constructing: What	Collation and analysis to determine structure, approach				
Should be	and content of the global learning programme				
Sustaining: What Can Be	Development of the structure and content of the global				
	learning programme, piloting of it in each of the partner				
	countries to ensure continuous learning and				
	adjustment until collective and collaborative agreement				
	is reached and the programme finalised				

The cycle is continuous as with each reflection and review new strengths are identified, which takes the process back to the appreciation step. This process and the findings are detailed in the next chapter. The other PAR methodology I drew on was photovoice, which I discuss next.

3.7.3. Photovoice Research Methodology

Photovoice is a participatory data collection and analysis tool founded in a history of auto ethnographic approaches and activism. Auto-ethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand cultural experience. "This approach challenges canonical ways of doing research and representing others, and treats research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act" (Ellis 2011:1). Photovoice provides actors with an opportunity to take photographs, discuss them collectively, and use them to identify personal and/or community assets and or change (Linnan et al 2001). It is based on an

assumption that people, as actors, are experts in their own lives and values. It was developed in 1995 by Caroline Wang and her colleagues as a way for rural women in China to communicate important health messages to policy makers. It adopts Freire's (1970) 'education for critical consciousness' approach in which actors consider and seek to act upon the institutional, social and political conditions that contribute to personal and community issues. It expands forms of representation and the diversity of voices that shape and influence social and political realities. This process of creating visual images can be empowering, as group dialogues can affirm individuals' collective struggles and insights (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1988).

Photovoice, as a research methodology, created an opportunity for the participants to take photographs that illustrated community issues or priorities and present them in a group discussion. This empowering process enabled critical reflection on individual and community strengths, facilitated critical dialogue, and provided an opportunity and safe space to share knowledge about individual and community issues. The result was a forum for the exchange of local realities, lived in experiences and priorities, through self-identified images, language and context. Learning was facilitated through participating in an interactive process of developing and constructing meaning through experience.

Using photovoice involves a series of steps or procedures that include: Identification of issues or concerns of importance; recruitment of participants; distribution of and training to use cameras; identification of photo assignments; discussion of photo assignment; individual and collaborative analysis;

prioritising of issues captured in the photographs; identification of key influences and, finally, development of plans of action for change.

I provided disposable cameras to participants to enable them to record and reflect on their strengths, priority issues and changes through photographic evidence. Photo discussions were initiated through a review of previous findings and discussions to enable and promote critical dialogue from a community perspective. I analysed photos during individual discussions by contextualizing root-cause questions to understand the photograph's story as illustrated in Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5 Photograph Story Questions

- 1. What issue/ strength/ change does the photo illustrate?
- 2. What is happening in the photo?
- 3. How does this relate to local livelihoods?
- 4. Why does this issue/strength/change exist?
- 5. How has this affected local livelihoods?
- 6. What would you like to happen as a result of this?

This process involved exploring, formulating and interpreting themes. Themes were either predetermined through previous discussions which were then revised and validated or emerged from the photographic analysis.

Photovoice is designed to empower actors to develop and acquire skills to advocate for change and engage with decision and policy makers. It is based on the understanding that images express what participants perceive to be significant, enabling them to define their priorities individually and collectively and influence change. It does not require literacy skills and provides a unique opportunity for participants to enhance individual power through photographing variables of community issues, strengths and changes, participating in

discussions to collectively identify common themes and prepare plans of action for change (Mannay 2013).

I used photovoice initially to identify what capital assets and strengths my research participants felt were in existence in their communities, and then asked, "Why does this situation exist? How can we build on it to influence sustainable livelihoods?"

I also used photovoice with the participants to identify social change that had occurred as a result of the Global Social Learning. Each time I followed the steps detailed in Table 3.6 below

Table 3.6 Photovoice Process

- 1. Identification of community issue
- 2. Participant recruitment, camera distribution and training
- 3. Framing questions for photographic assignment
- 4. Photo assignment discussion
- 5. Data analysis
- 6. Presentation of photovoice findings
- 7. Identification of key influences
- 8. Creation of plans of action for change

In practice, each of the research participants, once provided with a disposable camera, recorded a pictorial representation of their everyday realities and community assets. The actors each kept one copy of their photographs and I retained a second copy. The pictures taken were discussed in individual and group contexts, and used to promote a critical group dialogue about personal community issues and assets. Use of this multimodal methodology took the emphasis away from me, as the researcher, and placed it on each of them as

interpreters and experts in their respective communities. The actors (particiapants) are detailed in Chapter 6

For the second and third cycles this process was repeated, enabling the actors to better understand how they defined their sustainable change goals and the potential of their strategic plans. It assisted them to determine how their involvement in community life affected their communities and to identify future strategies for sustainable community and social change.

I developed some framing questions to serve as guidelines for the participants to identify subjects that were meaningful for them and to address their collective sustainable change outcomes. It was important that these questions were concise yet broad enough to allow the participants to explore and share their individual voices:

- What activities in your community best show an understanding of community empowerment and an appreciation of community assets (as defined by the sustainable livelihoods framework)?
- In what ways has the project supported the strengthening of these assets?
- What changes have been brought about through the project that you think will continue without external support?

In addition to photovoice I used a range of other participatory research methodologies to gather and analyse data during the PAR. These are detailed in the following section.

3.7.4. Participatory Data Collection Activities and Tools

Through the PAR and a combination of appreciative inquiry and photovoice methodologies, I used participatory action learning activities to deliver the

Global Learning Programme and collect data (see Appendix 2 and 3). When in group situations, these took the form of participatory focus group discussions to facilitate collective critical and reflexive dialogue on issues arising from the appreciative inquiry and photovoice. With individuals, I used semi-structured interviews and focused conversations to document and reflect on perceptions and data collected.

3.7.5. Participatory Action Learning

Participatory Action Learning (PAL) is a process of collective analysis and learning through engaging with each other (Chambers, 2007). It comprises of an ever-growing range of participatory and visual methods for shared dialogue and research. The tools can be and are used at varying stages of projects, from planning to evaluation, and they provide opportunities to promote the active participation of actors in the issues, interventions, pressures and forces that shape their lives. PAL is extremely effective in tapping into the unique perspectives of the rural poor and accessing their perspectives and ideas regarding the nature and causes of the issues that affect them and to develop realistic solutions (Kumar, 2002). In enabling local people to share perceptions, identify, prioritise and appraise issues from their knowledge and understanding a catalyst for change is enabled, in contrast to more traditional research which involves an extraction of information for analysis without any assurances of action. The range of PAL learning activities I developed and used in the Appreciative Inquiry and the PAR are included in Appendix 3.

3.7.6. Participatory Focus Groups

I facilitated a series of PAL activities with the groups during each cycle of change, using a range of participatory action learning activities instead of an interview guide. These varied throughout the PAR and are included in Appendix 2 and 3. I also observed the research participants facilitating focus groups with their focal interest communities during the third cycle of change.

These included focus groups with seven to ten interacting individual actors, drawn from the communities, having some common interest or characteristics (Guba and Lincoln 1994). I brought these individuals together with the aim of using the group and its interaction to gain information about specific issues. Each of the PAR cycles enabled me to capture perceptions and to observe the changes within the actors' learning and values via how they as individuals responded and what they shared from their individual and collective experiences.

I achieved this through creation of a safe space - a nurturing and permissive environment that encourages actors to voice and share their perceptions without prejudice or a need for consensus (Krueger 1988). These focus groups provided subjective and qualitative information regarding understanding change in awareness and praxis related to the sustainable change outcomes.

3.7.7. Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured Interviews are an attempt "to understand the world from the participants' point of view, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences [and] to uncover their lived world" (Kvale 1996:125). However, unlike conversations in daily life, semi-structured interviews are less about a reciprocal exchange and more about understanding the interviewees' responses and attitudes towards

an issue. Open questions are used within a framework to gain insight into interesting or unexpected findings. The open-ended and personal nature of the semi- structured interviews helped me to understand 'how and what' the participants perceived and what key elements they prioritised. I made audio recordings of all interviews and conversations. These were all conducted in Kiswahili. During the process I also took notes in English and then made extensive notes as partial transcriptions, documenting the relevant parts of the conservation. I carried out semi-structured interviews with my research participants individually at both the beginning and end of the second and third cycles of change. In total, I carried out forty eight semi structured interviews with the research participants (six with each).

3.8. Data Analysis

All of the data collected during the PAR was analysed by the participants collectively individually, and by myself. As all of the data qualitative, consequently so was the analysis. I used Seidel's (1998) simple model as it complemented the critical and reflexive approach. It consists of three parts - noticing, collecting, and thinking about interesting things. Each of these is interlinked and cyclical. Therefore, while I was thinking about things I would notice further things and collect them... Each of the data analysis methods I used provided participants and actors with straightforward, userfriendly tools for making credible and valid judgments and provided consistent patterns that are meaningful and facilitate comparison. The data collection tools assisted participatory analysis of the data to identify emerging themes and priorities through critical reflection and prioritizing using a range of visual ranking activities. Following Seidel, I would thematically code things that the

participants and or I noticed. This fragmented the data and enabled me to reconstruct and sort it according to theme. This model is illustrated in Figure 3.4 below.

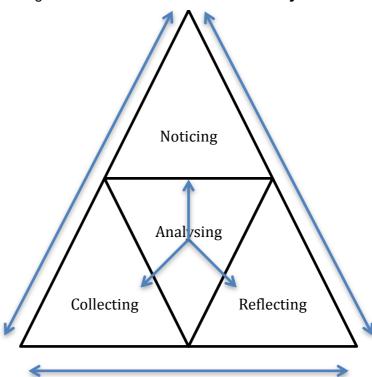


Figure 3.4 eidel's Qualitative Data Analysis Model

I combined this form of analysis with individual thematic coding, as critical analysis was a key aspect of the empowering process and the Global Social Learning I was investigating. These codes were either predetermined or emerged during the noticing phase of Seidel's model.

3.8.2. Ranking Analysis

I used three ranking tools to analyse relationships between data sets preference ranking, pairwise ranking and diamond ranking. I chose each of
them because of their ability to stimulate discussion around the critical
reflections being analysed. Participants' perceptions were scrutinised and

compared to explore and clarify value positions, feelings and thoughts regarding particular themes or ideas.

I used preference ranking (using different coloured sticky dots to signify importance, progress or deterioration (IISD, 1995)) with the photovoice activities, along with diamond ranking, so that the most significant assets or changes were identified. Participants decided on which elements to rank (such as three types of change) against criteria that they believed to be important, such as factors perceived to have led to the change. Scoring or ranking was done using sticky dots to provide a value for the items/ issues/ images being ranked.

I also used Pairwise Matrix Ranking (IIED1997) so that issues, concerns and changes were compared with each other to identify and analyse priority areas and themes. Every issue/ item is compared to every other according to a single criterion. The final ranking emerging is a simple tally of wins. Notes and information the participants or I recorded on flipchart sheets during focus group discussions were ranked and compared to every other item according to a single criterion. Results are visible throughout the activity and provide a way of ranking that do not cause embarrassment or resentment.

Diamond Ranking is traditionally recognised as a thinking skills tool (Rockett and Precival 2002) rather than a data analysis method. One of its strengths is that in ranking data, statements, images or items, there is a requirement to acknowledge the explicit overarching relationships by which knowledge is organised. Diamond ranking usually involves nine items/issues or images. Participants sort and rank them in a diamond formation, with the most important at the top and the least important at the bottom. See figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5 Diamond Ranking Template

Most

1

2

2

Middle

3

3

4

Least

5

3.8.3. Thematic Analysis

Data gathered through the first cycle was analysed by EU project partners including myself. During the second and third cycles of change, data was analysed collectively by the participants and individually by me through thematic ranking against predetermined themes in the case of the appreciative inquiry and livelihoods analysis, and emerging themes resulting from the Global Social Learning. To understand the meanings and the intent within the themes it was important that the analysis was carried out with someone who had knowledge of the social, cultural, political and economic contexts. Focus group and semi-

structured interview texts were analysed to identify clusters of words or phrases with interrelated meanings from a range of different contexts. The comments and phrases served as cues for thematic grouping against predetermined themes such as the sustainable change outcomes and themes that emerged from the group discussions.

3.8.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

I also used critical discourse analysis to facilitate this process. In particular, I used this method to analyse the transcripts from the photovoice interviews. Furthermore, I also applied linguistic and semiotic analysis to the texts' visual images. Analysis of these 'multimodal' texts (Kress & van Leeuwen 2000) enabled me to incorporate elements of 'context' into the analysis, to understand the relationships between innovation and change in texts, and to identify processes of social change on a broader scale. These included change in social practices and collaboration and the relationships between institutions and organisations. Changes in the order of discourse were also an indicator of social change. For example, understanding the impact of global pressures and forces could be attributed to what Giddens (1990) referred to as 'action at a distance' and the spatial 'stretching' of relations of power. Critical discourse analysis enabled me to recognise wider processes of social change from changes in the discourse. Changes I looked for can be defined as cues. These included

Presuppositions - things taken for granted, or points with which there
was an assumption of agreement

☐ Modal expressions – expressions that imply obligation, prohibition or
permission; words that presupposed, without specifying, certain values
and signified change

The significance and frequency of each were tracked and analysed in relation to predefined themes and grouped to identify emerging themes. Discourses included representations of what was and what had been as well as imaginaries or desired future scenarios of how things should or could be.

3.9. Consideration of Ethical Issues

Using an ethnological approach, my relationship as a professional and researcher with the participants was redefined. I became a collaborator and facilitator rather than an expert. As such I sought to learn about the participants through their culture, values and life struggles, ensuring that the process adhered to ethnography and PAR good practice in that it was:

- Democratic: enabling the participation of all people
- Equitable: acknowledging people's equality of worth
- Liberating: providing freedom from oppressive, debilitating conditions
- Life enhancing: enabling the expression of people's full human potential (Stringer 1999: 9-10).

I sought to work with the participants rather than advocate for them as a resource for the community. Through my long history of living and working in Zanzibar together and my local language skills I was able to be sensitive and adapt to the local setting. My intention was not to empower the participants but for them to be part of their process of empowerment, to engage with them in a process of comparative analysis and summative integration of insights, to capture their learning rather than impose existing theoretical models and to share and interpret their experiences.

The development and use of PAR reflected an ethical commitment to seeking to create conditions for social change at a community level (Freire 1982 and Lewin 1946). My analysis involved exploration of participatory ethics. I repositioned my understanding of ethics within the broader global context of local livelihoods and through the research I assumed a responsibility to address ethical questions of representation, political strategy and emotional engagement. I took great care not to engage in any tokenistic participation or illusion of consultation (Cooke and Kothari 2001) through use of participatory techniques, aiming rather for a commitment to working with the communities and the participants. I engaged in a negotiated process between people as co-collaborators working together on particular issues.

In terms of my research, I regarded PAR as a response to the exploitative research practices of outsiders using communities as laboratories. Throughout my research I held on to an "understanding that people ... hold deep knowledge about their lives and experiences, and should help shape the questions and frame the interpretations" (Torre and Fine 2006:458). I sought the permission of the actors and the eight participants involved, communities and associated organisations (see Appendix 5).

Where requested I have preserved the anonymity of individuals using pseudonyms. The moral basis of my research hinged on issues such as the free choice of participation for all involved, respect for their points of view and the information provided. I endeavoured to promote reciprocity (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001) as a guiding factor and to inculcate respect for my research. I reached agreement, with the participants, that was explicit regarding publication, confidentiality and consent of participation. Summaries were written

immediately after each group discussion and were reviewed with the participants for validation, which often included correction and comment. The process of ensuring that the interpretation and meaning were accurate acknowledged and validated local beliefs, thereby enhancing rigour (Mill & Ogilvie, 2003). Cycles of reflection and action with participants meant that validation of the research process and its findings are representative of rigour. I listened to and respected comments that may have disagreed with my interpretation of events. When taking notes during recorded interviews and sessions I would listen in Kiswahili, write in English and double-check, through intermittent summarising of my notes, that what I had written was what they had intended to say. Any recordings, audio and/or visual, were only made available to me, as transcriber /translator. Any recording of interviews had prior agreement with the interviewee and they were able to stop the recording at any time. Some of the participants talked about their photographs through written narrative. The photographs were therefore used as an aid to creating narrative and participants were always involved in assisting me to understand the meanings associated with their chosen images. A final ethical concern related to the dangers of voyeurism (Pink, 2003). There were some instances where subjects were clearly unaware of being observed and captured in a photograph. These images could have been regarded as voyeuristic as in many cases the participants did not know the subjects, and even if participants asked subjects for permission to photograph them they did not ask them to sign photo release forms.

Reimbursement or incentives was an additional ethical consideration with participants and actors. I was particularly concerned with the importance of voluntariness of participation, but I have been unable to find any clear guidance

on this topic. The participants in the appreciative inquiry, the ethnography and the third cycle of change were not compensated as I did not want to interfere with their consent with an inducement or to commodify or coerce the research process.

The provision of allowances and stipends for attending meetings and training has become common for many interventions. Most NGOs in Zanzibar compensate community members for the opportunity cost of time attending meetings. While stipends were provided for attending the GSL activities, but the subsequent meetings were not compensated for and this proved to be controversial, especially when Bingwa were late for meetings and communities began to begrudge their time and their workload. This resulted in discussions between the various actors and the importance of ethical considerations and valuing people's time.

3.10. A Reflection on the Critical Research Process

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of my epistemology and methodological considerations. I have discussed the research process and my use of ethnography, participatory action research, appreciative inquiry and photovoice as approaches and methodologies. I have set out and described my main data collection methods and my use of a range of participatory analysis tools together with thematic and critical discourse analysis. What is clear is how the notion of being critical and participatory is integral to every aspect of this PAR. I have drawn extensively on the School of Critical Theory to demonstrate the links between my methodology and the key influences and concepts that

underpin my research question. In providing a summary of my data collection phases and the ethical considerations regarding my research I have also highlighted the values of pluralism, self-determination, space for a deliberative dialogue, and informed choices and decision making.

In the following chapters I detail my research findings and analysis. This begins with the first cycle of change, the research and development of the global learning programme, followed by an ethnographic account of Zanzibar, a 'thick description' of the rural realities and the historical, social and political contexts. This chapter sets the context for the delivery of the global learning programme in Zanzibar (detailed in Chapter 6) the Second Cycle of Change and Chapter 7, the Second Cycle of Change that reflects on the global social learning process and sustainable change outcomes.

Chapter 4. **Developing a Global Learning Programme:**

The First Cycle of Change

4.1. Introduction

This chapter reflects on the first cycle of change of the participatory action research (PAR) spiral of my research over a period of twenty four months. It provides a critical reflection on the development of the global learning process that I coordinated through the Europe Aid Project (EU Project) and the learning that occurred. The chapter identifies the issue from a project perspective. It establishes the aspirations and goals of the project partners and then engages in an appreciative inquiry in order to evaluate what can be shared from existing good practice in rural development and learning from six countries. It culminates with the development of a transformative, global learning process towards sustainable livelihoods focusing on food sovereignty.

I framed this 'cycle of change' within the PAR spiral with a series of subquestions that feed into my overall research question:

What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?

The sub-questions for this cycle of change, which I discuss later in the chapter, were:

1. What knowledge, skills, values and attitudes can lead to enhanced collaboration, adaptation or conversely to failures in sustainable food systems?

- 2. What kinds of approaches, methods and concepts have been successful in enabling social justice, equity and ecological sustainability?
- 3. How does collaboration enhance social learning and adaptation, and how is it enhanced by increased global consciousness?

The goal of the EU project was to research and develop an innovative global learning process using PAR to combine existing good practice in rural development and learning that sought to empower individuals and communities to engage in food sovereignty⁶. This was achieved through an appreciative inquiry that related examples of good practice with how communities in the Global North and South empower themselves through collaboration and conscientisation. I identified effective mechanisms that increase awareness and understanding of global social justice and/or equity in order to support sustainable food systems.

My professional challenge was to combine elements of this good practice, from a range of perspectives, so as to develop an effective and appropriate learning mechanism targeted at rural development practitioners and educationalists, that brought together a range of food and nutrition-linked issues at a local and a global level, highlighting their interdependence and interconnectedness. My academic challenge was to measure the learning and empowerment that occurred through this process. Through the EU project the development of the global learning programme was influenced by, and drew on, the experiences of six countries, two in the EU and four in the global South⁷. As detailed in the

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⁶ The term 'food sovereignty' drew on a global movement of the same name and referred to an individual and collective right to access nutritious food that was sustainably produced and sustainably traded.

previous chapter, engaging in participatory action research complemented this programme, enabling me to maintain dual roles of practitioner and researcher. This chapter provides a critical enquiry into and reflection on the development of the global learning programme and is structured around the cyclical process of PAR as described in Chapter 3.

4.2. Identification of Issues

The EU project partners from rural development and development education organisations in the UK, Italy, Peru, Ecuador, Senegal and Tanzania first came together in 2009 to meet and identify a set of assumptions and desired skill and value sets from their respective perspectives. In doing so the project partners, of whom I was one, determined the systems and topics we sought to address and what we wanted to find out, as illustrated in table 3.1

Table 4.1 Systems and Topics to be Addressed

Who were we?
Why were we involved?
What issues were we planning to address?
What needed to be done?
What had other groups done?
What should we be doing?
How should we do it?

As project partners we discussed the different situations and contexts we were all working in and developed a specific set of assumptions about what was occurring and what we were able to achieve.

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⁷ Italy, Wales(UK), Peru, Ecuador, Senegal and Zanzibar(Tanzania)

We introduced our organisations' comparable work in global, social justice and sustainable food systems through education and development practice. Discussion led us to a focus on power and agricultural policies and the interrelated roles of communities, individual states and global decision-making bodies. There was a collective view that the main factors in the failure of sustainable community empowerment were tokenistic participation, multiple interests, dispersed knowledge and lack of social negotiation. The project partners agreed that this required a means to unlock creative forces of cooperation and adaptation within the multi-dimensional complexity of rural poverty systems. At the outset the EU partners defined the goal of the project through global learning as 'realised, critical thinking about social, cultural, economic, political and environmental issues, from a variety of perspectives and contexts.' This enabled informed social negotiation and a consolidation of knowledge from multiple interests towards food sovereignty.

4.3. Establishing Aspirations and Goals

Through the project we defined food sovereignty as an individual and collective right to nutritious food that was sustainably produced and sustainably traded. Our definition was adapted from the Nyeleni Declaration in 2007:

"Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to define their own food and agriculture; to protect and regulate domestic agricultural production and trade in order to achieve sustainable development objectives; to determine the extent to which they want to be self-reliant; to restrict the dumping of products in their markets and to provide local fisheries-based communities the priority in managing the use of, and the rights to, aquatic resources. Food sovereignty does not negate

trade, but rather it promotes the formulation of trade policies and practices that serve the rights of peoples to food and to safe, healthy and ecologically sustainable production" (www.viacampesina.org, 2007).

With EU project partners from six countries the shared vision was global and embraced perspectives from civil society, indigenous people, adult and community educators, teachers, activists, farmers, rural development workers and social movements. Many of our partners were part of the Via Campesina International Peasants Movement and had participated in the Nyeleni Conference during 2007 in Senegal.

Through global learning attention was drawn to how values are determined and influence wider concepts of global social justice, focusing on eating - something everyone does. Values can be defined as psychological representations of what one believes to be important in life (Rokeach, 1973) and as "desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity" (Schwartz, 1994: 21) as discussed in Chapter 2. Sen (1999) sees capability as being able to determine the choices that individual and societies make and the identity assumed through what is valued. In order to identify the project partners 'desirable transitional goals' or values I facilitated a food-mapping exercise with the project partner representatives to identify what we eat, what decisions we make and what influences them, how this changes throughout the year, where our food comes from, how it is produced, who produces it and where we access it.

Embracing food sovereignty, project partners cited the importance of the Freirean concept of conscientisation and the provision of information about rights as individuals and as citizens of both local and global society. From an

ecological and institutional context, partners sought more diverse and egalitarian food and value systems and ways of looking at the world. This was seen as critical to improving the livelihoods of people everywhere, working towards a shared obligation to deliver sustainable, human development and to protecting human rights.

In doing this the partners acknowledged what Pimbert (2009:9), in his global study of food sovereignty refers to as "the corporate thrust for radical monopoly control over the global food system." He cites this and the modernist development agenda as two mutually supportive elements of the same paradigm of economic progress. The first element is the monopoly of a few transnational corporations over the food chain, which Illich (1997) regards as radical in that industrial services and or products can lead to the deterioration of autonomous systems by replacing activities in which people do or would otherwise engage in. The second element is the continual focus on food security within the Millennium Development Community. Food security and right to food have been endorsed at high level UN summits and conferences. Yet the collective priority on having access to enough good food to eat each day, does not include any stipulation as to where the food comes from or how it is produced. In effect, this opens the door for the same transnational corporations to provide cheap imports as 'food aid' rather than supporting local production systems.

"If the people of a country must depend for their next meal on the vagaries of the global economy, on the goodwill of a superpower not to use food as a weapon, or on the unpredictability and high cost of long-distance shipping, that country is not secure in the sense of either national security or food security." (Rosset 2003:3)

In relation to global learning there was also a strong consensus that the shared focus on food should highlight the inter-dependence and inter-connectedness of the Global North and South. All of the EU project partners had examples, or were examples, of how localised food systems helped to sustain local economies and how the biggest threats were transnational corporations and international trade agreements. The Italian partners, Associazione Italiana Agricoltura Biologica (AIAB, the Italian association of organic farmers) cited the demise of family businesses caused by the growth of the Ipermercati superstores (AIAB 2009 pers comms). This was mirrored by UK partner experiences of supermarkets (WEA 2009, pers comms). The partners in Zanzibar, Tanzania shared the fact that imported frozen chicken from Brazil was cheaper and easier to buy than locally produced chicken (LDF 2009, pers comms). There was a collective view on "food sovereignty" as a citizens' response to the multiple social and environmental crises induced by modern food systems everywhere that sought to embrace Via Campesina's slogan (accessed 12.01.2013) through the project: "Globalise the Struggle - Globalise Hope".

Through these discussions the EU project partners evolved from a disparate group of people from different places, backgrounds and with different perspectives to a community of enquiry engaged in identifying commonalities. This important change was enabled by focusing on the practice-based knowledge or sense making of the complex issues shared by the partners. In embracing such a constructivist perspective on knowledge 'ideal speech conditions' were created (Habermas 1972).

The partners engaged in a deliberative dialogue that explored facts and values from each of the individual perspectives, drawing on inter-dependencies through a discursive and contextual understanding of each other and of situated knowledge and experiences, stimulating a debate that would continue through the project. Thus the initial meeting in 2009 created a dynamic, fluid, yet safe space for all of the EU project partners to move together from their intention of strategic action to a shared one of communicative action. Through facilitating this interpretive interaction between the partners' different perspectives, the consensus that was reached provided the foundation for each of the partners to engage as participatory action researchers with mutual methodological considerations for researching, analysing and interpreting good practice in each of the partner countries.

This was a significant, positive starting point. Otherwise how would and could the partners engage in researching empowerment if unable to engage in a reflexive and appreciative practice with each other? The partners had, in response, achieved an 'ideal speech' condition and 'communicative rationality' (Habermas 1987).

4.4. The Appreciative Inquiry

The next step was to build on the partners' mutual methodological considerations, to develop a shared research and analysis framework to identify what worked in different contexts and what learning and practice was transferable from each of the partner countries. For me, this involved exploring interactive modes of knowledge-generation, social transformation and praxis as a reflexive practitioner and critical enquirer. Adopting a duality of roles to improve practice through research and what Kemmis (2009) refers to as

'happening-ness' would ensure Rifkin's and Pridmore (2001:285) aphorism that "Information is knowledge, knowledge is power, sharing knowledge is empowerment" was maintained.

Within the EU project I was responsible for coordinating the research and the development of the global learning programme. This was achieved through engaging in an appreciative enquiry to explore examples of learning that enabled conscious sharing of information and ideas and practice towards common objectives by social actors across the six different contexts. In order to frame the research three sub-questions, based on our collaborative discussions, focused on social change and empowerment towards food sovereignty. This meant that the drivers and motivators of social pluralism could be understood, and that transferable examples of ecological and social resilience to systemic change in six different situational contexts could be identified.

Appreciative Inquiry Questions

- 1. What knowledge, skills, values and attitudes can lead to enhanced collaboration, adaptation, or conversely to failures, in sustainable food systems?
- 2. What kinds of approaches, methods and concepts have been successful in enabling social justice, equity and ecological sustainability?
- 3. How does collaboration enhance social learning and adaptation, and how can it be enhanced by increased global consciousness?

4.5. Inquiry Participants

A stakeholder analysis of groups identified as having an involvement and/or interest in empowerment learning and/or sustainable rural development, was prepared and thesituational analysis and AI focussed on these groups. The project partners, of whom I was one, collected data using a combination of semi-structured interviews and participatory focus group sessions. The research was carried out using local languages and dialects including English, Welsh, Italian, French, Wolof, Spanish and Kiswahili. Participatory analysis was carried out in each of the six localities by the respective project partners through a multilingual forum and summarised to identify good practice examples in relation to global social justice, equity, ecological sustainability, social transformation and empowerment through learning and praxis.

While coordinating the research planning, data collection and analysis I was also the lead researcher in two localities - Wales and Zanzibar. Data was collected using the appreciative inquiry methodology described in Chapter 3. Data was analysed against two frameworks, summarized below and detailed in Appendix 1

- An education for sustainable development framework, to identify the key rural and food sovereignty issues and the knowledge, skills values and attitude sets deemed necessary to address the issues
- A livelihoods analysis to identify the capital assets and resources within the different localities that could be built on to enable sustainable social change

Data from participatory focus groups and semi-structured interviews was initially analysed through a collective process using thematic analysis, based on the two frameworks, consensus and a range of ranking activities. The individual locality findings were summarised by the researchers and translated into French or English to be scrutinised and analysed collectively using a combination of thematic and textual analysis to collate the findings as illustrated below.

In general, from each of the countries there emerged some commonalities in terms of the selection of research participant groups and the identification of priorities relating to both the partners' and the national contexts' features in line with the appreciative inquiry methodology used. In Italy, the existence of an emerging and grass-root-based network on food sovereignty and social economy (involving both rural and non-rural CSOs, development NGOs and local authorities) provided a comprehensive framework in which all the information could be elaborated. Most of the Italian partners were active members the Via Campesina and had achieved international of acknowledgement in their work in supporting local food systems. In Wales, the action framework offered a good chance to collect and valorise local experiences of sustainable agriculture, short distribution chains, nutritional education and education for global citizenship and sustainable development, and to start networking from local to national level, also involving schools and institutions.

In the four southern countries involved the attention was more strictly focused on farmers/rural-based actors and their specific needs in terms of nutritional, cultural, vocational and political aspects, also highlighting (e.g. in Ecuador) the opportunity of linking action strategies aimed at addressing basic needs with

political strategies focusing on food sovereignty, which need to be clearly identified and shared. In Zanzibar the background already capitalised by the partners within a previous project, focusing on education for rural people, encouraged a stronger focus on community engagement, educational and training issues. In Peru and Senegal, according to the existence of a structured food sovereignty platform in which the project partners are directly involved, the main focus was put on the strategies of farmers' organisations highlighting farmers' and rural peoples' needs in the framework of a strategically-oriented, rural development with much more attention to governance and policy issues.

4.6. Appreciating Best Practice

The collective thematic and discourse analysis of the good practice gathered from the six countries drew out a number of common elements. I refer to these as the golden threads weaving their way through the six localities and what we would draw on in the development of our global learning programme. In this section I address the findings related to each question in order to identify these threads.

4.6.1. Skills, values and attitudes to enhance collaboration

What knowledge, skills, values and attitudes can lead to enhanced collaboration, adaptation or failures in sustainable food systems?

In order to answer this question, data was collected from research participants' discussions, perceptions and expectations. This identified perceived issues, knowledge, skills, values and attitudes towards them. Common themes were drawn out through a meeting with all of the partners using the EU projects Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) Framework to thematically

summarise the common issues, knowledge, skills, attitudes and value sets that enhanced collaboration and adaptation in sustainable food systems. These were initially subdivided into three themed areas - 'social', 'ecological' and 'economic' in line with the ESD framework. Through a common consensus 'political' was added as an additional theme as it was felt that power and governance were not able to be covered adequately by the other three and required a theme of their own. Collating findings from the six research localities drew on the respective research teams' understanding of their socio, ecological and political contexts and the intent behind pre-suppositions and modal expressions. The crossover and inter-relatedness between these and all of the themes was discussed until a mutual consensus was reached on collective themes and meanings. In line with the ESD framework these were categorised as rural and food sovereignty issues, key knowledge, key skills, key attitudes and key values as illustrated in the tables below:

Table 4.2 Key Rural and Food Sovereignty Issues

Social	Ecological	Economic	Political
Access to	Sustainable use of	Economic policies	Good governance
nutritious food	land and marine	at a national and	and corruption
	resources	international level	
Community			A voice for
cohesion and	Biodiversity	Trade agreements	marginalised
inclusion	constraints (F1 and	Access to markets,	communities
	GM seed stocks)	local and global	
Community			Participatory
empowerment and	Climate change	Media driven	democracy systems
leadership	Access to natural	demand	
	resources		
Relationships with			
other sectors			

Table 4.3 Key Knowledge

Social	Ecological	Economic	Political
Understanding the	Local knowledge	Budget	Current laws and
links between the	about farming	management	regulations for
local and the global	practices, history	and innovative tools	farming and fishing
	and culture	for improving	
Community health		economies	Democratic
promotion	Shared impacts of		principles and
	climate change	International trade	procedures
Family and co-		mechanisms and	
operative farming	Forest, water and	levels of influence	Decision-making
models	land management		processes and
		Market links	contexts
Social networking		between quality and	
and alliances for		price	Food sovereignty
greater co-			and human rights
operation			

Table 4.4 Key Skills

Social	Ecological	Economic	Political
Social integration	Agro-ecological	Financial	Establishing cross-
and networking	know- how	management	sectoral relations
Consumer choice	Waste	Collective	Active citizenship
and social	management	purchasing and	Conflict resolution
responsibility	Practical skills for	marketing	Communication
	conservation		(ICT)
Active learning		Accessing credit	Decision-making
Critical thinking and		and grants	
decision-making			

Table 4.5 Key Attitudes

Social	Ecological	Economic	Political
Open-minded	Concern for the	Fairness	Willing to listen
	planet	Sharing resources	Respect
Want to make a			Dialogue
difference	Empathy		Active participation
	Water usage		Constructive
Peaceful approach			critique
Listen and hear			
different			
perspectives			

Table 4.6 Key Values

Social	Ecological	Economic	Political
Acknowledge and	Inter-dependence	Individual and	Public good and
respect difference	between humanity	collective worth	protection
	and nature		
Food as a right, not		Solidarity and co-	Non-violence
a commodity	North-South	operation	
	producers and		Civil participation
Equity and	consumers	Capability for	
solidarity		innovation	Diversity of
Global awareness	Environmental		opinion and
	responsibility	Science as part of	perspectives
		the solution	

The issues, skills, knowledge, values and attitudes that contributed towards sustainable food systems and empowerment were ones of openness, cooperation, active participation, sharing of knowledge, caring about each other and the environment. Across the six countries, where power hierarchies were put to one side, and deliberative dialogue and 'ideal speech' conditions were nurtured, a culture of 'happeningness' resulted (Kemmis 1987). Also, unsurprisingly, the stumbling blocks to achieving this were corruption, power

and greed, a consequence often of access to key capital elements controlled by a small elite group who are unable to be challenged by small unorganized producers/consumers.

The importance of listening to each other and the 'other' was also regarded as important in enabling collaboration and sustainable food systems. Being able to produce enough food for the local market was generally viewed as more important than producing for an export market and more profitable as the local customer base was perceived as more consistent than the international market. In summary, and to answer the above question succinctly, the following assumption was made: Everyone has a voice and should be able to choose whether or not to use it to engage in issues that matter to them. This reflects Sen's (1999) thinking on capabilities and development as freedom to be and choose what you value, which in turn suggested that the global learning process should focus on developing capabilities.

4.6.2. Social Justice, Equity and Ecological Sustainability.

What kinds of approaches, methods and concepts have been successful in enabling social justice, equity and ecological sustainability?

Through the research, individual and collective strengths and assets were identified in each of the localities. Collating these through the analysis I was able to explore the relationships between local communities, food production systems, markets and the government to identify the capital assets rural people and communities draw on to build their livelihoods. We captured the notion of sustainable livelihoods through this collation of the capital assets - human capital, social capital, financial capital, physical capital and natural capital, as summarised in the tables below. This process provided us with a holistic

appreciation of the diversity and commonalities of rural livelihoods, linking the micro with the macro through this cross-sectoral analysis of research in six localities.

Table 4.7 Human Capital Assets

Education and training	Leadership and decision-	Health and wellbeing
	making	
Existing literacy and	Individual and group	Increased access to
education levels, and	leadership capacities are	affordable healthy and
desire to improve	being improved	nutritious food
Efforts are being made to	People participate in	Understanding importance
improve knowledge and	deciding on what is to be	of sanitation and hygiene
skills	done	in food preparation
Training in book-keeping	Local and external actors	Preventative healthcare
and organisation	carry out joint activities	such as use of mosquito
management		nets
Awareness raising	Activities are carried out	School involvement in
regarding sustainable food	through an interactive	promoting healthy eating
production and	process involving local and	
consumption	external actors	
Acknowledgement of	People actively participate	Understanding of
indigenous knowledge and	in implementing and	nutritional needs of the
systems	monitoring actions	whole family
Participatory action-	New leaders are emerging	Access to clean water
learning organised for	and greater gender equity	
groups and individuals	in local authorities	

Table 4.8 Social Capital Assets

Table 4.9

Trust relations	Exchange and reciprocity	Inter-connectedness
Co-operative structures	Collaborative efforts and	Existence of networks and
	participatory processes	groups
Open and transparent	Exchange of information	Connections between the
relations and mechanisms	and knowledge	local and the global
Low levels of suspicion	Shared knowledge about	Multi-actor platforms for
	local resources	exchange
Investment of time, money	Opportunities for collective	Partner relations between
and energy in each other	decision making	different groups
Faith in institutions	Shared priority setting	Circulation of information
	mechanisms	between networks
Information sharing and	Collective decision making	Support mechanisms for
exchange		disadvantaged and
		marginalised actors
Regular meetings and/or	Range of actors involved in	Mutual help structures for
opportunities to meet,	activities - youth, men	loans and resources
share, discuss, etc.	women, elders, literate,	between and within
	illiterate etc.	communities
Mutual commitment to	Voluntary activities within	Engaging policy makers
actions and decisions	communities	and stimulating political
made		debate

Table 4.10

Table 4.11 Physical Capital Assets

Services and	Communications	Infrastructure
facilities		
Access to community	Social networks and	Access to reliable transport,
buildings and spaces	collaborative working at a	improved road networks
for meetings, food	regional, national and	
production and	international level	
marketing products		
Provision of	Access to the internet	Provision of affordable
extension services		alternative energy
and equipment, and		
outdoor classrooms		
Local control of food	Everyone has a mobile phone,	Improved access to clean,
supply	using the missed call to	fresh water

communicate	

Table 4.12 Financial Capital Assets

Community finances	Alternative funding sources
Reduced dependency on external	Involvement in credit unions, rotating credit
funding through sustainable enterprises	schemes and village banks
Establishment of community based co-	Development of local seed banks to reduce
operatives and social enterprises	dependency on F1 hybrids
Producer networks, farmers markets	Establishment of agro tourism and
and regional quality branding of	ecotourism enterprises to supplement food
products	production activities
Supporting local economy through	Government subsidies and grants to support
consumer choice and expanding the	communities
local market	

Table 4.13

Table 4.14 Natural Capital Assets

Natural resources	Biodiversity	Environmental resources
Mangrove and forest	Increased biodiversity	Rainwater collection and
rehabilitation and	through sustainable and	composting of organic
conservation	mixed farming practices	waste
Securing access to land	Use of natural fertilisers	Use of clean energies,
use and sea, organic	and companion-planting to	such as solar, reducing
beaches	reduce pesticides	deforestation

The inter-dependence of the assets and their relationships with each other highlighted the importance of connectedness, networks and the role of the institutions that govern access and influence. The importance of trust, cultural significance and institutional constraints on natural assets pointed to the importance of relationships of trust and obligation, exchange and reciprocity, and the role of networks and social capital assets. The importance of civil society and collective action in enabling sustainable food systems and empowerment was apparent across each of the research findings. Through the appreciative inquiry I was able to attribute the resilience and stability of societies

to social capital, in particular how it shapes cultural attitudes and values towards the management and utilisation of natural resources. This is supported by Moser (1998, 2005 and 2006), Pretty and Ward (2001), Bebbington and Perreault (1999) and Putnam (1995). Social capital is sometimes cited as a misnomer as it does not share the tangible characteristics of the other capital assets (Arrow 2000). I saw it as the glue that bonds the asset pentagon of the five capital assets: Social, Human, Natural, Physical and Financial as introduced in Chapter 2. Through the networks of reciprocity and exchange, highlighted in the appreciative inquiry, a key to understanding how civil society interacts with the various institutions is provided and just how human capital could in turn be strengthened to support this. Building on what someone has was seen as a more constructive route towards empowerment than trying to fill a 'need' gap with external interventions. Being valued as a contributor was a common highlight of the inquiry and seen as a springboard to empowerment.

Awareness was not an issue but access to accurate information was. Learning from shared experiences and each other was a common response to this. For example, there was suspicion about seed quality and crop yields, and anger towards the manufactured dependence on seed companies and F1 hybrid varieties.⁸ In all the southern countries, while cutting down trees was generally perceived as not good, clearing of land to farm was deemed more important.

This contradiction was challenged in Peru where the appreciative inquiry highlighted an instance where traditional farming methods had been

⁸ Hybrid ("F1") seed is the result of a cross between two different but heavily inbred parents. Seed you save from these plants will either be sterile or give a whole mix of shapes and types, usually producing a poor crop (Real Seed Company 2013)

championed as being more sustainable and there had been a reverse in the trend with traditional mixed-farming practices becoming more common and seen as progressive instead of backward. Mixed farming was defined as utilising the different storeys of the rain forest to grow different crops. It was seen as a viable and sustainable alternative to the modern forest clearance techniques of monoculture agriculture that focused on a single crop such as maize. This highlighted the importance and value of indigenous knowledge and the power of perception for many members of the farming community engaged with during the research. They viewed themselves as the 'subalterns', in line with Spivak's (2007) work in India, doubting their traditional methods in favour of new modern means of food production. Following further discussions, problems with new seed varieties, the effect of chemical fertilizers on the soil and the runoff and resultant algal blooms in the ocean were all also understood to be a result of some of the modern farming methods. A common response was that experts can provide a cure to the problems caused by the last intervention. During the analysis the image of a Simpsons cartoon episode, featuring a genetically modified pig, kept coming to mind - an episode where each modification to counter problems with the original creates a new problem and everything worsens.

Environmental, economic and social experiences were seen as an effective way of making learning in rural areas more relevant to the local situation. Contextualisation of content and pedagogy using locally relevant experiences and realities was shown to offer encouraging options to improve the relevance of learning basic skills.

The next step was to devise a learning programme that utilised these experiences and through its very essence would be global and local in its context.

4.6.3. Collaboration and Learning

How does collaboration enhance social learning and adaptation, and how is it enhanced by increased global consciousness?

From the analysis of the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes, as well as the capital assets, it was apparent that collaboration was a key attribute to social learning and that while formal education was deemed important it was the informal, participatory, active-learning, educative processes that were facilitating social change in every context. Furthermore, social change occurred when local realities were being challenged or when they were being impacted upon directly. Access to, and control of, land-use was a major issue and responses to new capital investments such as supermarkets, extraction industries or hotel developments were all similar, irrespective of the partner country. Collective rights appeared to be stronger in the South, especially where planning permits were governed by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) 9 rather than within a nationally controlled planning process by an accountable government as in Europe. Increased consciousness about far flung places became important when it touched or impacted upon local lives, whether this involved a food co-operative in Wales buying bananas or a farmers' federation in Ecuador growing bananas. Within each locality examples were provided of instances

⁹ International Finance Corporation of the World Bank, a collection of good practice recommendations and regulations for large infrastructure or extraction interventions.

and projects that supported empowerment, emancipation, active engagement or global consciousness-raising with collective action and social change. Tourism in Zanzibar brought the global into the local on a daily basis with communities without electricity or running water existing next to hotel complexes with power-showers and swimming pools. Pro-poor tourism was one community-grown solution to this, bridging the disparity gap, educating the tourists and providing opportunities for the local communities to benefit, but lacked the ability to influence and access the power structures and decision makers. Focusing on food also brought together a shared realisation of both the importance of existing assets such as indigenous knowledge and understanding of global issues that impact on local livelihoods. Examples included the following:

- The Peruvian community's challenge to forest clearance for commercial food production versus local, mixed-farming traditions
- A Senegalese farmers' association setting up credit facilities to support self-sufficiency in rice production and reduce demand for imported goods
- A network of organic farmers in Italy securing the contract to provide produce for the region's school dinners
- The establishment of a potato growers' co-operative in West Wales

With respect to effective learning approaches, the research findings identified the benefits of a pedagogy that engages the learners; learning that is learner-centred, holistic, experiential, active, practical, and relevant and relatable to their respective contexts and realities.

4.7. Envisioning a Global Learning Programme

Drawing on these findings a number of attributes were identified that were key to an effective global learning programme:

- 1. The need to integrate and embrace alterity: An appreciation of the resilience, fragility, interdependence and the diversity of local realities through an exploration and appreciation of other perspectives.
- 2. The need to identify and build on existing strengths as drivers for sustainable change such as rural actors' ability to organize, mobilise and take collective action.
- 3. The need for a social and informal global learning programme that was not stigmatised as inferior to formal learning processes, as in the case of the REFLECT programme described in Chapter 2.
- 4. The importance of using indigenous knowledge and cultural values,
- **5.**The importance of being mindful of relationships between environment and society, relationships that are a vital contribution to any learning process towards sustainable change.

4.7.1. Capability of Voice

Considering these, strengthening social capital and human capital was not viable without provision of a space for the articulation of multiple perspectives, especially in the context of North-South relationships, to ensure that scientific and local knowledge complemented each other. Without a space for dialogue there was no space to challenge concepts or driving forces and conditions that nurture and, in effect, hinder social learning.

Creating a safe space for negotiation, deliberation and decision-making enables 'communicative action' (Habermas 1990) and a redefinition of the power and knowledge relations responsible for impeding sustainable food systems and ultimately sustainable livelihoods. Enabling this capability of voice, so that ideal speech conditions were created, provided access to a range of perspectives (See Sen 1999 and Habermas 1990). Enabling values to be determined based on indigenous and outsider knowledge and information in turn influenced what people choose to do and be and ultimately their values and opportunities for social change.

The core principles and good practice identified through the appreciative inquiry highlighted the importance of being able to influence values and attitudes. Exchange of shared experiences enabled exposure to new ideas and different perspectives.

4.7.2. Combining Learning and Experiences

Each of the golden threads was drawn from a collection of approaches that were tried, tested and/or established. Yet, to my knowledge, there was not a programme that combined them to achieve a capability of voice. The ability to 'translate' complex issues into simple, clear and relevant messages was essential. The appreciative inquiry gave examples of issues such as climate change, linking poverty and conservation, ecosystem service and sustainablility, all potentially extremely complex and multi-dimensional issues.

It became clear that unless an individual can relate to the issue at hand they will not understand it or see its relevance to them. In refining the golden threads further we identified that for communities to be empowered and for food sovereignty to be more than an intervention it was crucial for participants to understand the impact of global issues on local realities. They must also have the capability to aspire to and set priorities built on strengths that must underpin the social learning. Without these threads the project would be yet another opportunist engagement in donor-led priorities and aid agendas with a predictable outcome. The research findings showed that throughout the global North and South globally aware and informed communities are more likely to make more sustainable choices. Experiential, hands-on, peer-led approaches were identified as being the most effective in all of the localities, drawing of Dewey's' (1916) 'Learning by Doing'.

From this I was able to conclude that being exposed to different perspectives strengthens ability to set priorities and agendas and that learning that

understands and builds on perceived and acknowledged strengths can be an empowering process. This suggested that the global learning programme should be guided by social learning process in order to enable communities' access to information and understanding of the wider (global) implications, and to enhance their capacity to use that information in decision-making. As an empowering process this can strengthen communities' capability to engage in planning and decision-making at different levels. As a result, communities are more likely to achieve food sovereignty and to develop sustainable livelihood strategies.

4.8. Co-constructing the Global Learning Programme

Drawing on the research findings, key theoretical concepts and influences, and a range of impact assessment frameworks, I therefore developed a collection of participatory learning activities (see Appendix 2) that could be used in a formal or informal learner setting in the global North or South with educationalists and rural development practitioners to enable global learning. This global learning programme enabled 'learning by doing' in order to enhance an individual's capability to explore and analyse information, irrespective of literacy levels. Understanding and managing the different perspectives and needs of regions and sectors was a defining feature of the learning process. It was designed to strengthen community led decision-making and to challenge opportunities by analysing the consequences so that decisions were not biased. The global learning programme was participatory, flexible and involved numerous opportunities to build and negotiate relationships between disparate groups, polarized positions and different sectors. The intention was to develop the capabilities of community professionals to develop skills and understanding of

the global and local forces that shape their lives and present the barriers to change, to develop confidence as a community possession and to enhance a desire for change. This began with a consideration that there is a possibility of change followed by planning and skill-development necessary to achieve change.

Whilst my approach was interventionist the training was aimed at educators and rural development practitioners, the 'enablers' that engaged with communities daily, rather than the communities themselves. The result was a global learning programme for the sustainable development of rural communities that considered the wider aspects and influences in decision-making so as to

- Increase understanding and awareness of global interconnectedness and a critical understanding of interdependence in order to enable informed choices and decisions towards a just and sustainable world
- Identify existing and potential assets at an individual and community level, how they are connected to one another and in what ways in order to multiply their power and effectiveness to create opportunities for positive change

4.8.1. The Global Learning Programme Structure

Developed and piloted by the EU project partners, with the knowledge that local trainers have a deeper understanding of their local situations, the global learning programme was delivered in all of the partner countries, evaluated and amended until a final 'product' was agreed, approved and translated into all the partner languages. This resulted in a learning process that was global in its concept, design and development, based more on provision of resources to use and develop capability, rather than being a rigid tool. It adhered to a social

learning and an "action-orientated philosophy" (Woodhill 2005: 42). The participants' social realities would provide the context to focus on transformation, innovation and creation of structural arrangements with sustainability and global social justice at their core.

The resultant global learning programme focused on the participatory processes of social change underpinned by a critical theory, capabilities, assets and participation, informed by just and critical pedagogies. It was intended to be non-coercive and open to collective agreement (Wals 2006). Further more it sought to draw on the good practice identified in natural resource policy-making and development in the Global South and the indigenous knowledge gained through the research (Wu and Pretty 2004, Al Kanaan 2010). Essential to the approach was a reflexive, deliberative and participatory dialogue between participants that enables a shift from multiple to collective cognition. This would achieved through combining participatory be learning activities with contextualised case studies to introduce and explore different scenarios, contexts and a range of perspectives (Roling 2002).

The participatory learning activities were organized into a series of three modules as a progressive learning pathway, with each module built on the prior learning. The aim was to progress from considering the links between global issues and local development, to the importance of decision-making processes, to the final result of creating proposals for action and involvement in sustainable development. Two anticipated learning outcomes relate back to my research question.

 Participants will increase understanding and awareness of global interconnectedness and develop a critical understanding of

- interdependence that will enable informed choices and decisions towards a just and sustainable world
- 2. Participants will be able to identify existing and potential assets at an individual and community level, how they are connected to one another and in what ways to multiply their power and effectiveness and create opportunities for positive change

4.9. A Reflection on Global Learning

In this chapter I have provided a critical reflection and analysis of my first cycle of change and on the process of developing the global learning programme central to my research. This development process was funded by an EU project and involved partners in six countries, two in the global North and four in the global South. I have focused on the interactions that occurred at each of the PAR steps and have highlighted the importance of building on what someone has - in particular, social capital and exchanging in a deliberative dialogue to enable informed decision-making based on a range of perspectives. This chapter has focussed on the development of the global learning programme that is central to my research question. The next chapter provides an ethnographic thick description of Zanzibar in order to set the context for the next two cycles of change that will assess the relevance of global learning as a social learning process to enable sustainable change.

Chapter 5. A Small Island in a Global Arena - Zanzibar

5.1. Introduction

This ethnographic chapter sets the context for my research findings. My research seeks to ascertain the relevance of global learning in Zanzibar as a small state. The relevance cannot be truly grasped if the context of Zanzibar is not understood. Through this chapter I introduce Zanzibar as a small island state, the socio-political journey that Zanzibar has travelled over the last fifty years and how this inter-relates with economic policies and decisions made by the Government. It then opens up a window on the realities of coastal livelihoods in Zanzibar to provide a baseline understanding of the culture and environment from the perspectives of the people and communities I engage with during the participatory action research. In placing this small island state in the global arena the importance of global learning becomes apparent, in particular the importance of facilitating a critical and deliberate dialogue to foster understanding and informed actions in relation to the global pressures and forces that impact on local livelihoods. Through this chapter I combine analysis of secondary data with a distillation of knowledge from the appreciative inquiry, complemented by a series of participatory focus group discussions and semistructured interviews. I introduce the communities of Northern Zanzibar, what they take for granted and the changes and challenges they have experienced, to unpick the complex tapestry of coastal livelihoods. I achieve this by compiling a set of narratives themed around the five capital assets of the sustainable

livelihoods' framework (social, human, natural, physical and financial). Each capital asset group is substantiated with data where relevant, and each is explored through the lens of a particular community sector as detailed in table 5.1.

5.2. A Small Island 'Developing' State

Situated in the Indian Ocean, about 35 miles off the coast of mainland Tanzania, lies Zanzibar, a semi-autonomous, small island state, with a combination of rural and urban poverty within a relatively small geographical area¹⁰ characteristic of much of the global South.

Zanzibar, although not acknowledged by the UN as a Small Island Developing State (SIDS) because of its semi-autonomous nature, faces many of the challenges and opportunities common to SIDS in other parts of the world. These include geographical isolation, a concentrated biodiversity and the formation of many endemic species, remoteness, restricted availability of resources, economic dependence on fishing and/or tourism, increasing population density and unemployment, environmental degradation and susceptibility to natural disasters, vulnerability to global developments and a dependence on international trade (Adger 2006).

The climate of SIDS is influenced by oceanic-atmospheric interactions, which, combined with their particular socio-economic situation, make SIDS extremely vulnerable to global pressures such as climate change and climate variability.

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¹⁰ total land area of approximately 2,000miles²

Consequently, the sensitivity to those pressures represents a major constraint to the achievement of sustainable development (Tompkins et al. 2005).

Lacking economies of scale, SIDS incur proportionately higher transportation and communication costs than larger non-island states as well as more expensive public administration and infrastructure. When combined with the declining value of traditional exports, of reduced access to land for domestic food production and increase in cost of imported food and petroleum fuels, SIDS have a greater exposure than larger states to internal and external shocks and extreme events such as natural disasters which drive social conflict.

Ultimately they present a microcosm of many of the major challenges facing the world today and especially the global South. This is further illustrated by the contrasting complexities of urban and rural existence, of uplands and lowlands, of coastal and inland areas and their respective vulnerability to local and global threats and the rapid degradation and destruction of fragile ecosystems.

What sets Zanzibar apart from other SIDS is its socio-political history and its demise from being an independent, prosperous small island state to becoming a protectorate, regaining independence and ending up as a semi-autonomous appendix to a poor African nation.

As the only semi-autonomous and most densely populated state in Africa, Zanzibar provides a complex historical and political backdrop of post-colonialism and devolution with tribalism replaced by hidden class structures based on perceived ethnicity. Much has been written about the ethnicity of Zanzibar and the origins of its people (Grey 1962, Ingrams 1926, Oliver and Fage 1986 and Al Barwani 1997). There is a consensus that Zanzibari people

are a mixture of mixtures resulting from centuries of trading around the Indian Ocean, between the Arabian Gulf states, the islands and the African hinterland. Traditionally, Zanzibaris, distinguish themselves from mainland Africans, drawing on their Persian, Arab or Phoenician ancestry.

"After centuries of integration between natives, Arabs and the Shirazi immigrants, there emerged three major ethnic groups. The 'Watumbatu' and 'Wahadimu' who correspondingly inhabited the northern and southern parts of Zanzibar Island and 'Wapemba' who occupied Pemba Island. They all categorically regarded themselves as Shirazis and are considered the indigenous people of Zanzibar and Pemba Islands. Blatantly, they deny having major African roots and though they accept that some of their earlier ancestors came from the mainland, they object to the claim that they must be Bantus or Africans" (Zanzinet 2005:03).

The present Government is secular and the population 90% Muslim. Eighty percent of the world's poorest and least literate people live in rural areas, and Zanzibar is no exception. The islands have extremely high unemployment rates (90% of all school-leavers are without gainful employment), adult illiteracy levels are on average 40%, increasing to 60% in rural areas, exhibiting a divide between urban-rural knowledge, with education and training as one of the barriers to eradicating poverty (DFID 2012). As such, it provides a 'development interface' where the traditional endogenous knowledge of rural, community actors contrasts, and often conflicts with, the external scientific and 'expert' knowledge of development professionals, educators and government representatives.

5.3. Zanzibar: The socio-political context

Up until 1964 Zanzibar was a cosmopolitan melting pot of culture, faiths and ethnicity with a Muslim majority. It had a long history of trade across the Indian Ocean and along the east African coast with a population comprised of immigrants from Africa, the Arabian Gulf, India and the other islands of the Indian Ocean.

In contrast to the colonial history of many SIDS, pre-independence Zanzibar is widely regarded, by Zanzibaris at least, as the 'Golden Age' when people were 'learned' and tolerant. Embodied by a flourishing Islamic scholarly debate with various schools of thought, Zanzibar was at the centre of a great East African Muslim tradition and the trading capital of the Indian Ocean.

The first independent government was a coalition between two of the three parties standing for election, with the Sultan as head of state. Prior to the elections, in 1963, three main political parties formed, each a product of ethnic association. This period, marred by dirty politics and party conflicts, resulted in politicians moving from one party to another. On December 16th 1963 the first Prime Minister, Mohamed Shamte of the Sovereign Government of Zanzibar, made a speech to the United Nations General Assembly in New York, having had its application to join accepted (Armour 2005).

A few weeks later this government was overthrown in a bloody revolution led by a Ugandan national John Okello and immediately after the revolution Abeid Karume, as the revolutionary leader of the new regime, signed a pact with Julius Nyerere, who became the first President of Zanzibar, uniting Zanzibar

and Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania. This bloody revolution in 1964 founded on a secularist, socialist and highly populist 'salt of the earth' ideology, which challenged educated elites and appealed especially to young, marginalised youth who had migrated from mainland Tanganika to Zanzibar town suburbs. (Burgess 1999). Zanzibar was, not for the first time, about to be subjected to a global power struggle but in 1964 it was not about global trade but global ideology as the Cold War reverberated throughout the continent. Building on Pan-African socialism the revolution targeted the elite and artisan classes, equating Arabs and Indians with slave traders, foreign invaders and capitalist exploiters (Burgess 1999, Heilmann and Kaiser, 2002).

The revolutionary government abolished all claims of being 'Shirazi', adopting instead their African-ness. Forced marriages were arranged between political leaders and Arabic or Indian women against their will with any resistance dealt with ruthlessly (Abdallah and Ali 1994).

This discriminatory rhetoric and violence caused many Zanzibari scholars to flee the country to Oman and to the West (Bakari 2001). With the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar shortly after independence in 1964, under the leadership of the charismatic Julius Nyerere, Tanzania followed the highly modernist and developmentalist ideology of a particularly African socialism, "Ujamaa. In this ideology there was not much space for religion. Not only was the state secular, it saw religion as an obstacle to socialist development" (Nyerere 1968, translated in Liviga and Tumbo-Masabo 2006: 157).

The revolutionary ideology of the socialist leadership drew on so-called 'traditional African and Islamic values' in order to create new national citizens, freed from western imperialism. As Burgess (2002) shows, this nation-building

project, 'kujenga taifa' in Swahili, involved a Fanonist, cultural revolution that sought to impose an aesthetic of modesty, self-discipline and sacrifice for the common good of the nation, opposing a past, which was portrayed as decadent, imperialist, and consumerist.

All major property and land was confiscated and redistributed as three-acre plots and free housing. Education and medical care was also free; food, clothing and energy were subsidised and private enterprise was abolished. Any dissent resulted in human rights violations. In 1972 a failed attempt to overthrow the Government resulted in the death of the president, ironically killed by his Arab brother-in-law as revenge for the president's role in his father's death. The regime continued to engage in barbaric and dictatorial socialist policies up until the mid-1980s (pers comms 2008).

The revolutionary government had, in other words, been in a tense situation similar to those of many post-colonial, nation-building projects, namely between a hyper-modernist and developmentalist call to cut away dead wood and break with the shackles of tradition on the one hand, and on the other hand seeking the authentic 'African' and pre-colonial identity of the people.

This post-independence period of scholarly and economic decline resulted in a paradoxical position in relation to Islam. Zanzibar, with its population of 90% Muslim, became a secular, semi-autonomous state in line with its socialist ideals. This resulted in "Islam being reduced to an artefact, a signifier without meaning" (Turner 2008:6). The only permitted sect of Islam during this period was Sufism, with its mystical 'other worldly' reputation and focus on being able to recite rather than learn the Qur'an, reducing its threat to the secular domain (Turner 2008).

The perceived combined assault on cosmopolitanism and knowledge, as well as Islam, and the demise of Zanzibar's national identity as a Swahili, mercantile culture of travel, trade and intellectual exchange resulted in what was once a thriving, outward-looking island state being reframed as a poor semi-autonomous developmental state oppressed by mainland Tanzania (Middleton 1994). A more liberal agenda was gradually introduced in the 1980s by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who moved from being President of Zanzibar to President of Tanzania in the space of twelve months. He is credited with relaxing the socialist hold on the economy and introducing a gentle liberalisation.

In 1984, with this liberalisation of the economy, the Government of Zanzibar (GOZ) embarked on a diversification away from a dependency on clove production to promote and encourage tourism investment on the islands. This was a resounding success, on paper, with numbers of visitors increasing from 42,141 in 1990 to 128,440 in 2008 and contributing to 35% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Zanzibar Tourism Commission 2009). However, even though there is a strong and clear rhetoric for the need for sustainable tourism, the reality has been something quite different and disparity has increased on the islands.

5.4. A Decade of Turmoil

A multi-party system was reinstated in 1992 and in response; the islands of Zanzibar entered a turbulent socio-political free fall of Islamic religious influences and political parties vying for the attention of the now poorly educated, parochial and provincial population.

After the 1995 elections, which the Commonwealth observers called "a shambles", various donor countries, especially in the European Union, froze aid programmes to Zanzibar (UNPO 2010). Desperate for foreign income the government increased promotion of Zanzibar as an investment opportunity. Large expanses of the island were marked as tourism development areas, prohibiting domestic dwellings. Local people who owned plots in these areas had them sold compulsorily by the Government to foreign developers, in many cases forsaking access rights to the beach and sea.

The Government took this one step further entering into some dubious investment arrangements. In one instance they agreed to sell a third of the island to an international corporation for a huge development comprising eighteen hotels, an airport, a marine leisure centre and two golf courses. The development would have meant the displacement and resettlement of over 20,000 people into three or four-storey buildings with allotments. Local people were not consulted and it was only through pressure from international NGOs, such as Tourism Concern UK, that the development was stopped.

Most donor countries resumed aid programmes after 1999. The commonwealth-brokered an agreement between the main rival parties in Zanzibar, CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) and CUF (Civic United Front) and no more sanctions were instated, even after the failed elections of early 2000 (UNPO 2010). October 2000 saw another general election and again the results were contested, awakening deep resentment and causing a great deal of unrest in Zanzibar. Tourism came to a standstill during the elections for fear of tourists being caught up in local reprisals.

January 27th 2001 witnessed the Government unleashing Union Government armed forces against local people who were peacefully campaigning against the results; over 100 people were injured, raped or killed and 2,000 local people fled Zanzibar fearing for their families' personal safety. The result was that tourism stood still for another season. On 11th September 2001, two hijacked planes crashing into the 'twin towers' of the Trade Centre in New York. Subsequent Government military action against the proletariat resulted in an unprecedented volume of flight cancellations and Zanzibar's tourism industry teetered on the verge of collapse (UNIS 1995–2001).

Following the total collapse of the tourism industry political discussions resumed and after one more turbulent and contested election in 2005 a political consensus was reached. An agreement called the Mwafaka¹¹ was made that stipulated that the 2010 election would result in a coalition government, with the winner assuming the Presidency and the opposition the Vice Presidency. Ministerial portfolios would be evenly dispersed between them.

5.5. Socio-economic Realities of Coastal Livelihoods

With the recent relative political stability the tourism industry has mushroomed and with it all of the influences and pressures associated with this global phenomenon. The coastal areas of Zanzibar are exposed to the only form of globalisation in which the consumer is transported to the commodity. The result, as Urry suggests is "an area's local history and culture is made available and transformed into a response for local, economic and social development within a globally evolving economy and society" (2002:152).

¹¹ Swahili for Compromise

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Northern Zanzibar, where I focus my research, represents an interface between land and sea.

It is a prime tourism destination with its long expanses of pristine white beaches fringed with palm trees and fishing villages constructed from glistening white coral rock with coconut leaf thatched roofs.

Figure 5.1 Map of Zanzibar, Showing Research Locality



In contrast, to this 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1988), the communities of these coastal areas depend directly or indirectly on the natural capital assets and have a subsistence existence. The inter-relationships and inter-dependence between the social, human, physical, financial and natural capital assets in these areas is played out between the provision of goods such as fish, salt, crops and construction materials, and the provision of services such as transportation, recreation, water supply, tourism, thereby sustain biodiversity and governance. To understand the impact of these global pressures and forces, and to frame these realities, the following sets of narratives are themed around five livelihood capital asset groups, each through the lens of a particular community sector as described in Table 5.1. Capital assets are livelihood resources that individuals and communities use to make a living. Ability to put these to productive use and how relate to one another is particularly important in determining and developing a livelihood strategy (Ashley and Carney 2001).

Table 5.1 Community Sector Perspectives Livelihood Capital Asset Groups

Capital Asset	Description	Community
Group		Sector Lens
Financial	Cash, savings, salaries, credit and access to	Young Men
capital:	credit	and Boys
Physical capital:	Water and sanitation, fuel sources, transport,	Young Women
	shelter and buildings, communications and	and Girls
	household goods	
Natural capital:	Crops, forests, water, land, sea, clean air and	Women
	biodiversity	
Human capital:	Skills, knowledge, creativity, experience, ability to	Fishermen
	work and good health	
Social capital:	Networks of obligation and trust, relationships with a	Elders
	friends, a sense of community	

5.6. Financial capital assets through young men's lenses

In 2008 young men or boys who had completed their schooling made up the majority of the potential workforce in Zanzibar. Youth unemployment was around 90% and more than 65% of the population of Zanzibar was under 25 years old. During a series of six participatory focus group sessions, each with six to eight young men aged 18 to 30 about to leave or having left education, I asked what they felt the future held in terms of economic opportunities. One young man stated:

"We are farmers and fisherman, like our fathers and forefathers. We grow food and catch fish to eat and have the same hand-to-mouth lifestyle that they have had. Tourism has no benefit to us; we can't get jobs in the hotels and if we were to, we would have to lie to our parents as they see those places as haram12."

Another young man joined the focus group in the village maskan¹³. Four felled coconut tree trunks adjacent to each other to form a square with a woven coconut leaf canopy supported on four mangrove wood poles. He was carrying a guitar fashioned from some bits of wood with strings made of fishing line. "Can you play?" I asked. He replied:

"Don't be silly, it's not a real guitar. My uncle plays the cello in a tarab¹⁴ group and has travelled the world. He has promised to bring a quitar back and teach me to play so I can see the world. Until then, I practice my chords on this dumb thing."

I asked, "So what do you do in the meantime?" He replied,

Haram is a qu'ranic term for sin
 Resting area
 Traditional Zanzibar orchestral music

"I have a job. I deliver crates of sodas and beer to hotels with a handcart. I also grow cassava, pigeon peas, millet and tomatoes on our family farm, and fish when the moon is right."

Fishing opportunities are dictated by the moon in Zanzibar as fishing is predominantly an inshore activity and, when there is a small moon, fishermen use kerosene lamps to lure the fish to the surface where they catch them using hand lines. During this conversation, the group of young men at the maskan had increased; word had got around that there was a mzungu 15 asking questions in Swahili. With the absence of television and the long shadows of the afternoon, it was a good time to talk. As more young men joined the conversation to talk about their livelihood activities, I learned how most of them were involved in fishing and farming activities in some way, working with their fathers or uncles as fishermen, fish auctioneers, cycling around neighbouring villages to sell fish, as boat builders or net repairers. One young man's family had a shop selling fishing gear and a workshop where his older brother repaired outboard motors for boats. He said

"I'm saving to go to college to be an engineer. I will have to stay with my aunty in town to go to the technical college. I passed my Form 4 [GCSE equivalent] and my brother has been showing me how to take an engine apart and put it back without any spare bits left over."

At which point the group erupted into laughter. Another guipped

"Oh yes, better the fundi¹⁶, fewer the spare parts."

Despite the expansion of the tourism industry subsistence livelihood activities were in the majority. Where young men did work in hotels, it was as gardeners,

¹⁵ European¹⁶ Technically trained person

rubbish collectors or soda deliverers. Even then, no one had just one job or a single source of income. They all had several income-generating activities based mostly around fishing, which occupies around 30% of the population¹⁷ in coastal villages, then farming, both livestock and crops, and forestry.

Fishing was characterised by non-selective use of traditional implements - wooden boats, dugout canoes, traps and nets. Farming was subsistence and non-mechanized, taking place in the coastal thickets as there is limited fertile land. Cash crops were predominantly fruit trees such as mangos, citrus, papaya and coconuts, with some vegetables such as aubergines, okra and tomatoes. Most farms were small, ranging between one and five acres per family.

Many of the wooded areas across the Northern Zanzibar are coastal thickets and mangroves. A few of the boys in the group conversations that we had were involved in the extraction of mangrove poles for construction, for fuelling lime kilns (burning coral rock) and producing charcoal, the hotel business having increased the demand for charcoal. There were also some families who grew casaurina pine trees for building poles and also for firewood, though it was acknowledged it was not much use for either.

On enquiring what barriers or constraints they faced to expand or diversify further they cited access to credit or capital, lack of expertise or experience and access to markets. The market system in Zanzibar is controlled by middlemen, intermediaries who buy producers' commodities at low prices and resell them at a profit. Around 73% of farmers from coastal villages sell to middlemen (ZRG)

¹⁷The Status of Zanzibar Coastal Resources: Towards the Development of Coastal Management Strategies and Action Plan (Department of Environment 2009)

2006). Fisher folk and farmers do not have the organisational capacity to challenge the market structures and this creates disincentives for producers in adopting more efficient or productive processes.

"What about women and girls," I asked, "do they work?" I was aware from my time in the islands that a woman's work is never done, especially in the rural areas, but was interested in their perspective. "Well, not many have jobs," one youth said. "Anyway, I wouldn't want my wife to work outside the home; it's not right!" said another.

"What do you mean?" I asked. The collective response was that it was acceptable for women to help with the farming of crops and to engage in seaweed farming. Almost all their mothers and sisters were involved in seaweed farming, as 88% of seaweed growers in Zanzibar are women (ZRG 2006). Seaweed is grown for export to Europe and the USA and is used in the cosmetic industry as a gelling agent. Rope making from coconut coir and weaving baskets and mats were the other predominantly female incomegenerating activities. None of the young men were happy with the idea of their mothers, sisters or wives working in the tourism industry. One had an aunty who worked as a housekeeper in a large hotel but she was divorced and had no man to support her, so she 'needs to work'. Another of the young men's mothers was a primary school teacher and one a tailor, but women who were employed were a definite minority. Where there was employment in the tourism sector, men dominated activities such as tour guiding and selling products, but women dominated hotel employment, predominantly in unskilled housekeeping positions.

Tourism currently employs around 10,000 people and provides indirect employment for around 40,000 people in Zanzibar. Less than ten percent of both these opportunities are secured by Zanzibaris (ZRG 2008). The financial capital of the coastal communities of Zanzibar is based on fishing and agriculture (ZRG 2012) and can be broken down as shown in the following table:

Table 5.2 Breakdown of Economic Activity

District	Main activities by Percentage							
	Crop farming	Fisheries	Livestock	Seaweed farming	Tourism	Other sectors		
North	23.7	26.8	0.3	17.6	10	21.6		
Region								

5.7. Young women and girls consider physical capital assets

Talking to young women and girls about physical capital assets seemed appropriate as, from my previous research and experience of working in rural Zanzibar, I had observed that young women and girls are affected the most when infrastructure is less developed. My conversations with the young women and girls were not as casual or informal as my discussions with the young men and boys. Lazy afternoons sitting in the shade talking about football did not feature in young women's agenda. Instead, I arranged four meetings after secondary school. This meant that I would be talking to one hundred and twenty (thirty at each meeting) young women and girls, in school, aged between 14 and 20.

At each meeting I was sitting at the front of a classroom with the girls in before me in neat rows looking at me expectantly. Under the instruction of the head

teacher who had also stayed behind each girl stood up in turn, stated her name. sat down and momentarily pulled her head scarf over her face in shyness. I waited patiently until it was my turn to introduce myself, then challenged by the potential of receiving superficial information in such a formal environment I asked, "Who has a mobile phone?" In each focus group session with young women and girls, a show of hands indicated around 90% of the girls had phones. I follow on with, "How many of you have credit on your phones?" This time around a third of the hands go up. I continued, "Why have phones with no credit?" Giggles erupted with "hafahamu" (she doesn't understand why, in Swahili) said by many of the girls. "Misti call, teacher" one girl said, followed by more giggles. "Misti" means missed calls, a common way of alerting or getting in touch with people that does not use or require credit. There are four mobile phone providers in Zanzibar and one landline provider, but fewer than five percent of rural communities have access to a landline (ICMS2010). Now that the girls had relaxed a bit I decided the best way to find out about access to physical assets would be to play a game called 'stop the clock' with them. This is an activity I have used many times in the UK to make the connections between local lives and global influences. In this instance I wanted to connect with these young women's lives and their access to capital assets.

I explained that I wanted everyone to stand up and walk slowly round the classroom and stop when I said "Simama" (stop in Swahili). I would state a time and they were to get into groups of three and discuss with each other what they would be doing at that time, then feed this information back to the whole group and then resume walking round. The following record is a culmination of my notes from the six focus group discussions I had with young women and girls after the activity. Their responses are in italics.

"Simama 4a.m.":

"We wake up and collect water for cooking and washing."

Girls in the groups walked between one and four kilometres to collect water in twenty litre buckets from shallow wells or community standpipes. According to my discussions, around 60% of rural communities have access to water from a piped system and not one family, represented by more than one hundred girls, had piped water in their home. On average they collect one hundred litres a day requiring five trips each to the well.

"Simama 6a.m.":

"We help our mothers to light the mafia stove and make tea for breakfast if we are on afternoon shift or we walk to school if we are on morning shift."

A mafia stove or 'three stone fire' resembles a small campfire comprising three stones skirting the firewood of twigs or split logs. Most schools run on two shifts to cope with the increasing volume of students; morning shift is 7a.m. to 12 noon and afternoon shift is 1p.m. to 6p.m. The average distance walked to school was one and a half miles and all of the girls on morning shift missed breakfast. When asked about transport, again giggles:

"You can't drive to our village in the rainy season, there is no road and in the dry season, we can walk faster as the track is so bad."

"Simama 8a.m."

"If we aren't in school, we walk to the coastal, thicket forests to collect firewood or help our mothers farm crops or catch fish depending on the tides."

From the groups around 90% of the girls' families cooked using firewood, eight percent used charcoal and two percent kerosene. No one in the groups cooked with gas or electricity. Women and girls in groups walked between three and ten miles to cut firewood for fuel. Farming and fishing also involved working in groups. One example given was walking down to the coast to catch fish using prohibited 'juya nyavo' (seine drag nets). Fish caught are consumed on the same day because of the small volume caught and there are very limited fish processing activities. Because of a lack of refrigeration the most common ways of preserving are salting, sun-drying and smoking (Situation Analysis of food and nutrition in Zanzibar, 2006).

"Simama 12 noon"

"We walk home from school or back from the coast or forests and help our mothers prepare food for the family before walking to school."

"Simama 4p.m."

"We return from farming crops or fishing. We do household chores, washing and cleaning the house, and burn the rubbish; we also collect water from the well or stand pipe if we didn't go in the morning."

There is no waste collection in the rural areas and a scarcity of crude dumping sites. This, combined with fact that around 40% of rural, coastal communities do not have toilets in their homes (Zanzibar Food Security and Nutrition Situation Analysis, 2006), results in outbreaks of cholera, typhoid and dysentery in the wet seasons when the water table rises. Most communities are within two miles of a health clinic and there are two cottage hospitals in the district, one specialising in antenatal and maternity healthcare.

"Simama 6p.m."

"We walk home from school and go to our girlfriends' or family relations' houses before going to madrassa after maghribi (sunset)."

Every village has a madrassa, a religious school for the study of the Islamic religion, attached to the village mosque. All children and young people attend daily until they are 18 years old.

"Simama 8p.m."

"We walk home after isha (evening prayers) and do homework with the kalibay (kerosene light) or sit and share stories with our families. My bibi (grandmother) has the best stories. All our neighbours come to listen to her. She is hilarious. She chews tobacco and talks into the night. She gave me some once, made my head really dizzy."

Electricity has reached most of the villages in rural Zanzibar but only a quarter of households have electricity installed. In Northern Zanzibar about 15% of houses have electricity, 3.1% have solar lighting and the remaining 80% or so use kerosene for lighting. Only 50% of schools in rural Zanzibar have electricity or piped water (The report of the status of Zanzibar Coastal Resources 2009).

In contrast to the paucity of physical, capital assets at a community level, the hotel industry across this district provides international customers with air-conditioning, power-showers and infinity pools - swimming or reflecting pools that produce a visual effect of water reaching to the horizon, vanishing or extending to 'infinity'.

5.8. Women and Natural Capital Asset

Lacking physical infrastructure rural coastal communities depend on the naturally occurring capital assets around them for their existence. These include the food they farm or catch, the fuel they cook with, and the water they drink. Ominous signs of environmental degradation are increasingly evident (ZRG 2009). In many of the coastal communities thickets and mangrove forests have been used for fuel and building materials have thus been wiped out. This means women walk further and in some cases resort to illegal cutting in neighbouring villages resulting in conflict (Al Kanaan and Proctor 2008). I spent three weeks with coastal women from 15 villages, accompanying them in their daily activities, to gain an understanding of their impact on the natural, capital asset base of the Northern Zanzibar. I witnessed, at first hand, land-use conflicts associated with livestock, agriculture, tourism and forestry practices that clashed with indigenous socio-economic activities and cultural norms. These included women being told they could not farm seaweed on the beachfront near hotels and women's livestock being confiscated as they grazed on foreign-owned land. Slash and burn is the dominant form of shifting cultivation employed. This, combined with firewood cutting and charcoal and lime burning, has contributed to an annual clearance of 500 hectares of coral rag¹⁸ across the whole of Zanzibar (Department of Environment, State of the Environment, 2004).

¹⁸ a stoney type of soil, covered in bushes and shrubs

Seaweed farming, a women-dominated, mari-culture activity is a major contributing factor to the destruction of sea grass. In addition, the prohibited seine nets women use to fish the lagoons at low tide cause damage to coral and the habitat of many juvenile fish.

With these facts to hand I spent my time with these rural women talking about the changes they had witnessed in their practice and the state of the natural capital assets they depend upon. Direct quotes from the women are all in italics, but are not attributed to any particular individuals:

"We collect sticks from the thicket, then go out to farm the seaweed, harvest and bundle it, and carry it on our heads to where we dry it."

"We don't swim so we farm our seaweed close to the shore, but it's hard work sitting in the water for a long time under the heat of the sun and those bundles can be heavier than kuni (firewood)."

"It's not a job for a young girl; most of us are married with children when we start to farm seaweed, but it's getting harder as we don't get a good price from the buyer [middleman]."

"We also farm crops. We use the methods our parent showed us. We have our own land and our 'maweni', our community land. Yes, of course women can own land, this isn't Bongo (colloquial name for mainland Tanzania)."

Land rights and tenure on the mainland vary according to tribal traditions and norms and are often discriminatory towards women. In Zanzibar women have equal rights to men in all aspects of land and property ownership.

"I practice mixed farming in my own land, always legumes with tubers so that the soil stays healthy. We slash, burn and plant our crops in the 'maweni'."

"The big change is the amount of time we leave the bundi (coral rag bush) fallow. The bush fallow system that my mother used, when I was a child helping her, was a fifteen year-cycle but now there isn't enough land so we use a three year cycle with just two years' fallow. The land isn't as productive either, but I guess it's not having the same amount of time to recover as back when I was a child."

"We have no security though; my family's land was sold to that hotel by the Government. It was really good soil, so now we have to farm the maweni too. When we complained we were told it was not our land even though my great-grandparents farmed it."

According to Government statistics more than 70% of land occupied by rural communities is without formal 'right of occupancy' (ZRG 2009). This means, even though more than 50% of communities across Northern Zanzibar have inherited their land, they have not registered it, and without deeds they cannot use their land to raise financial capital (ZRG 2009). According to the women, 'maweni' or common land was seen as land to be used without ownership or nurture. Where they farmed their own land it was valued more, and where tourism development deprived people of their land, there was resentment and more pressure on communal land:

"Anyone who has land will sell it. The Mzungu (European) will pay a lot of money. For us, land needs water and good soil to be of value, for them a beach. The big problem is once they build their hotel, we can't get to the pwani (coast) to farm our seaweed or to fish."

Other research has also demonstrated how the tourism industry has raised the value of coastal land resulting in restrictions to access of natural capital assets and land shortages (Käyhkö 2008).

Firewood collection, population increases, development and lack of alternative fuel-sources have increased demand and pressure on the finite capital asset that is land. Deforestation is an increasing problem. Accompanying a group of woodcutters to the coastal thicket, we discussed how woodcutting practices had changed:

"Do you see this shrub? When it burns its smoke really stings your eyes so we don't cut this unless we have no alternative. This shrub here is my favourite; it burns hot, but it's getting harder to find - too many of us and not enough to cut... don't know what we will cook on when it's all gone."

"We mark out a patch, cut part of it, bundle it and leave it to dry for two weeks [then] cut another patch and so on. Once dry, we come back and collect it. We carry it back on our heads; I guess a dried bundle weighs 20 kilogrammes. We then cut another part of it. It used to be that by the time we got back to the first patch, it had regrown, but that doesn't happen much these days and we are having to walk further and further."

Current household use is 25 kilogrammes per capita per month. With an average household of eight people, this is 200 kilogrammes of dried wood a month per household (Sazani Associates 2012). This is not sustainable and the coastal thicket has reduced from two storeys (tall trees and shrubs) to a single storey.

I also asked about the mangrove forests, which fringe the west coastline of the peninsula.

"We don't cut mangrove for firewood, but our men cut it for building poles and to make boats."

"Uduni was maisha mama (economic hardship), even though we are told not to cut trees. We need some activities that generate an income and also our men need somewhere to put their dhows (boats)."

Mangroves are protected by law and it is prohibited to cut them down, but very few community members claim to be aware of, or respect, relevant forestry laws and regulations.

Talking about seaweed farming activities, the women told me about the price issues they have with middlemen and about how they have conflicts with fishermen and tourist hotels because they use the shallow water close to the beach. They have been told they would get better crop results if they went deeper, but they cannot swim. When not farming seaweed, they forage the tidal lagoons. The biggest change has been that the number and variety of fish has decreased. The women attributed this to too many people fishing, but had no alternatives.

Water, as previously mentioned, is collected mostly from shallow wells and some of the shallow wells have become salty. The women attribute this to people selling their water to hotels. Hotels consume around ten times as much water per capita than rural coastal communities (Progress in Integrated Coastal Management, 2010).

The open-access nature of fishing and seaweed farming increases the vulnerability of livelihoods associated with natural capital assets. Without any zoning or regulation there are no legal rights for fisher folk and farmers or the natural capital assets they rely upon. According to a 2002 census Zanzibar's population was 984,625 people. With annual growth rate of 3.1% it will reach

1.5 million by 2015. Land pressure through increased population and tourism investment has reduced the area of land under cultivation but also increased pressure on available land, in turn lowering its productivity.

5.9. Fishing for Human Capital

The literacy rate of Zanzibar is 75% for people aged fifteen or more. In the rural areas, it drops to 65% (DFID 2010). With fishing as the primary economic activity across Northern Zanzibar, I decided to focus my discussions regarding the current, human capital assets (skills, health and ability to work) on the fishing community. This involved a series of ten semi-structured interviews with fishermen who were either mending their nets at the close of market or repairing their boats:

"We don't go so far out these days. We would need stronger boats and that means more money, which we don't have. Depending on the moon we fish at night or day, so in the day it takes around two hours to reach the fishing ground, four hours to fish and two hours back, so what's that - eight hours a day - harder than a government job, hey? Night fishing is much longer, at least twelve hours by the time we get there and back."

"We know where to fish, when to fish and what fish we will catch depending on the season and the moon. No, we didn't learn that in school. I didn't complete primary school; being lettered doesn't help a fisherman, I learnt from my elders."

"My brother gave up fishing to be a dive-boat captain. He says they look at paper to see when the tide is high. I can tell you exactly when the tide will come and how far compared to yesterday. Where does it tell you that in the paper?"

Most of the fishermen I talked to valued indigenous knowledge over schooling. It is passed from one generation to another - learning by doing. Based on years of experience, fishermen know about the geophysical structure of the seabed and how it affects the depth and velocity of the water, where to find certain fish, what bait and what gear to use.

"My grandfather looks at the stars, the colour of the ocean and how the birds behave and knows where the wind will blow from, how strong it will be and when it will change. You don't learn that in school."

"What about your children, do they go to school?" I asked.

"Of course, I want my children to complete school. Fishing is a hard life, have you ever seen a fat fisherman? Lettered people get fat and I would like my son to have choices. My nephew went to university, the first in our family. He works for the Government and is getting a good kitambi (belly)."

The current education system involves staying at school until an individual has completed seven years of primary and four years of secondary education. It is free and compulsory but gross enrolment rate and attendance figures vary according to the season, and there are certain times of the year when there is a noticeably higher number of girls than boys in school despite the under twenty population being 49% male and 51% female (Ministry of Education 2009). In common with many cultures, education is seen as a means to have choices, but not to increase knowledge regarding traditional activities. This in turn can restrict the progression or development of activities as, whilst important, indigenous knowledge rarely takes into consideration global influences and pressures. However, the price of fish does increase dramatically in the tourism season, which suggests direct global influence and pressure.

In terms of workforce wellbeing the staple diet of fish, rice and fruit is incredibly healthy and most fishing accidents occur when new or modern technologies are used without proper understanding. An example of this is diving for sea cucumbers. Local fishermen 'borrow' or buy stolen dive equipment and use it to dive thirty to forty meters to collect sea cucumbers, which are exported to China. Without proper training many of these divers end up with the bends and die en route to the hyperbaric chamber (ZATI 2009).

5.10. Elders' Perspective on Social Capital Assets

From my focus group discussions and semi structured interviews with all of the groups about the five capital assets it was apparent that the social capital assets of community networks, bonds and obligations were very strong. In terms of indigenous knowledge passed down through generations the elders in the community held a position of respect and, thus far, had not participated in my discussions. Consequently, I sought their perspective on social capital assets and the changes they had witnessed to date. One elderly man told me that

"In the past, we controlled how our communities' resources were used, who by and where conflict arose; we were the mediators. Nowadays, the hotels seem to decide who can do what and where. My wife was told that she couldn't farm seaweed on Kendwa Beach as tourists wanted to swim there."

Another joined in to talk about the local traditional governance structures and the changes they had witnessed since the onset of tourism.

"We had a committee of elders in each village, [which was] not appointed by the Government but representative of our community

by nature of our age. Our decision was final and we were in control of social conflicts and antisocial behaviours."

"Someone who didn't obey our decision was considered deviant by the whole community. With so many people from outside moving in, our communities are changing and not for the better. They bring their alcohol, drugs and prostitutes from 'bara' (the mainland) showing our young people bad examples, and you know young people, their minds are weak and they are easily led. They run away from school and madrassa to hang about on the beach."

"Even their parents don't have control over their young children who drink alcohol and acquire foreign ladies."

I have written extensively about the impact of tourism on young people in Zanzibar (Al Kanaan and Holtom 2000, Al Kanaan 2006, and Al Kanaan and Proctor 2008). In particular I have drawn attention to the negative impacts of exposure to nudity, alcohol, drugs and beach-boy prostitution that tourism brings. Also, the in-migration of workers from mainland African countries and the difference in sexual mores has caused conflict in a conservative rural society, as the elders told me, recounting stories from their own experiences and those they had heard from others.

"You know, so much that used to be freely available can't even be bought any more. There are things like mikuti (coconut leaf thatching) for our homes; all the hotels use it and it's so expensive now. Communal land, the maweni, causes many conflicts in the villages as some want to farm it, another wants to sell it and no-one has proof of ownership, so it gets sold to a mzungu (European) and it causes upset with the whole community."

"I heard one community had sold their communal graveyard to an Italian."

There have been numerous disputes regarding land ownership, boundaries, right of occupancy and multiple sales of the same land. These involve individuals, families and communities especially where there has been an element of common ownership. This all contributes to the destruction of social capital and impacts on other community traditions of fellowship and concern for each other. The Elders told me the following.

"We have a custom called 'Ujimaa' where you are honour-bound to help a fellow village member with any task needing assistance; farming or pulling in a boat, but I fear it will die with me and my peers, and we will all have to pay for assistance, even old people."

"Yes, tourism has changed the nature of our community conflicts. Before, they were mostly to do with cultural or historical rivalries and jealousies between our fishermen and neighbouring villages. These days it is about violations against our community, fishing restrictions through the hotels' demand for octopus and squid. We no longer have power to manage these conflicts and our fish stocks are depleting."

"Yes, I remember when octopi were so big [the size of his forearm].

Now they are the size of my hand and so expensive,"

Zanzibar has become famous for its seafood and, unsurprisingly, this has increased demand for what was once considered poor man's food - crab, lobster, squid and octopus. The increase in demand has resulted in a sharp increase in the price of the main source of animal protein (Progress in Integrated Coastal Management, 2010).

5.11. A Reflection on Zanzibar

The political struggles and ideological shifts in Zanzibar (particularly its journey from socialism to liberal capitalism) have resulted in a culture of dependency

and a lack of responsibility. The decline of livelihoods and opportunities and the increase in population has resulted in overuse of coastal resources. The onset of tourism simultaneously raised expectations as an alternative source of financial capital and exasperated the problem through an over-exploitation of natural capitals such as water, land, forests and marine resources. As tourism continues to grow and compete with local subsistence activity the wide range of negative effects on culture and traditional ways of life is a ticking time bomb. The rise of salafism in the islands as a counter to the 'moral evils' of tourism has been spurred on by the lack of positive benefits to the local population. Indigenous women walking past infinity pools with buckets of water or firewood on their heads, whilst making the perfect picture to take home from one's holidays, builds resentment amongst the local population.

The local population insists that tourism has increased poverty and introduced a range of new socio-economic problems that communities are not equipped to manage. These include environmental degradation, prostitution and alcoholism to name a few. Peak (1989:124) refers to this in noting, "a final form of oppression is the modern tourist trade, in which once again outsiders exploit the Swahili." This constitutes an undesirable situation that, if left unattended, could see a return to social unrest.

The current Government policy acknowledges the need to understand and respect rural coastal community views for integrative thinking and to involve them in decision-making processes. The 2010 coastal strategy document states "Communities, especially those living in coastal areas, need to be made aware of the importance of coastal resources to their livelihood and thus their wise use of the resources is so crucial" (ZRG 2010:33).

This chapter sets the context for the delivery of the GLP and for the PAR in Northern Zanzibar, in order to understand the relevance of global learning in a small island state. In the next chapter I introduce global learning as a pedagogy that enables active engagement in awareness of these coastal resources. It facilitates a social learning process of awareness of the global forces and pressures that impact on livelihoods with space for critical reflection and deliberative dialogue to inform decision-making and actions. Ultimately, I follow what changes happen on exposure to, and engagement in, the global learning programme and the resultant Global Social Learning.

Chapter 6. The Global Learning Programme in

Zanzibar: The Second Cycle of Change

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I present the initial findings and reflections emerging from the

second cycle of change in the Participatory Action Research Study carried out

in Northern Zanzibar. This cycle focuses on the social change that occurred as

a direct result of participating in the Global Learning Programme (GLP), the

development of which is described in Chapter 4. The GLP comprised of three

linked modules as a learning pathway:

☐ Module One: Understanding the links between global issues, local

livelihoods and food

☐ Module Two: Engaging in decision making processes

☐ Module Three: Planning and managing actions and activities

There were twenty participants, fifteen from Zanzibar and five from the EU

project partners. Through the GLP it was anticipated that participants would

1. Increase their understanding and awareness of global

interconnectedness and develop a critical understanding of

interdependence that will enable informed choices and decisions towards

a just and sustainable world

2. Identify existing and potential assets at an individual and community

level, how they are connected to one another and in what ways to

multiply their power and effectiveness. The desired outcome was to

create opportunities for positive change.

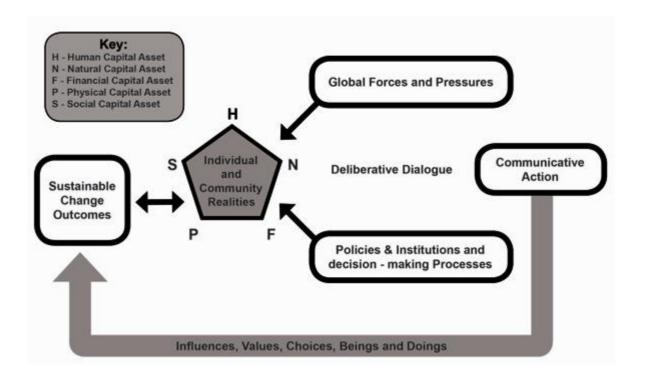
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With regard to PAR data collection and analysis all of the participants during the GLP engaged in a collective reflection of their learning through the participatory learning activities employed. I observed and recorded this process through analysing their learning responses from the PAL activities and their collective reflections using a mixture of thematic and discourse analysis. Following the GLP eight of the participants who consented to participate in the PAR engaged in photovoice to collectively investigate and transform their realities (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000).

Through this chapter I begin with a description of the participants in my research and the issues that they bring individually and collectively to the process. I then describe and analyse the social changes that occurred during and as a direct result of participating in the global learning programme. Establishing a baseline of understanding through deliberative dialogue and a critical and collective reflection on sustainable change indicators drew the GLP to a close with a strategic plan to take the learning out of the 'safe space' of the GLP and into the community through photovoice. Putting the learning into practice was achieved through eight of the participants spending three weeks engaging in this first action step through photovoice. Using visual images as prompts they thought critically about their community and began discussing the everyday social and political forces that influence their lives (Freire 1970).

Throughout this chapter I detail my reflections on the formation and social construction of knowledge, skills and values in order to understand how participation in the global learning programme influences social change towards sustainability. I refer to this cyclical process of change as global social learning, which is directly related to my Global Social Learning Theoretical Framework.

Figure 6.1 Global Social Learning theoretical Framework



In relating the process to the framework I provide a detailed analysis of the participation of, and changes experienced by, the local and external actors in the global learning programme in order to answer my research question and sub questions:

What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?

- 1. How can global learning influence the formation and social construction of values and capabilities of rural actors?
- 2. To what extent has the social learning process contributed to changing power relations between the different actors?
- 3. In what ways has this process contributed to social change and what are the implications for sustainable livelihoods and food sovereignty?

6.2. Identifying Participants

Invitations to attend the global learning programme were distributed to all of the regional administrations, schools and civil society organisations based or working in Northern Zanzibar. The programme was aimed at individuals working in education and or rural development. Fifteen places were filled on a first come first served basis. In addition to the fifteen Zanzibari participants there were five participants from partners in the EU Project. To answer my research question, I focus on the sense-making experiences and changes in understanding of all of the participants in the GLP and on eight individuals who participated in this global learning programme and who also agreed to participate in the PAR and photovoice for the duration of my research.

The eight PAR participants are all from Zanzibar and have been exposed through their life and work to development sector impacts and European expatriates in a range of capacities. Most of them had a personal relationship with the Northern Zanzibar although not all and they were all professionally or personally active or involved in governance, education and or rural development. They all consented to share with me any audio and visual media materials gathered through the research so long as they remained anonymous. This was because some of the material gathered during the research could be construed as being politically sensitive and potentially damaging to them as individuals. To this end I refer to them as follows: W or M signifies gender (W=Woman, M=Man) and 1, 2, 3, etc., to distinguish between them. The need to remove reputational and livelihood risk, as far as possible, from the process of reflection should not be underestimated. The "straitjacket" created in

Zanzibar (where political patronage can make or end an individual's career if it is linked to the state sector, coupled with the limited opportunity outside that sector) moderates challenge. No one is ever far from the state or state apparatus in the education or development sector. A safe space for critical and deliberate dialogue was created through participation in the three week global learning programme (run over a period of six weeks) followed by a six week photovoice study. There are a number of factors to be considered concerning participants' inclusion in the research. Spreading the course over a six-week period meant that participants were able to engage without it affecting their economic status or it having a negative impact on their livelihood strategies. I have provided descriptions of my sample of the eight participants who consented to participating in the PAR in Section 6.5.

6.3. The Global Learning Programme

The twenty participants came together for three weeks over a six-week period in a rural community setting and participated in the Global Learning Programme (GLP) developed through the EU project. Through global learning the aspirations and goals of the participants would be influenced towards the sustainable development of the rural communities of Northern Zanzibar and this was the second cycle of change in the Participatory Action Research spiral.

A direct result of the socio-political turmoil in Zanzibar is the politicisation of rights and rights based terminology. (The Kiswahili word for rights, *Haki*, became a political slogan up until the two political parties formed a coalition government.) Consequently it is not favoured by educationalists and development workers. Instead they have created a definition of what rights mean from their Zanzibar-based perspective in terms of usability and

deliverability. Rights or "haki" are defined as having "uwezo" (capacity, competence, ability, opportunity) and "ujuzi" (experience, expertise, knowledge, intelligence). This provides an interesting aspirational starting point when related back to the work of Sen (1999), as to have uwezo and ujuzi is to have capabilities, to be able to be and do what you value and make choices accordingly. This meant that the GLP did not mention rights, instead using the language of capabilities from the outset. Themes that emerged are discussed in the following sub-sections.

6.3.1. Existing Knowledge and Understanding

Through the GLP, detailed in Appendix 2, and building on the lessons learned through its development, I created a safe space for mutual exchange and exploration of local and global issues from a range of perspectives. The space was safe in that it was based on a foundation of strengths or assets that participants had. I combined my role as practitioner and researcher as I engaged the participants through global learning pedagogy in order to share production and transfer of existing knowledge and understanding. This contributed to the development of shared aspirations or value sets through participatory learning activities and critical reflection. I evaluated the sense making process of converting knowledge to understanding and how this results in a change in values and ultimately actions. At all times during the GLP I was careful to distinguish between knowledge and information, skill building and persuasion. It was not my intention to evangelise but rather to engage participants in an exploration of their existing livelihoods and to facilitate sharing and learning that drew on different perspectives and experiences. I hoped actors would identify the barriers and constraints that they faced and would consider how they could build on their existing asset base to address them. In

doing so, I was drawing on my theoretical framework that was centred on the importance of starting with and building on existing knowledge and understanding. To achieve this all of the participants worked together in groups to produce an individual and collective mapping of their livelihood assets. From this position participants were encouraged to understand each other's experiences and how each other's realities relate to the wider world.

The participatory action learning activities used to deliver the GLP were employed, throughout the training programme, to assess prior knowledge understanding and values of the participants, to deliver the programme and to measure how values changed during the learning process. On the first day of the GLP I began the session with some ice-breaking introductory activities. The first one was an aspirations, hopes and expectations exercise in which I ascertained why participants had come, what their expectations were and what they hoped to gain from this learning experience, as summarised in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Aspirations: Summary of Responses

Reasons for attending	Hopes and Expectations
To learn about new ways of working with	To learn something new
communities	To improve our health assessment tools
To find out how to make learning more	To assist with strategic plans
inclusive	To be more integrated in our work
Sent by my ministry/ organisation	To have new way of informing
To see how this relates to my work	communities about climate change

I wrote the five dominant hopes and expectations from the first day of the GLP on a flipchart and measured participants' responses throughout the learning programme. I did this by asking participants to place a combination of ticks and crosses at the end of each session on the flip chart paper. The top score was

three ticks and three crosses was the lowest score. The table below illustrates the results of this process.

Table 6.2 Summary of Hopes and Expectations

Hopes and	Learn	Improve	Assist with	More	Have new
Expectations	something	assessment	strategic	integrated in	way of
	new	tools	plans	our work	informing
					communities
Week 1	000	000	000	000	000
Week 2	000		000	000	000
Week 3	000	000	000	000	000

The GLP began with a presentation on sustainable livelihoods and asset based approaches and was followed by individual and collective mapping of the five capital asset groups: Financial, Human, Physical, Natural and Social. By focusing on local livelihood assets and using case studies to introduce different contexts, existing knowledge space was expanded rather than new spaces being created. This was to ensure that knowledge conveyed between participants connected to, and expanded, intuitive understanding that the participants had. In developing an understanding of what assets are and the mapping of individual and collective assets, there was a significant change in the relationships within the group, in terms of how they related to each other. There was a shared consensus about the importance of social capital in Zanzibar society, at a community level and in terms of governance.

In common with most small states the physical and relationship distance between rural communities and the Government was much smaller than on the mainland. As anticipated, focus shifted away from perceived needs and problems and how to address them towards strengths and how to build on them to overcome individual and shared issues.

Building on the mapping of individual and collective assets, I engaged all of the participants in a consensus building activity to identify what global pressures and forces they perceived to impact on their livelihoods and community. Individual responses were discussed as a whole group and used as the focus for a critical enquiry of the issue, the pressures and responses. I asked the participants what global and local issues they perceived to be of importance and relevance to their lives as individuals and members of their community. As a group they identified climate change, extreme weather, food security, tourism and poverty as the significant global pressures and forces that affected rural livelihoods in Zanzibar. Understanding how rural people cope with and relate their livelihoods to these global contexts is crucial to understanding the relevance of global social justice to sustainable livelihoods.



Figure 6.2 Global Context and feeding back



6.3.2. Improved Knowledge and Understanding

Through engaging in this discussion and dialogue participants exposed the realities of poverty in the district and Zanzibar, the culture of dependency and the negative impact of globalisation, highlighted by tourism, on their community. This lead to a dialogue that was deliberative in a Habermas (1984) context. Discussion was free and open, producing a range of perspectives from all of the

participants in the GLP. It focused on ethical dimensions and participants' notions of development, their worldviews and their concepts of life and values, which in turn led to a discussion about distribution of power and what resources local participants had access to and which were controlled by external actors.

This deliberative dialogue opened up the impact of exposure to 'the other'. Tourism had made it commonplace to see Europeans wandering around with cameras, sweets and money at the ready to exchange for a photograph. The dialogue included the following comment by one of the Zanzibari participants:

"Why do you think our children see a mzungu (European) and ask for something? They have been conditioned to ask for things. And why does a mzungu see our children and offer them things? Because they have been conditioned to feel sorry for them. But I don't think this helps the mzungu or the children, how can it? If we can begin to value ourselves and what we have, we will be able to challenge these negative opinions" (GLP Participant: 2010)

They stated the importance of gaining access to and engaging with decision makers so that their perspectives were understood and considered locally and globally. All of the participants, relating their shared knowledge and awareness to different contexts, expressed confidence and displayed an ability to critically analyse their own values, livelihoods and impact on capital assets. On reviewing this activity with all of the GLP participants, there was a unanimous valuing of the space provided to discuss openly and to focus on what they and their respective communities had rather than needed. This realisation of the importance of critical thinking and open discussion and reasoning is how Wals (2006) defines social learning and as Giroux (1992: 33) suggests it enables an "opportunity to engage in systematic analyses of the ways in which the dominant culture creates borders saturated in terrors, inequality, and forced

exclusions." Open and free discussion is still an emerging concept in Zanzibar and still a very loaded one. Even with the coalition government rural communities are still very much part of a political battle where one party still retains the trappings of state socialism and control and the other has used the language of democracy and rights for political gain. The reality is any change from the status quo is thus rendered as being politically motivated and biased against the legacy of the revolution where all forms of enterprise or free movement of goods or people was banned.

Within the GLP there was a consensus that establishing a series of shared aspirations and goals was a means to challenging many barriers and constraints. Furthermore, there was agreement that these aspirations and goals should be flexible enough to be influenced by new experiences and that focusing on strengths and opportunities builds individual and collective confidence. As stated by one of the participants:

"Many researchers come and visit our groups and ask us what we need and what our problems are, so of course we give them a shopping list, why wouldn't we? Wouldn't you?" (GLP Participant: 2010)

Through this acknowledgement new capabilities emerged as participants' values reflected what they perceived their strengths to be rather than what they needed. They felt more able to be and do and to make choices that reflected these individual and collective values. As one participant summarised:

"From this day I now fully understand the importance of knowledge as part of a power relation between people and governments. As a woman with an understanding of my strengths and how they can support my community strengths I can contribute better to my community" (GLP Participant: 2010).

The change in perceptions of what the participants had and valued highlighted the importance of individual and collective engagement and participation in processes. This is an essential element of what Ibrahim (2006) refers to as collective capabilities. Participants identified the importance of confidence in sharing and discussing ideas and assessing what changes they would like to see and what they were able to do. This communicative exchange created and expanded capabilities and agency as the following quote shows:

"Through looking at the barriers and opportunities in our community to participate we identified, together, how important it is to learn by doing and to have confidence to have an opinion and how both of these come from working together and having a safe space to share what we feel and value." (GLP Participant: 2010)

6.3.3. Change in Power Relations

In analysing the collective reflections it became clear that the formation and social construction of values and capabilities did not depend on the variance of the participants in terms of education level. Their tolerance for each other's opinions and input evolved from one of insecurity to one of inclusivity. As a group all of the cultural hierarchies were present. In Zanzibar there are four determinants of power - age, sex, education and position. Of these the only natural factor is sex. Men have a higher status than women do. Only when a woman is older, more educated or has a higher position of responsibility, does her status supersede that of a man. Within the group setting the focus on assets and strengths began to dispel these initial normative values, socio economic and cultural hierarchies as the group moved from what Habermas (1984) calls strategic action to communicative action. The group shifted from

being a group of participants maintaining mutual isolation to becoming interdependent.

I analysed these changes, or transformations, in the interactions between the participants during the course of the GLP, noting emerging themes as summarised in the table below. There was a gradual transformation in the interaction between the local participants from Northern Zanzibar and external participants from outside Northern Zanzibar (other parts of the islands and Europe). This was exhibited in a number of ways; an increase in mutual trust between the participants, an increasing equitable exchange of information, and a realisation and willingness to listen to and learn from each other's experiences. The wider exchange of experiences and knowledge between participants gradually challenged preconceptions and mutual perceptions.

Table 6.3 Social Changes or Transformations

Emerging	Local Participants	External Participants	Transformations
Types of			
Interaction			
Acknowledge	More discursive in	Understanding	Local actors drive
ment of value	identifying and	complexities, humble,	delivery of shared
in partnership	defining problems,	recognition of the	objectives, power shifts
	more self-confident.	potentials and	from external actors;
	Tacit knowledge	complexity of	cultural expression and
	made visible	indigenous knowledge	reflection became part of
		and of the limitations	interaction; trust
		of external expertise	increased
Patterns of	Leading delivery and	Engaging in local	Change of roles: Local
Engagement	developing locally	living patterns and	participants became
	owned concepts of	keen to learn from	more powerful at defining
	success with	local actors	problems and solutions
	individuals becoming		External participants
	fundamental to new		assumed role as
	approaches to		receivers rather than

	problem solving		providers of knowledge.
			Mutual learning occurring
			and recognized.
Negotiating	Recognition of	Identify limitations of	Awareness of failures
Indigenous	existence and value	Western Scientific	linked to attitudinal and
and External	of indigenous	knowledge within	misapplied knowledge
Knowledge	knowledge whilst	specific social and	framework and an
Limitations	recognising its	cultural framework	unveiling for all
	limitations and the		participants of the
	use of external		underlying power
	knowledge		relations and driving
			factors within that
			relationship
Shared goals	A re-conceptualising	Understanding the	A recognition of the
for	of the issue needing	importance of	issues and realities
Development	addressed based on	integrating	concerning the
and Change	owned values and	deliverables and	importance of natural
	perceptions	processes with local	resource management
		values and	and the need to adapt
		perceptions.	local and external
			approaches jointly.
Redefining	Recognition of	Learning becomes a	Initiatives developed
the	power and	fundamental aspect of	jointly targeting issues of
Framework	resources lying	engagement process	mutual concern in a
for	outside their domain		mechanism, which
Engagement	and wanting to		supports local and
	engage to access		external perceptions of
	desired change.		issues and solutions.

The GLP created space for a more intense interaction and discussion about values and their role in social change as demonstrated by the following participant's comment:

"It is our values that determine what can make a difference not a project. We see many projects come and go, but nothing changes, we are still poor." (GLP Participant: 2010)

6.3.4. Social Change towards Sustainability

The GLP created conditions for developing new capabilities through collective action. Participants began to see themselves as actors of change, regarding themselves as both autonomous and part of something bigger and that their collective agency would give rise to new freedoms and greater capability. Rhetoric changed from "we can't", "we need" to "let's work together to do". While reinforcing their collective agency and their capability, which is intrinsically important (Evans, 2006 and Ibrahim 2010), they also increased their understanding of access to entitlements and assets/rights. Within all the exciting considerations and planned actions that participants developed individually and together was an increased understanding of the reality and importance of interconnectedness and interdependence between the different capital assets at different levels, from the micro, local level to the macro, global level.

Unpacking complex concepts so that participants were able to relate the big picture to local actions combined intuition and reflection with rational and empathic understanding. The result was a social learning process that was inclusive and resulted in collective agency.

6.4. Sustainable Change Outcome Indicators

The learning process that took place during the GLP significantly changed all the participants' perception of their needs, identities and values. This was illustrated during a reflexive discussion with the participants regarding their learning, their desired social changes towards sustainability and how this should be assessed. The result was a collectively agreed series of sustainable change outcomes as indicators of desired change.

This involved a three-step activity. The first step involved the group working in smaller subgroups to identify the changes they had seen over the last ten years and who was responsible. They then engaged in a whole group discussion to feed back and produce a shared list. This activity was repeated, focussing on the changes they would like to see in the next ten years and the actors attributed responsibilities and roles to different organisations. The third step was to ask participants how they will know these changes have happened.

This was done using an established participatory action learning activity, popular in global learning delivery - diamond ranking. This is a participatory ranking mechanism that involves dialogue and discussion to reach consensus on a list of priorities shaped like a diamond, described in detail in the appendices. The twenty participants worked in five groups of four people to suggest and rank their 'how we will know" change indicators in order of priority. The resulting five diamonds were then fed back to the group as a whole, they were collated to identify nine priority change outcomes/ indicators highlighting the links between agency, and self esteem to effect sustainable change.

Figure 6.3 Feeding back on diamond ranking to the group



Figure 6.4 **Sustainable Change Outcomes and Indicators**

Change in attitudes, values and understanding towards engaging others

Shared learning opportunities between different sectors and expertise levels and types

Increased capacity of individuals through valuing new and existing skills and knowledge

Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant

Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation

Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitats

Improved decision making at individual and community level

Increased access to and use of local facilities

Greater personal responsibility

Via these collective outcomes and indicators for sustainable change the importance of self-perception as an agent of that change is emphasised. Actors grew aware of the need for development of individual and community skills and capabilities to promote, "a change in attitudes, values and understanding towards engaging others" - a move towards individual and group empowerment. The GLP's effectiveness as a process in enabling the participants to define the environment they sought to create indicates an implicit understanding of empowerment. As Fetterman (2007: 5) points out, "No one empowers anyone - including empowerment evaluators - people empower themselves". This was evidenced by the participants' display of a new confidence in their ability to change their realities towards shared values that built on their strengths. This formed the basis of their self-esteem and enabled them to consider change in what they wanted to do or be. This sense of collective responsibility is an example of what Ballet (2007) refers to as strong agency.

It became clear during the GLP that for knowledge to become understanding and to result in action and value change it must be relevant to the learners' reality and livelihoods. In providing a safe social learning space for exchange of dialogue I observed how shared development and understanding of knowledge that was mutually relevant and manageable supported negotiation of a set of common values and actions. Furthermore, these values and actions were perceived necessary for wider value change and action towards sustainable livelihoods.

The GLP concluded with the participants each writing down three changes linked to a. knowledge, b. learning, c. approach, that they would be applying in the world beyond the learning setting. Engaging them in a participatory analysis

and ranking using sticky dots to prioritise, the top three learning outcomes that emerged from discussions were:

- 1. New understanding about asset bases (human natural, social, physical, financial)
- 2. Better able to organise and mobilise existing resources to achieve their actions
- 3. Change in how to approach issues and challenges as an individual but also with communities through creating spaces for reflection

Ultimately the PAR aim was to set in motion a development process that would enable rural communities to build on existing strengths to establish stronger and more sustainable linkages with their development and the global forces that impacted upon them. The Global Social Learning that emerged from the GLP revealed a gradual transformation of the patterns of interaction between participants. The emphasis had shifted away from needs and problems to community strengths, assets and opportunities. However, it was still unclear how these experiences, insights and reflections could be applied beyond the safety of a classroom. In order to capture the participants individual and community realities, their assets and opportunities and translate their understanding I used photovoice methodology.

6.5. Translating Understanding through Photovoice

On completion of the GLP, to enable demonstration understanding of the collective learning and agency developed through the training, I used photovoice to provide the participants with an opportunity to reflect upon and expose the institutional, social, political and conditions that contribute to their personal and community issues. The GLP concluded with eight individuals agreeing to participate in the photovoice process - to record, reflect upon and

review context-specific initiatives that would continue to enhance collective learning and action towards sustainable livelihoods. The eight participants referred to themselves collectively as "Bingwa wa endelevu", which translates as the capable and competent ones or specialists in sustainability. Throughout the remaining chapters of this thesis I refer to them individually and collectively as "Bingwa" to differentiate between them and the participants and actors they engaged with at a community level throughout the PAR. In addition, as they were now the focus of my research, it was important to know a bit more about them and the different attributes they embodied. I engaged each of them in a focused conversation to enable me to develop demographic and psychological profiles or 'thick descriptions' of them as my sample. I attempted to do this without compromising their identities or my promise of maintaining their anonymity. ¹⁹

6.5.1. The Participants Characteristics.

There were three women and five men taking part. The women were from different age groups and were all confident professionals. The men were also aged between mid twenties and early sixties, with positions of responsibility and respect within their communities. Being self-selecting I was not able to enforce gender equity but was confident that, individually and collectively, they met the criteria I had determined for my sample: They all worked in education and or rural development.

W1 is in her mid twenties and comes from the Peninsula. She has completed her education up to Form 6 (GCE A level equivalent). She lives with her family

¹⁹ The thick description of my Bingwa will be excluded from the public version of this thesis.

in a house built from a mixture of coral rag and concrete block with a corrugated tin roof and no electricity. Her family has connections deep within the local community and her father and brothers enjoy positions of prominence. She is very aware of the gender inequalities in society and as a non-married woman with no children she is her father's responsibility. As part of the networks of obligation she undertakes female designated household roles. This often means waking at four in the morning to collect water for domestic use, cleaning, food preparation and more. She is in the process of building her own house block by block as and when she can afford materials and labour.

She works with community groups across the region for a Community Based Organisation (CBO) and has to negotiate constantly the inherent sexism of her male colleagues who control access to resources and logistical support for delivery of the training, workshops and community development in which she is involved. She is passionate about women's development and her community and displays a strong sense of ownership of her role in the CBO. Realising her own value in terms of the work that she does can sometime lead her to become outspoken with her male colleagues which is culturally inappropriate and has a tendency to result in her facing obstructions and reduced cooperation.

W2 is a married woman in her forties with four children. She lives with her family in the centre of a coastal town in a blockhouse with a tin roof and electricity. She is educated up to Form 4 (GCSE equivalent) and works for the regional administration to support women's cooperatives. She employs domestic help as she travels extensively across East Africa advocating for women's economic freedom and social change. Well respected professionally and by the community she often challenges local power brokers on a range of social issues and has a good understanding of how to deal with conflict and articulate her

position. This enables her to ensure that arguments are taken outside the narrow male determinist lines that restrict what women do.

W3 is in her mid fifties. She is a widow who recently remarried and lives with one of her four sons in the island's capital city, Stonetown, in an old house with electricity and a well. She is an academic as well as a religious scholar and can articulate her views with conviction. She is a senior civil servant within the educational sector, has travelled internationally many times and worked for a number of international NGO's within Zanzibar. Working with schools and the education sector, she commands instant respect from both men and women. Her ability to speak English and negotiate the many barriers women face in Zanzibar is matched by her passion for education and her ability to liaise with teachers. As a trained professional she acknowledges the challenges and constraints within the education system and the gap in provision between rural and urban Zanzibar. W3 has a critical understanding and awareness of the global pressures Zanzibar is facing and sees education as the solution to just about everything.

M1 is a married man in his mid thirties with a wife and three children. He lives in a concrete block building, without electricity, near the coast. He is currently completing a degree in education and is a primary school teacher and Koran teacher in the local madrassa. All of his family live in the community and he is part of a close network of extended family members. He is also a local community activist and founding member of a local CBO. He has participated in a number of international study visits (through school and CBO associated activities) to the Middle-East and Eastern Europe and often states that it is better to be poor in Zanzibar than Slovakia in the winter. Intensely proud of his heritage and politically active, with what was the opposition party, he is very

confident in what he believes and very critical of the negative impacts of tourism in his community. Together with W1 he has seen his small fishing village change into a tourist resort, with displays of public nudity culturally associated with severe mental health issues. He acknowledges the benefits of tourism and channels his activism through championing a waste management campaign aimed at the domestic and tourism sectors. A confident and eloquent orator, people listen when he talks and he has achieved a degree of success in establishing community composting and plastic recycling initiatives through the CBO.

M2 is a married man in his mid-forties with two wives and ten children. He lives with one wife and eight children in a concrete house with electricity, and with his second wife and two children in a separate rented concrete block house without electricity. His family has links to some of the fishing communities that own the larger boats used for fishing the deeper water off the Northern coast of Zanzibar. He has a science degree, a strong interest in ITC and is a secondary maths teacher at a local school. He uses his ITC skills to generate extra income from helping others and to support his family. As his school had links with one in the Welsh Valleys he went on a link visit to Wales and was shocked by his experience of European poverty. He attends mosque every Friday but is critical of the changes in Islam he has witnessed. He regrets the demise of cultural festivities that were once common but have perished because of stricter doctrines being promoted.

M3 is a married man in his late thirties from the Nungwi Peninsula. He has four children and recently took a second wife. He lives in a concrete block, tin roofed building with electricity. M3 completed Form 4 education and worked for years as a fisherman and carpenter before getting involved in a local CBO. He has

demonstrated an ability to coordinate logistics and manage budgets through working as a field officer for a project with an international NGO. In common with his peers he combines a range of livelihood activities to sustain his family, including carpentry for hotels and project work with a range of International NGOs as well as with a CBO. Passionate about the local heritage and environment and with a deep interest in practical solutions he is always keen to try new ways of doing things. From his experience in the hotel sector, he is aware of what happens behind the closed gates of the hotels and of the distain that hotel owners have for local communities. He feels that amongst owners there is predominant disregard for the disparity. He too has been to Europe on a visit as part of his work with an international NGO and it has made him more appreciative of his own culture and location.

M4 is in his mid fifties. He is married with four children and lives in a village on the coast in a concrete blockhouse with a tin roof and no electricity. The village has access to piped water two weeks a month as part of a government water management plan. During the remaining period water is collected by women and girls from shallow wells or bought from water sellers on bicycles. He works as a fisherman, farmer and beekeeper and is head of the community fishing committee. He has a finely tuned appreciation of his environment (on which he is dependent and also part of) and bemoans his community's lack of access to water for irrigation. He is not in favour of tourism or the urbanisation of the region, but does appreciate the potential economic opportunities tourism brings. He has had no direct contact with tourists but has seen them on the beach and finds them amusing, if strange, and thinks they need to wear more clothes. Tourism development has little impact on his livelihood. His village, although close in distance to a number of hotels, is isolated and has little exposure to

tourism. Tourist and local buses travel quickly up and down a road a few minutes' walk from his home, but as no one stops it has little impact. He worries about children crossing the road and the lack of opportunities for young people in his village.

M5 is a mid-twenties married man with no children. He does however want ten children but is so far bitterly disappointed and has discussed taking a second wife to alleviate the situation. He is a mid-ranking government official with an MSc. He lives in a flat in Stonetown, the capital city of the island state. He sees himself very much as an urbanite that occasionally travels to rural areas for work. He is from a wealthy family, has received support in his academic career. He has a detailed understanding of the incredibly complex operation of a government department that has very little money from government coffers and relies on aid sector collaboration to operate. A marine scientist, he also understands the extent of the threats to coastal ecosystems and while he acknowledges the rural crisis, which is being promulgated by the exploding population, he has not related this to his personal circumstances.

Table 6.4 Summary of 8 research participants' characteristics

Code name	Age group	Gender	Social Status
W1	20-30yrs	Female	Local actor
			Level 3 education
			Community activist
W2	40-50	Female	Local actor
			Level 2 education
			Women's group representative
W3	50-60	Female	External actor
			Level 4 education
			Government representative
M1	30-40	Male	Local actor
			Level 4 education
			Teacher
M2	40-50	Male	Local actor
			Level 5 education
			Teacher
M3	30-40	Male	Local actor
			Level 2 education
			NGO representative
M4	50-60	Male	Local actor
			Level 1 education
			Local authority representative
M5	20-30	Male	External actor
			Level 5 education
			Government representative

6.5.2. The Photovoice Process

The photovoice process within this cycle of change took place over a period of six weeks focussing on social change occurring as a result of the Global Social Learning, facilitated by the GLP. It began with an investigation into existing and potential capital assets in their community that could be built upon and strengthened to enable sustainable livelihoods and food sovereignty.

I delivered training on photovoice methodology with the Bingwa, described in chapter 3. Through this training the Bingwa learnt basic photography skills, how to use a disposable camera and about the ethics of photographing other people. The Bingwa were amused that such ethics were not adhered to by the tourist

sector, with comments such as "I wonder what a mzungu mama would say if I took pictures of her children out playing in their old clothes and then sold the image for postcards about her country? Have these people no shame?" (W2: 2010)

I gave each of the Bingwa a disposable camera with twenty six exposures and, using terminology introduced through the GLP, I asked them to take photographs that illustrated capital assets within their community and their individual realities and that had a global context. The photovoice method provided the Bingwa with a way to analyse their stories critically. While this informal yet critically reflexive form of data analysis was on going, the Bingwa also analysed data through identifying themes. During the photovoice training I held a brief discussion about the research process, including how to analyse data. The Bingwa were encouraged to be flexible and adapt the analysis plan as needed. After three weeks, I collected the films and had them developed, returning the photos to the Bingwa in order that they could create individual photo stories, which could then be subjected to critical data analysis.

The Bingwa were asked to review all of the stories on their own, write down common themes, and come back to the entire group with their analysis. They nominated a group leader to facilitate their discussion. The categories were recorded on 'post it' sticky notes and organized into broader themes as the group progressed through the data analysis process. The Bingwa believed that only highly educated people can do research, a point of view reinforced at the outset by M2 and M5, both having been to university. However, working through this process, the Bingwa were able to demystify the research process. I also engaged in analysis combining critical discourse analysis with thematic analysis of the Bingwa responses. I interviewed the Bingwa individually, asking each one

to select six photos from the twenty or so they had taken and to describe the picture, why they chose it, the story within the picture and how it related to the framing question. Each interview lasted around two hours. These individual interviews (conducted in Kiswahili, recorded as audio and transcribed in English) helped me to understand the multimodal meanings associated with their chosen images. This process was an intricate one in which I was careful not to lead the conversation but to ask a range of subsidiary questions driving clarification, following a schedule detailed in Table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5 Photovoice Questions

- 1. What issue/strength/change does the photo illustrate?
- 2. What is happening in the photo?
- 3. How does this relate to local livelihoods?
- 4. Why does this issue/strength/change exist?
- 5. How has this affected local livelihoods?
- 6. What would you like to happen as a result of this?

For example, if there was a group in the photograph I would ask the Bingwa "what is this telling me?" or "what does this photograph show?" I was careful not to attribute either action or agency to frame images. For example, I would not ask, "what are they doing?" as they may not be "doing" anything. Initially this was met with some incredulity from participants who made comments such as "They are FISHING, can't you see!" (M3: 2010).

6.5.3. The Bingwa's Photovoice

As the Bingwa analysed their photos I analysed the Bingwa's responses using critical discourse analysis, focussing on the dialogue. In undertaking the analysis of their photos a door was opened for the Bingwa into the ambiguity of imagery, forcing them to re-evaluate their own images. Some Bingwa found this

process of explaining their photographs easier than others explain, with comments such as "Yes I see there are many ways to look at my picture, I never thought of that before" (M1: 2010), illustrating that having to explain means being aware of potential ambiguity. Through a series of meetings we engaged in this parallel analysis - the Bingwa analysed their photos individually and collectively and I analysed their interactions and dialogue. Following on from my individual interviews with them, in order to prioritise their data, I facilitated a focus group by displaying the six chosen photographs from each of the Bingwa as a photomontage. The montage served as a focal point for discussion. The Bingwa further engaged in an analysis of the photos' content and voice and selected nine photos from the montage using the diamond ranking method they had been introduced to in the GLP. Through this they selected and prioritised nine photos that illustrated the assets and strengths they collectively most valued and wanted their communities to value most of all. This enabled them to:

- Recognise the value of participants' subjective experience, and to value themselves as participants
- Reflect the community back on itself and reveal socio-economic and ecological realities
- Facilitate critical and analytical discussion of socio-economic conditions and their root causes

Figure 6.5 **Photovoice diamond ranking of Bingwa's photos**



Figure 6.6 Bingwa Asset Analysis of Diamond Ranked Photovoice stories

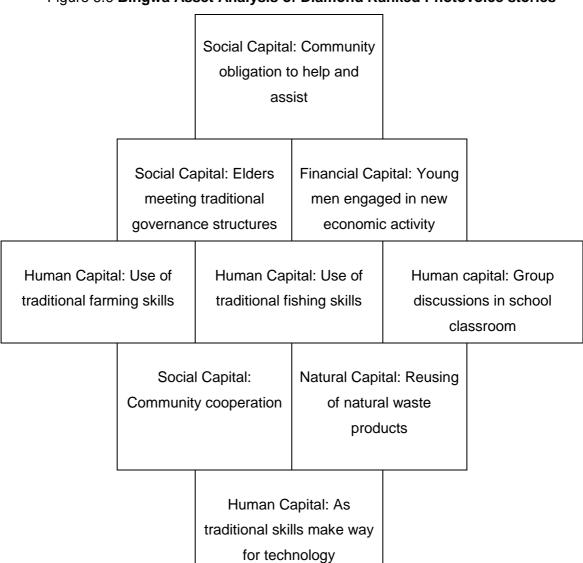


Table 6.6

Table 6.7 The Asset Analysis Photovoice Stories

Picture	The Photovoice Story
number	
1	This group of men had been obliged to assist the boat owner to pull up his boat by walking past. This symbolises the social capital of community obligation and respect for others, the economic value of fishing as financial capital and the importance of boat building and repairs as physical capital.
2	Village elders committee meet to discuss community issues. They are separate from the local government, but not as powerful. They represent each family group, raise money, and make decisions about community issues. They are an example of transparent governance and social capital.
2	The picture of the youth peeling breadfruit was a social enterprise, to produce breadfruit chips as takeaway food for people going to work. This illustrated human capital of initiative, social capital of collective action financial capital of enterprise and natural capital of using local produce grown on trees.

	It is important to engage young people in food production as an economic
	activity to build financial capital in a sustainable way.
3	Young man fixing fishing net has probably left school early and not completed his formal education. He has had to rely on social capital to gain experience and to develop his human capital and gain new skills in traditional livelihoods to achieve an income for survival.
3	The man clearing land for mixed farming is regarded as carrying out an old
	fashioned activity. Traditional rural livelihoods and food production methods
	should be valued as they work in harmony with the natural environment and
	support natural capital and human capital by supporting access to nutritious
	food.
3	Students discussing in a school, working together to problem solve. The importance of sharing and learning from each other needs to be developed more, so that joint solutions can be found to shared problems. This involves human capital.
4	The old lady collects waste: Grated coconut flesh from her neighbours who had squeezed out the milk for cooking. She gains access through social capital of community belonging. She dries the flesh in the sun and then sells it to women's groups who extract the oil from the dried flesh and produce soap. This represents financial capital.
4	The old man weaving the coconut leaf displayed financial capital via
	producing household goods for sale. Using leaves that had fallen from
	coconut trees he transforms what is perceived as a waste product into a
	natural capital asset.
5	Woman making flour with a stone, a traditional method that is very hard
	work. The tourist watching represents globalisation and an interest in the
	other. Traditional methods like this are being replaced by new technologies
	and represent poverty and a lack of financial capital but also a source of
	financial capital as a tourism attraction.

The final nine pictures chosen by the group each illustrated a range of assets and provided a critical discourse analysis of livelihoods and capital assets from a different range of perspectives. They emphasized the importance of social capital as the greatest strength and asset in Northern Zanzibar. Women have traditionally engaged in collective activities for many years, partly as a result of state socialism and partly through the cultural norm of extended families. As Bingwa W1 pointed out:

"I have always thought it was normal and not unusual for groups of people to work together to solve joint problems, now I see that it is something precious." (W1: 2010)

There was an appreciation of local traditions and livelihoods and interesting links within some of the pictures. For example, participants' recognition of livelihood strategies in relation to poverty and the use of what some considered waste. Collectively the participants agreed that such activities should be heralded as good practice and acknowledged as such, instead of being seen as the preserve of the poor and destitute. Bingwa M3 commented, drawing on his experience of running a local community based organisation,

"We have always looked at what people have had to do to survive as just necessary and not looked at the value of what was being done. Now we see some of what people do as really good and want to show government and outside people so they can support it." (M3: 2010)

Realisation of what an individual or community has was deemed an incredibly powerful tool (for example, the old man recycling coconut leaves builds on local assets and resources in a sustainable way, without a conscious realisation of the added benefits of what he was doing). This was related back to the aid industry by Bingwa M5 who worked for the Government and had been exposed to his Ministry brokering bilateral and UN agency funded projects.

"Government people meeting UN or European NGOs appear embarrassed by some of the activities local people are involved in. If it isn't big scale or generating lots of money it is seen as backward. Talking about it now I can see that we need to look for the real value and think about what is happening. Small scale livelihood activities in the mangrove are more sustainable than big Chinese or American funded projects." (M5: 2010) Cooperation was valued. They all referred to collective action in their pictures and the importance of listening and actively engaging with others. As Bingwa M2 commented:

"It is impossible to get anything done by yourself so you have to get other people to support and help you. I think Zanzibaris are good at working together, we are used to not getting everything our own way." (M2: 2010)

The Bingwa felt that strengthening human capital and increasing knowledge base and skills to interact effectively with a wide range of stakeholders were key to sustainable development. Introduction to new technologies was also seen as important with the caveat that they should not totally replace the use of traditional methods that shaped indigenous culture. Bingwa W2, who worked extensively with rural women's groups, commented:

"I know from my work that rural communities can learn much and would benefit from support in terms of agricultural and food processing techniques but as we have seen from the problems of chemical fertilisers, the old ways are often very sustainable." (W2: 2010)

Tourism was sometime seen pejoratively as a source of exposure to the global other, but also as a way of valuing cultural traditions and methods as the global other had more of an interest in local traditions than many local young people had. Bingwa M1 had travelled out of Zanzibar and was passionate about Zanzibar and the local culture, in a way that reminded me of Said's (2004) valuing of identity:

"If we start to value and display our own culture and traditions then maybe not only will the tourists understand more but perhaps if they value it our young people will too." (M1: 2010)

When asked how this could be attributed to or gained from the global social learning programme, their responses included the importance of pooling and sharing of individual assets. This in turn was seen to enable additional confidence to undertake and engage in decision-making activities. It helped in increasing an understanding of rights, as well as responsibilities, at an individual and community level in terms of social responsibility and networks of obligation within the community and between communities:

"Everything you do effects the next generation and as a community activist I need to help people see that they can change things and don't need someone coming in with an aid project." (M1: 2010)

An example was given of three settlements along a road - Nungwi, Kigunda and Kidoti. Community members from Kidoti and Nungwi were viewed as very enterprising and carried out a lot of trade, but people from Kigunda were viewed as not very enterprising and did not engage in trade. This was explained as being a result of Kigunda being situated in between the other two villages. There were lots of family connections and familial obligations, which made conducting business difficult. Consequently Nungwi and Kidoti were comparatively affluent communities and Kigunda relied solely on subsistence agriculture and fishing. This was identified as a potential drawback for Kigunda since people there were perceived as being unable to benefit from the onset of tourism as it involved business in Nungwi Peninsula. The Bingwa felt this should be challenged and that,

"Groups and communities need to look at each other and ask what is working, find out why and replicate it." (W2: 2010)

It was acknowledged that Kigunda was missing an opportunity to benefit from the potential tourism interest in traditional livelihoods materials and artefacts that were still used and produced there and in doing so to gain exposure to the global other.

When asked how the Bingwa had been influenced by the photovoice process and what was the most significant change, they all valued the change in their individual capacity and change in attitude towards other perspectives as the most important and the precursor to any other change. Bingwa M5 and W2 summed it up saying:

"From this experience I now understand the importance of knowledge and new perspectives as part of a power relation between people and governments." (M5: 2010)

"As a woman with an understanding of my strengths and how they can support my community strengths I can contribute better to my community." (W2: 2010)

The change in perceptions of what participants had and valued highlighted the importance of individual and collective engagement and participation in processes. This is an essential element of collective capabilities (Ibrahim 2006 and Burchardt 2009). The Bingwa identified the importance of confidence in sharing and discussing ideas and assessing what changes they would like to see and what they were able to do. Bingwa W1 was particularly motivated by this discussion as the youngest of all the Bingwa and a woman:

"As a younger woman I didn't think anyone would be interested in my views so I tended to keep quiet. I have enjoyed these discussions and I heard myself saying things I didn't know I had inside me." (W1: 2010).

This communicative exchange created and expanded capabilities and agency as the following quote from Bingwa M4 shows:

"Through looking at the barriers and opportunities in our community to participate we identified, together, how important it is to learn by doing and to have confidence to have an opinion and how both of these come from working together and having a safe space to share what we feel and value." (M4: 2010).

While reinforcing their collective agency and their capability the Bingwa also increased their access to assets, as highlighted by M4 drawing on his experience as an elderly man:

"With all of the talking about our communities I think now that the government should be protecting us from hotel development." (M4: 2010)

Within all the considerations and resultant planned actions, detailed in table 8.2 that participants developed individually and together was an increased understanding of the reality and importance of interconnectedness and interdependence between the different capital assets at different levels, from the micro, local level to the macro, global. The learning process changed participants' perception of their needs, identities and values. This was highlighted by Bingwa M3, who had worked as a field officer on a number of projects with European NGOs:

"I used to think we needed lots more big [development] projects but that is not the way to improve things, we need to look for opportunities to make sustainable businesses." (M3: 2010)

The taking and analysing of the photos further highlighted links between agency and self-esteem to effect change. Awareness of the importance of self-perception as an agent of change developed through increased knowledge of individual and community skills and capabilities. The photos served to promote "a change in attitudes towards engaging others" GLP participants (2010).

6.6. Collaborative Communicative Action

Throughout the GLP, collective action was at the heart of decision-making, especially when it related to how scarce resources were allocated and the importance of information in decision-making. Focussing in particular on natural capital assets and food systems prompted discussions about whose decisions and what decisions were relevant. This was brought to the fore by Bingwa W2 reflecting on her work with rural women:

"They (authorities) have told us for years that we have backward farming practices, I'm not saying it can't be improved but people are still growing lots of food on very poor soil. When they promoted chemical fertiliser it was good in the first couple of seasons but those farmers who used it have poor crops now." (W2: 2010).

It was clear in Zanzibar that for action to be collective there needed to be a flow of information between individuals and groups and that this social capital was an asset at both an individual and a societal level.

How the participants described these relationships with others and how they used this social capital for individual and collective purposes was pertinent. It was clear that there was a distinct sense of place and cultural ownership of their relationships with each other. Understanding and acknowledging interdependence determined the quality of relationships and the ability to being able to consider others. Their willingness as a group to receive, challenge and engage in a critical and deliberative dialogue echoed Wals (2007) as they reached the edge of their dissonance. The communicative borders that they crossed in being able to critically appraise themselves and each other displayed a Said-esque quality to their group discussions echoing Giroux's (1992) cultural borders through openly discussing the importance of engaging with the 'other'

(in this case tourism). Being secure or anchored in individual and community identity and having a robust sense of place seemed essential in being able to consider different perspectives regarding situations that affected actors, their agency and their decision making processes. Identifying individual or community asset bases provided a sense of place and the security to connect with what Said (1994) referred to as global public spheres and issues.

This cycle showed that social capital (relationships of trust and obligation) and human capital (the ability - through health, education and skills - to engage with others) were clearly closely linked to attributes of individual and collective empowerment (Mohan and Mohan 2002).

The creation of a safe space for social change (which allowed exchange between local and external actors) provided an opportunity for an alternative collective communicative action (Habermas 1984). These ideal speech conditions gave rise to 'the capability of voice' (Sen 2007) where actions are coordinated by good reason and the force of open dialogue and discussion. This resonates with Habermas' criteria of comprehensibility, truth, rightness, and honesty leading me to determine that through the GLP a Global Social Learning evolved that enabled communicative action and collective capability. I distinguish between communicative action and collective capability in that collective capability results from communicative action: The provision of a safe space (in which to reflect critically and analyse and discuss openly, drawing on a range of perspectives) has shown through this cycle to result in a strengthened collective ability to be and do in accordance with collective values. The development of communicative action achieved through this Global Social Learning illustrated how diverse forms of knowledge were interrelated.

Furthermore, that global learning, with its emphasis on relating and linking the global to the local, influences these values.

The delivery of the learning programme highlighted that empowerment and participation have an important role in developing the capability for development. Bingwa W3 as an educationalist drew attention to the collaborative responses that had resulted from this social learning processes:

"I see now that we have so much here already and we need to take advantage of it not wait for someone to come and do it for us." (W3: 2010)

The GLP group shifted from being participants maintaining mutual isolation to becoming interdependent. Commonly engaged in a safe space, actors transformed from wanting to take multiple, egocentric strategic actions for success to valuing jointly defined collective communicative actions. This was evidenced by the sense of ownership the eight Bingwa enjoyed when defining themselves collectively and the actions they developed and implemented.

The deliberation and reflexive dialogue that the Bingwa engaged in with other participants during the GLP (and which extended through the photovoice) underpins the collective capabilities and agency that was developed, as "not just any behaviour that an agent 'emits' is an agency achievement" (Crocker, 2008: 11). The GLP showed that for learning to develop capabilities there must be a certain reflection and conscious deliberation of the reasons and values upholding agency: "what is needed is not merely freedom and power to act, but also freedom and power to question and reassess the prevailing norms and values" (Dreze and Sen, 2002: 258).

Through the GLP and the photovoice the Bingwa enlarged their choices building both individual and collective agency and potential, in that they actively displayed "that they have more freedom to live the kind of life which, upon reflection, they have reason to value" (Robeyns 2005: 3). This is why global learning is relevant to enabling social change towards sustainability. The GLP and photovoice both highlight the importance of external influences. Being able to critically evaluate and reflect on these and how they influence individual and collective values is how global learning can influence a more just and sustainable world.

When considering individual and collective agency and action in social change there is the consideration that the freedom to achieve what individuals value most is certainly a privilege. Gaining other perspectives and collaborative approaches provides an "arena for formulating shared values and preferences, and instruments for pursuing them, even in the face of powerful opposition" (Evans 2002: 56).

This leads to a concept of the collective capability, newly generated "that individuals can gain (...) by virtue of their engagement in a collective action or their membership in a social network that helps them achieve the lives they value" (Ibrahim, 2006: 404). Engaging in collective activities provided the Bingwa with the opportunity to join peers and develop different sorts of interactions, which are not just "a source of 'utility' but central to the development of identities, values and goals" (Evans, 2002:57). These interactions are fundamental in determining what there is reason to value. Consequently, social change resulting from collective agency is "not only instrumentally valuable for generating new capabilities, but also intrinsically

important in shaping and pursuing the individual's perception of the good" (Ibrahim, 2006:405).

6.7. A Reflection on Delivery of the Global Learning Programme

This cycle of change highlighted the complex relationships between learning, capabilities and values, the relationship between agency and the importance of ownership, and the need to understand context and place to be able to consider another. Through the GLP, relating global forces and pressures to local livelihoods influenced collective values. Actors gained heightened awareness of individual freedoms and of agency and assets impacting on an individual, and the gained improved collective concepts with which to expand their collective capabilities. This contributed to collective values, illustrated by the sustainable change indicators and outcomes, in a participatory way, narrowing the power gap between different actors. In relation to my research question and the relevance of global learning as a social learning process to enable sustainable livelihood strategies for social change, within the safe space of the GLP learning setting, global learning enabled the participants and the Bingwa to reflect upon and consider global forces and pressures through a deliberative dialogue and exchange of perspectives. Just how sustainable this global learning was out of the safe social space of the learning setting and how transferable this learning was into a range of different contexts is the focus of Chapter 7 - the Third Cycle of Change. This involves identification of context and of the priority groups the Bingwa focused on in facilitating a global social learning process and engaging in individual photovoice inquiries.

Chapter 7. The Global Social Learning Process: The

Third Cycle of Change Part 1

7.1. Introduction

This chapter builds on the first two Cycles of Change with Cycle One focusing on the research and development of the Global Learning Programme (GLP) and Cycle Two focused on the Global Social Learning that resulted from delivery of the GLP and a photovoice inquiry in Zanzibar. This cycle is divided into two chapters. Chapter 7 follows the social change that occurred during the first six months of the cycles. It examines the Bingwa's reflections on their delivery of the GLP to priority groups they identified as a result of their participating in the GLP during the previous cycle.

Chapter 8 then focuses on a series of photovoice reflections on the global social learning resulting from the GLP delivery, as the second part of this cycle of change. In doing so it explores the social change and dynamics resulting from the extension of global social learning from the safety of the learner space to a wider community setting.

As with the other two cycles of change I structure the chapter around the PAR. There are subsections within each section that focus on the social change and dynamics resulting from extension of the Global Social Learning by the Bingwa over a period of six months.

The starting point for this cycle of change is the identification of priority areas and issues to focus on through the Global Social Learning (GSL) and the

establishment of a participatory baseline by the Bingwa. The four priority areas identified are Rural Women, Schools and Teachers, Young People and Community Enterprises. In focusing on how the GSL influences interactions within and between these priority areas, how and what changes affected ability to influence and access decision-making processes, I answer my research question:

What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?

7.2. Identification of Priority Groups

This cycle of change starts with identification of priority issues to focus on through a participatory focus group discussion. This built on the discussion they had engaged with during the GLP regarding the changes they wanted to see and the capital assets they had identified during the photovoice as detailed in the Second Cycle of Change. The result of these is combined in the following matrix.

Table 7.1 Linking Sustainable Changes with Community Assets

Sustainable Changes	Capital assets to build on	Photo voice Illustration
Change in attitudes, values	Social capital of community	Picture of men pulling in
and understanding towards	obligation and support	the boat
engaging others		
Shared learning	Financial capital	Picture of young men
opportunities between	opportunities to establish	establishing an enterprise
different sectors and	new enterprises and	to cater for tourism
expertise levels and types	capture new markets	employees
Increased capacity of	Human capital of	Picture of boy fixing a

	T	,
individuals through valuing	intergenerational skill share	fishing net using traditional
new and existing skills and	and development	methods
knowledge		
Introduction of new and	Human capital of adapting	Picture of tourist watching
appropriate technologies	traditional technologies and	the woman grind flour
that were culturally relevant	acknowledgement of the	using a millstone
	value of new technologies	
Increased community	Social capital of	Picture of the elders
involvement and active	participatory governance	committee discussing
engagement and	and intergenerational	community issues
participation	support and respect.	
Sustainable use of natural	Natural capital of valuing	Picture of old man making
resources and fragile	access to natural resource	saleable products from
habitats	base and regarding waste	fallen coconut leaves
	as a resource.	
Improved decision making	Human capital as social	Picture of students
at individual and	learning and skills gained	engaged in group work in
community level	from group discussions and	a classroom setting
	problem solving	
Increased access to and	Human capital of using	Picture of young man
use of local facilities	traditional skills to increase	clearing land to plant
	access to resources such	bananas
	as land	
Greater personal	Social capital of respect	Picture of old lady drying
responsibility	towards others	coconut for sale to soap
		makers
1		1

Linking sustainable changes to capital assets identified provided the Bingwa with a collective opportunity to make a connection between the changes they wanted to see and what they currently had. This was achieved through critical reflection. From this discussion there was a consensus that the issues they should focus on were youth exclusion, gender inequality, poor quality education and unsustainable enterprise.

7.3. Situating the Global Learning and Context

Combining the sustainable change outcome indicators with the capital assets also provided the Bingwa with an opportunity to define their aspirations related to their priority areas and what they hoped to achieve. This resulted in building on the issues to define priority groups to focus the GSL. Table 7.2 below summarises the Priority Groups that the Bingwa chose to work with.

Table 7.2 Summary of Priority Groups

Bingwa	Priority Group	Number	Characteristics	Numbers
		Involved		attending
				GLP
W1 and W2	Rural Women and Enterprise	30	Rural women from 15 Women's Cooperatives	20
W3 and M2	Schools and Teachers	30 (16 women, 14 men)	Teachers from 10 lower secondary schools	20
M1 and M3	Young people	30 (15 boys, 15 girls)	Young people from 15 villages aged 15 to 25 years	20
M4 and M5	Community based enterprises	30 (24 men, 6 women)	People from 18 fishing/ farming cooperatives	20

In parallel with this process additional funding was secured that would enable the Bingwa to work with their priority groups to support livelihoods activities following the delivery of the GLP to them. This meant that the PAR continued to be embedded in praxis, as the Bingwa would also be assuming the role of practitioner and researcher for an additional twelve months, six of which are covered in this chapter.

7.4. Establishing the Priority Groups Baseline

I worked with the Bingwa to plan a participatory baseline study. This involved training in facilitation of focus group discussions using a template based on the sustainable change outcome indicators defined during the delivery of the GLP in Cycle Two. These focus group discussions, using PAL methods from the GLP, took place over a period of six weeks in thirty villages across Northern Zanzibar. Variations of likert scales were used to enable quantifiable and comparable data from this qualitative process. In the event each of the Bingwa used a different scale to assess their priority group's responses. I have utilized a common denominator of 30 to produce comparable results as illustrated in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2

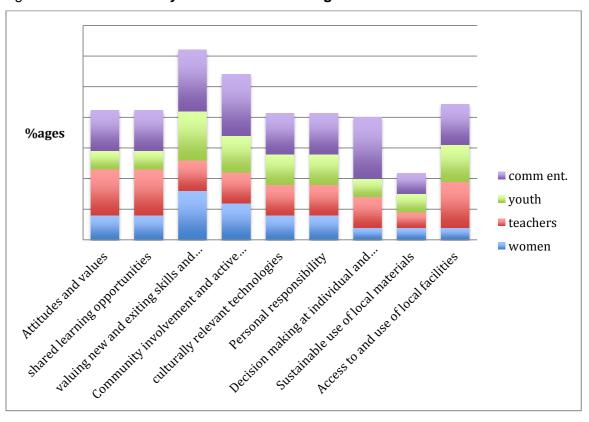


Figure 7.1 Baseline Study of Sustainable Change Outcome Indicators

Figure 7.2 Baseline survey of Sustainable Change Outcome Indicators

Empowerment Outcome	Women	Schools and	Young	Comm.
		Teachers	People	Enter
				prises
Measuring responses scale ²⁰	1-5	1-5	1-10	1-3
Calculating with lowest common	x by	x by 6/30	x by 3/30	x by
denominator, 30	6/30			10/30
Positive attitudes, values and	12	24	9	20
understanding towards engaging				
others				
Shared learning opportunities	12	24	9	20
between different sectors and				
expertise levels and types				
Capacity of individuals through	24	18	24	30
valuing new and existing skills and				
knowledge				
Level of community involvement and	18	18	18	30
active engagement and participation				
Introduction of new and appropriate	12	18	15	20
technologies that were culturally				
relevant				
Level of personal responsibility	12	12	15	20
Amount of decision making at	6	18	9	30
individual and community level				
Sustainable use of natural resources	6	12	9	10
and fragile habitats				
Access to and use of local facilities	6	24	18	20
Table 7.3	1	1	1	1

Table 7.3

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 $^{^{2020}}$ the lowest number means a little, the largest number a lot, and the in-between numbers vary between the two extremes

On receiving the results from each of the Priority Area baselines I was then able to rationalise them into percentages to compile a bar chart. Using this visual chart a number of trends became apparent.

Women and Young People perceived themselves to have the lowest knowledge and skill levels. In fact, women displayed very low levels in all of the empowerment outcomes with the exception of 'sharing experiences'. In contrast, teachers regarded them and their schools to be actively empowered on most of the outcomes with the exception of personal responsibility and sustainable use of local materials. Young people perceived themselves to be active communicators and to have access to local facilities. Community enterprises were mostly controlled by men who scored themselves highly in each criteria with the exclusion of sustainable use of local materials. The collated data in the chart, illustrates that sustainable use of local materials scored the lowest in each and all of the baseline studies. When questioned further all of their priority groups, while all the priority groups knew it was illegal to cut down trees or catch juvenile fish they all cited their individual or family's needs above that of the island's or the wider world. This supported my personal observation that awareness was not the issue.

7.5. Active Engagement and Collective Responsibility

Using these baseline figures each of the Bingwa were able to plan and measure their priority groups progress through the delivery of the GLP. Building on these findings the *Bingwa* worked together to develop and adapt the GLP for delivery to their groups. The challenge was how to support active engagement with sustainability issues and to develop greater personal and collective responsibility towards sustainability and food sovereignty. It was also essential

to ensure a mixture of perspectives and views so as to enable deliberative dialogue to take place and ensure the training did not get stigmatised in the same manner that the REFLECT training had as 'special training for the unlettered' (DFID 2003). To this end the Bingwa decided that the GLP should be delivered to all of the priority groups together as four mixed groups, with the eight Bingwa working in pairs to deliver the programme.

7.6. Delivering the GLP to Priority Groups

Over a period of twelve weeks the Bingwa delivered the GLP four times, each to a mixture of twenty participants from the priority groups. During the GLP delivery the Bingwa kept all of the flip charts from the programme activities until I returned twelve weeks later to review and reflect on progress. During our first meeting after their delivery of the GLP they recounted how the sessions had been received and the responses from their priority groups.

They had decided to work in pairs of one teacher and one development worker to deliver the GLP. Each followed the GLP outline using the PAL activities and beginning their sessions with a consensus workshop on the global issues that were affecting livelihoods in Zanzibar.. Using the flipcharts' records of their sessions I worked with the Bingwa to identify emerging themes from their records. Two main themes arose from these discussions in each of the four GLPs - tourism and climate change.

Tourism was perceived to have impacted on every aspect of local life in both positive and negative ways, ranging from increased employment opportunities to reduced access to land and sea for livelihood activities. There was a consensus that land rights had been compromised by tourism and those

investors with close relationships to the Government enjoyed preference over their indigenous land rights. The erosion of traditional culture was also seen as a negative impact, particularly on young people and women.

Climate change on the other hand was blamed for the death of many breadfruit trees and banana plantains. It was also cited as the cause of severe coastal erosion and salt water encroachment into wells and farmland. What was missing from both discussions were links between livelihood activities and climate change, reiterating the inability or refusal to link local livelihood activities with the changes they were experiencing as cited during the baseline study. The priority groups related cutting down trees to coastal erosion, but defended their actions with statements like "we need fuel to cook with, what else should we burn?" (Participant: 2011). This was further evidenced by the participating women who all cooked with firewood using 'mafia' stoves' (3 stone fires).

Introducing livelihood assets and the sustainable livelihoods framework, the Bingwa worked with their priority groups to draw individual and then group and community asset pentagons. This gave rise to a varied discussion from each of the different groups. From my reflexive discussions with the Bingwa I recorded the following in my research notes (in which I collated responses from the different priority groups) as shown in Figure 6.3

(Sedlova (klumi)

Figure 7.3 Community Asset Pentagons

Rural women from cooperatives were able to see and acknowledge the links between the different livelihood assets, in particular how their cooperative approach to working enabled them to draw on their social and human capital to establish a range of enterprises without access to financial capital. Bingwa 2 was quite passionate about the responses to the GLP they had observed:

"It was truly amazing how the women responded, they just got it and really related to how everything connected, it was my favourite session with them." (W2: 2011)

Looking at the different capital assets and resources and how to build on them, also gave rise to discussions about food security, seasonality and availability of different foods, in particular fruit and vegetables. As Bingwa W2 recounted:

"Another of my women had been involved with a project making tomato jam. Could we do something like that? Tomatoes are so, so cheap at the moment and then it will be mango season and then oranges and limes. If we could make food products with the women's groups they would have new skills and maybe even sell them." (W2: 2012)

With the young people participating in the GLP, how roles and responsibilities were affected by age and social status was a consideration in that more than 65% of the population of Zanzibar are under twenty-five years of age and there is 90% unemployment amongst young people (DFID 2010):

"Some of the young people asked us about vocational training. They were conscious that while they had lots of social capital they had very little human or financial capital and saw them as linked very closely. They told me how they wanted to work, but leaving school with Form Two or Four wouldn't get them jobs in their villages. They told me about their dreams and how hopeless they felt. Hotels won't employ them; they don't speak English or Italian. One young man told me he had wanted to be a doctor but spent his days trying to keep flies off the dagaa (anchovies) as they dry to sell. What support can we offer them when they get to action planning? I'm worried all this training will just cause resentment if the youths can't apply it to something. Can we develop a youth programme with them?" (M4: 2011)

Teachers reflected on the exploration of wider global issues. The process of mapping local livelihoods and relating them to wider issues and perspectives also appealed. W3 described the use of participatory learning activities in a classroom setting as a way of teaching that encourages motivation between the teacher and student. Of this, collaborative approach and its overall effect on the learning process she stated:

"Having discussions like these help the teachers to reflect and this is important as if they cannot reflect, how will their students be able to? The way we live our lives and how we lose the connection with our island is our biggest challenge. We need to reconnect the big and the small picture and these two sessions helped my teachers to do just that. For students to benefit from education they must too feel close to their teachers, not be scared of them. This exercises brings us all closer together and really helps us to realise we are part of the problem and also the answer, I guess you expect a teacher to say that, but its true and I'm so pleased I got to share my learning with the teachers. They all want to know more and I know they mean it as I didn't pay them allowance to attend." (W3: 2011)

Likewise, the community enterprise group (linking the wider global issues to their asset pentagons and the sustainable livelihoods framework) made the following observations, which I recorded in my research notes:

"The farmers and fishers made the connections between climate change and their livelihoods instantly and it was really interesting how they all showed interest in how they could become more sustainable and be less vulnerable. We spent a long time talking about seasonality and how they have changed, also how shocks and trends make local livelihoods much more vulnerable now than twenty years ago. We also talked about young people and their reluctance to engage in farming and fishing and would rather hang out on the beach with tourists than grow food. There was anger when we discussed wider and global issues, especially at tourism and how it has changed Zanzibar forever. Food prices increase, available land and fish decrease. How are we to feed our families? " (M4: 2011)

There was some anger in the discussion as well:

"And now this climate change, don't cut trees, don't burn wood, don't catch fish, don't don't don't, someone tell me what we can do?" (M4: 2011)

According to all the Bingwa regarding the respective GLP sessions delivered, there was a mutual focus by their priority groups on what they had collectively and how they could build on this as potential. To this end, as Bingwa M5 shared, the fishermen echoed the women's comments regarding fruit processing:

"You know we used to eat the crabs in the mangroves when the moon was wrong for fishing. There used to be lots of crabs and lots of mangroves. We should work together to plant them again and we could try to farm the crabs. How hard can it be? I hear they do it in Tanga ²¹ (M5: 2011)

7.7. Reflecting on Sustainable Change Outcomes

As the Bingwa reflected on their delivery of the GLP to their priority groups they displayed a newfound capability to determine what they valued with the freedoms, in a Sen (1999) sense, to determine active involvement in their chosen priority areas. In taking their priority group participants through a similar process, they built on a shared and deliberate dialogue about wider global issues that impacted upon local livelihoods in order to develop a process of involvement and engagement in actions that built on existing assets and strengths. This in turn developed the capabilities of rural women, teachers, young people and community enterprises representing their priority groups.

That said, with the exception of the two Bingwa focussing on schools, the GLP exposed many frustrations at a household level with respect to the decision making ability of women and young people.

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²¹ A coastal town on mainland Tanzania

The importance of being able to influence decision-making was also an area that W1 particularly noted. W1 spoke about one woman in her priority group who had shared her personal story. She related the story as follows:

"Bwana leaves the house in the morning, gives me 1000 shillings and expects to come home to a clean house, food ready and water to bath with. 1000 shillings won't even buy fish. I have to collect the firewood, fetch water, clean the house, farm my crops with the coop and prepare a meal. He threatened me with talaka (divorce) last time I was late back from the coop, so it's difficult for me to participate in these activities, but I'm determined." (W1: 2011)

Women participating in the GLP highlighted the gender disparity that was evident and commonplace in the rural areas. This is reinforced by a recent report that cites gender violence in Zanzibar is particularly bad (TAMWA 2014).

In relation to young people the social structures also impacted on them in a non-inclusive way, as Bingwa M3 recounted from his discussions with the young people:

"When we discussed the importance of influencing and accessing decision makers, the young people said 'but who will listen to us? Yes we have something to say, but we have no voice until we are married'. I was a bit shocked at this, but on reflection, yes it's true, according to our culture, young men and especially girls do not have a voice. How is it in UK, any different?" (M3: 2011)

Similar feelings of helplessness were expressed at a community level about the relationship between rural communities, government structures and industry, and particularly about the tourism industry. Bingwa M2 told me:

"The Minister for Land sells our land to Italians and pays us for the crop of peas we were growing there. He is one of the 'Hapa Pangu' [meaning 'Here's Mine' - a name given to the then President and his

relatives after two presidential terms of land grabbing] so what should we expect? How should we access and influence him or his offices without losing everything?" (M2: 2011)

Except for education received in schools there was a general view that the education system had let people down. Despite starting school with aspirations they had been quashed by the standard of education delivered at a village level and felt that there was no point in continuing with formal studies.

Teachers in contrast were impassioned by all of the discussions. They were motivated, engaged, and eager to participate in supporting a range of activities and initiatives that would foster more critical thinking in the classroom. Yet as one participant asked:

"Learning like this is fun, but how will we manage with a class of 70 students?" (W3: 2011)

This prompted a discussion about approaches to learning and how transferable PAL activities were. The Bingwa teachers response was to begin with paired discussions, followed by expanding the discussion amongst groups of five, consolidating with groups of ten, each with a representative who presented feedback which finally resulted in a whole class discussion. What they described was the consensus or nominal group method I had used for exploring global issues in the GLP which served as additional validation of the value of the programme and its methodological and pedagogical transferability.

7.8. A Critical Reflection on Local and Global Pressures

Listening to the Bingwa recount their experiences and reviewing the responses collected on flipcharts through their delivery of the GLP, I engaged them in a critical reflection on the social learning that had occurred, referring to this as the

Global Social Learning. This collective and participatory reflection also enabled me to verify their individual reflections and to consolidate my analysis of the responses to the GLP shared so far. To do this I returned to the GLP activities and used a PAL activity called 'Mind Mapping'. This involved working as a group to gather as many responses as possible regarding a stated issue and then looking for links and associations between different responses. They discussed local and global pressures on sustainable livelihoods and food sovereignty. A resulting map highlighted the interconnectedness between each of their chosen priority areas and how everything impacted on everything else. Tourism and climate change or global warming were again seen as the two main global pressures that were impacting on Zanzibar and the poor quality of education was seen as the biggest local pressure.

From this discussion I re-introduced the sustainable change outcomes from the previous cycle of change and working as a group, with me as the facilitator, we produced a matrix of the practices and changes they sought to influence by dividing the Bingwa's responses into five sections - who, pressures, practice, learning, changes:

Table 7.4 Sustainable Change Matrix Criteria

Criteria	Definition
Who	The priority groups being focussed on
Pressures	Interlinking global and local Issues identified
Practice	Activities the groups were currently involved in that the
	Bingwa sought to prioritise
Learning	Innovations and new approaches adopted
Changes	Sustainable change outcomes

Working together, the Bingwa and I analysed all of the learning responses collected from the GLP and summarised our findings in the table below:

Table 7.5 Sustainable Change Matrix

Who	Pressures	Practices	Learning	Changes
Women's	Low literacy	Use of firewood	Improved	Active
Coops	levels	Deforestation	enterprise skills	participation
	Competition for	Waste	Use of new	Sharing
	resources	management	technologies	different
	Food spoilage	Farming	Linking	perspectives
	Seasonal gluts	methods	everything	Sustainable use
	Tourism	Food spoilage	together	of wood
	Global		Food	Engaging with
	warming		processing	others through
	Lots of children			trade with
				hotels
Teachers	Poorly	Chalk and talk	New ways of	Develop and
and schools	qualified	Poor	teaching	support a whole
	teachers	attainment in	Nature as	school
	Large class	schools	teaching	approach ²² to
	sizes		resource	learning about

 $^{\rm 22}$ Engaging everyone involved in the planning, managing, delivery and receiving of education in a within a school setting

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	Few teaching		Student	sustainable life
	materials		projects	skills
	Tourism			
	Global			
	Warming			
Young People	Poor education	Fishing	Enterprise	Sharing
	No	Farming	skills	different
	employment	Casual labour	Vocational	perspectives
	Early marriage	Petty trading	training	Active
	Tourism		Gender equity	participation
	Global		Responsible	Sustainable
	warming		tourism	enterprise
Community	Fishing rights	Farming	Affordable	Combining food
Enterprises	Competition for	Fishing	innovation	production and
	resources	Traditional	Access to new	environmental
	Poor education	methods	markets	conservation
	Cost of food	Destruction of	Waste	Composting
	imports	natural	management	Trading with
	Poor crop	resources		hotels
	yields			
	Seasonal gluts			
	Tourism			
	1	1		1

As already indicated in the text the main local and global pressures rural people had to cope with were the poor quality of education locally and the global pressures of climate change and tourism. The practices identified resonated with the ethnography in Chapter 5, highlighting the dependence on natural resources and the lack of paid employment. The Bingwa focused on learning and changes next. Drawing on the responses to the changes they wanted to be and see activity they reviewed the changes, reflecting on each through their sustainable change outcomes. In doing so they identified a series of activities that they anticipated would result in sustainable change.

7.9. Reflecting on Sustainable Change

With the additional funding secured for project activities the Bingwa then produced a series of action plans using templates from the GLP in order to combine the learning and the change from the matrix. What was becoming evident was the change in how they worked together, communicated with each other and made judgements that considered a range of perspectives. The boundaries or borders were being continually broken down as the acquired and used practical knowledge gained from considering different perspectives. This is what Habermas (1984) refers to as the shift from strategic action to communicative action as embodied in their "cognition, speech and action" (1984:10). Their know-how and capability of voice was enriched by the variety and consideration of local and global pressures and forces and the making of connections between these to make informed choices and decisions. Habermas' pragmatic approach to critical theory related directly to the change I was experiencing between the Bingwa and between them and their priority groups. The variety of exchange and dialogue across the boundaries of age, gender, locality and socioeconomic status was directly facilitated through engaging in a Global Social Learning. This enabled both the Bingwa and their priority group participants, starting with their individual and collective strengths, to effectively communicate with and inform each other's decision-making processes. This enhanced and varied communication also enabled a dialogue that linked the local to the global, and conversations reported in this chapter demonstrated a desire and process for social change.

The importance of varied communication and the consideration of different perspectives as revealed in the discussions relates directly back to my research

question and reinforces the relevance of global learning as a social learning process for sustainable change. The next chapter continues with two photovoice reflections, each six months apart, focussing on the Bingwa's activities with their priority groups, the social change that resulted, and what they attributed to engaging in the GSL.

Chapter 8. Global Social Learning FOR Sustainable

Change: The Third Cycle of Change Part 2

8.1. Introduction

This chapter continues the third cycle of change through two photovoice reflections over a period of twelve months following on from the delivery of the GLP by the Bingwa to their chosen priority groups. Each of these photovoice reflections focuses on social change. Throughout this chapter, I analyse both of the photovoice reflections and the recorded responses to a three-day focus group I facilitated to assess social change and the effectiveness and relevance of global learning as a social learning process to influence sustainable change. Data collected through this global social learning process is analysed through critical discourse analysis combined with thematic analysis individually and collectively. Photovoice data is collected and analysed thematically by the Bingwa and I analyse their findings and the discourse resulting from participatory and individual interviews, discussions and conversations. The cycles of reflection and action with the Bingwa mean that validation of the research process and its findings are representative of rigour.

8.2. Photovoice of Desired Change

I repeated the photovoice process with the Bingwa to identify the sustainable change outcomes they anticipated. This time I asked them to take photographs illustrating changes they would most like to see in their priority areas, based on their delivery of the GLP to their priority groups and the strengths and opportunities for sustainable change that they had identified. We completed the process, as before, with each of the eight Bingwa bringing their twenty six

photos, but this time with each choosing nine and then sharing their stories. Finally, they worked as a collective to refine these seventy two photos down to nine using diamond ranking and thematic analysis.

Figure 8.1 Photovoice Diamond Illustrating Desired Changes

Figure 8.2 Bingwa's Description of Photos

Top bar beehive provided by an NGO to one of the community groups

Me talking to a group of	Meeting involving shared
women about what they	discussions between
valued most in their	people from different
communities	sectors and societies

A group of young people	A woman holding a	Teacher discussions
at a community event,	mangrove seedling and	during a link school visit
standing around but not	showing how her community	
involved in any of the	is planting them	
activities		

An Idd el Haj festival with	The struggle for firewood as
young people re-enacting	the main fuel source -
the prophets journey to	women travel far to find
Mecca	wood to cook with

The district market where most farmers bring their crops, but when a particular fruit or vegetable is in season there is a glut and lots of waste

Building on the photovoice descriptions and the discussion undertaken during the refining and ranking of the two hundred and eight photos down to just nine pictures, as a group we thematically analysed the photovoice descriptions. From this process a number of key themes emerged which were compared with the sustainable change outcome indicators. This comparison is illustrated in Table 8.1

Table 8.1 Sustainable Change Outcomes Revised

Change in attitudes, values and understanding towards engaging others Shared learning opportunities between different sectors and expertise levels and types Increased capacity of individuals through valuing new and existing skills and knowledge Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Ingrigular between and type of local culture to any development and seeing different perspectives The importance of learning from others and seeing different perspectives Shared learning opportunities Shared learning opportunities Access to new technologies Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Engagement with women and young people Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Improved decision making at individual Increased involvement of women and	Original	Revised	
Shared learning opportunities between different sectors and expertise levels and types Increased capacity of individuals through valuing new and existing skills and knowledge Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Shared learning opportunities Shared learning opportunities Access to new technologies Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Engagement with women and young people Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	Change in attitudes, values and	Acknowledging the importance of local	
different sectors and expertise levels and types Increased capacity of individuals through valuing new and existing skills and knowledge Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitats and seeing different perspectives Shared learning opportunities Access to new technologies Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Engagement with women and young people Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	understanding towards engaging others	culture to any development	
Increased capacity of individuals through valuing new and existing skills and knowledge Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitats Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	Shared learning opportunities between	The importance of learning from others	
Increased capacity of individuals through valuing new and existing skills and knowledge Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitats Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	different sectors and expertise levels and	and seeing different perspectives	
valuing new and existing skills and knowledge Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant relevant workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation people Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitat conservation regile habitats Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	types		
Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitats Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Engagement with women and young people Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	Increased capacity of individuals through	Shared learning opportunities	
Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitats Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	valuing new and existing skills and		
technologies that were culturally relevant Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	knowledge		
workload and deforestation Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	Introduction of new and appropriate	Access to new technologies	
Increased community involvement and active engagement and participation people Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitats Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	technologies that were culturally relevant	Reliable alternatives reduce their	
active engagement and participation Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitat conservation fragile habitats Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation		workload and deforestation	
Sustainable use of natural resources and fragile habitat conservation fragile habitats Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	Increased community involvement and	Engagement with women and young	
fragile habitats Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation	active engagement and participation	people	
fragile habitats Reliable alternatives reduce their workload and deforestation			
workload and deforestation	Sustainable use of natural resources and	Mangrove and fragile habitat conservation	
	fragile habitats	Reliable alternatives reduce their	
Improved decision making at individual Increased involvement of women and		workload and deforestation	
	Improved decision making at individual	Increased involvement of women and	
and community level young people in livelihood development	and community level	young people in livelihood development	
Increased access to and use of local	Increased access to and use of local	Access to new markets and or ways to	
facilities preserve produce grown	facilities	preserve produce grown	
Greater personal responsibility Changing attitudes and valuing natural	Greater personal responsibility	Changing attitudes and valuing natural	
resources more		resources more	

Comparing and analysing the statements of desired change outcomes against the Bingwa-defined Sustainable Change Outcomes revealed a subtle shift in thinking away from what could be to what should be. Actors had moved away from general statements to specific statements and locality specific changes that were desired. For example, improved decision making at individual and community level became replaced with increased involvement of women and young people in livelihood development. Another subtle change was that

instead of referring generically to natural resources, firewood alternatives and mangrove rehabilitation were actively cited. Collectively, these shifts emphasise the importance of active involvement, engagement and participation in decision-making processes. They also represent the importance of fair and free participation, of sustainability and the value of being able to consider a range of perspectives.

Relating this to capabilities it was apparent that communities perceived their freedoms to be negatively affected by tourism. Tourism was seen to undermine and corrupt values that were traditionally shaped by culture and there was a fear that these traditions were being diluted.

Discussions with the Bingwa related to the importance of traditions and cultural erosion through tourism exposed one response that was gathering momentum. The arrival of Mwamsho (The Awakening) was a form of Salafi²³ Islam that was being preached and promoted. Interestingly, instead of reinforcing existing values and the rich tapestry of tradition that has shaped Zanzibar society, 'Mwamsho' was impacting on the rural communities by banning cultural traditions associated with Zoroastrianism²⁴ and some Islamic celebrations such as celebration of the Prophet Mohamed's birthday. Salafi Islam in the West has been associated with hard line fundamentalism. A collision of this sect of Islam with tourism and its exploitative nature was possible and potentially very toxic.

Freedoms, in Sen's (1999) sense, were being eroded by these two contradicting influences on local culture, traditions and values. While the

²³ A conservative Islamic sect that forbids any celebration or questioning and relies purely on the writings in the Qu'ran for guidance.

²⁴ an ancient Iranian religion and a religious philosophy that influenced other later religions including Judaism, Gnosticism, Christianity and Islam

communities of North Region of Zanzibar were politically taking a strong stance in favour of 'Haki' (justice) and towards their ability to be and do (uwezu and ujuzi), their cultural and traditional values were potentially being constrained. Not being able to consider the perspective of the other or to cross the borders of dissonance through critical reflection was a direct consequence of this orthodox approach to Islam.

Shaping attitudes and values, and influencing decision making through critical consideration and reflection on different perspectives are key attributes of global learning, as defined through my framework. The acknowledged importance of learning from others and sharing experiences, together with an interest in innovation and appropriate technologies, justified global learning as a key component of social learning process. Building on strengths and existing assets also fostered a 'can do' approach that in part countered the 'shalt not' restrictions of Mwamsho. Understanding of 'the other' as a two way process also had the potential to enable border crossings (Giroux, 1992).

Practicing Global Learning and applying my theoretical framework certainly resulted in collaboration and communicative action. Deliberative dialogue was encouraged between rural communities and representatives of institutions and global agencies, and safe space provided to allow individuals to engage in reflexive social learning processes thus enabling different perspectives.

8.3. A Deliberative Dialogue

The Bingwa and I then discussed decision-making and governance in relation to sustainable livelihoods and food sovereignty and how to access and influence the policy makers, institutions and processes. The various different

actors, institutions, influencers and decision makers were mapped using paper shapes on flipchart paper. Pentagonal cut outs were used to represent the priority groups and their capital assets, paper ovals of different sizes to represent the various institutions and decision-making bodies, with drawn arrows to illustrate influence channels and routes. The map consisted of four concentric circles to denote community, district, Zanzibar and the international or global arenas. Production of this map facilitated a reflection and discussion regarding what external actors they wanted to involve in a structured and deliberative dialogue.

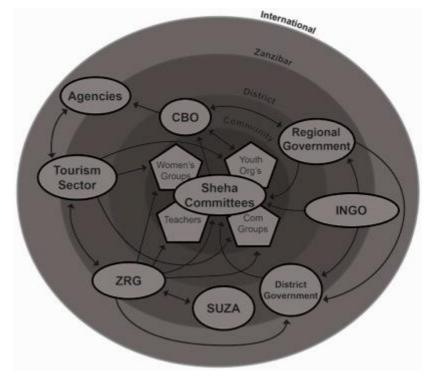


Figure 8.3 Map of Influence and Governance Relationships

The bubbles in the diagram represent the various institutions, policy makers and decision-making processes that influenced or affected local livelihoods. At the centre the four pentagons represent the rural realities of the priority groups. The arrows represent the direction of influence and the concentric circles represent the local district national and international spheres.

Building on this map and the channels of influence that currently existed, I organised an additional three day seminar to enable a deliberative dialogue between the stakeholders identified on the map and the Bingwa. This involved representatives from their respective priority groups who had participated in the GLP, key ministerial officials with relevant skills and or experiences (Agriculture and Fisheries, Health, Environment, Education and Vocational Training, Women and Youth), representatives of institutions (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, SUZA) and visiting professionals (Welsh Government, Bangor University, Sazani Associates).

Over the three-day seminar I facilitated a dialogue that was deliberative in the sense that the purpose was not to solve a problem or resolve an issue but to explore promising routes for action. It was distinctly different from other forms of public discourse in that the object was not just to talk to each other but also to think together, to identify where a conclusion might lie as opposed to reaching a conclusion. Such a process involves listening to different points of view, exploring new ideas and perspectives, searching for points of agreement and scrutinising previously unexamined assumptions (Habermas 2004). The process revolved around the question "How can we effect sustainable change?" The aim was to ensure that instead of focusing on a problem to solve everyone, as participants in the dialogue, would experience the question as a way to develop a common understanding and a mutually acceptable path towards action for sustainable change.

8.3.2. A Process of Deliberation

Following on from welcoming the participants, introductions to each other and the process, we entered into an exploratory dialogue. This involved a collaborative review of what assets and strengths each of the participants brought to the discussion utilising a range of PAL activities and small group work to ensure everyone had a voice throughout the Global Social Learning. This resulted in a series of plans for sustainable action with priority groups that facilitated the desired sustainable change outcomes.

For many of the external participants, even if they were from Zanzibar, this was the first time that they had sat down and engaged in a discussion with people from rural communities, and vice versa. This meant that all of the participants were close to the edge of their own comfort borders but also being exposed to 'others'. By others, I mean people from outside of their geographical community, the North Region. By the end of this exploratory phase of the dialogue a comfortable dynamic was established with trust and cohesion being displayed. This discussion took the participants in unanticipated directions. Individual and collective strengths were uncovered and a natural conversation evolved resulting in a shared agreement on the importance of listening to others and gaining different perspectives of a common issue.

Figure 8.4 Feed back on asset pentagons



The dialogue shifted from exploratory inquiry to a purposeful deliberation, focussing on the social changes that the participants had experienced as individuals and the changes they would like to see in Zanzibar. The participants then specified the local and global pressures that impacted upon and influenced the changes, again from individual perspectives.

8.3.3. Global Social Learning Process

In sharing these individual perspectives the participants identified what changes and influences they valued and shared as a group. This process of reasoning and thinking was shaped by the acquisition and arrangement of new and existing knowledge through inquiry. It illustrated the obstructive nature of predetermined opinions and the value of deliberation in enabling shared levels of understanding. The shift in dialogue was indicative of global learning as participants views were subjected to different perspectives regarding global and local pressures. Through considering relevant issues from multiple views or

perspectives participants engaged in a critical analysis of options for decisions and actions, facilitating without diminishing discussions of the complexity of global pressures and influences (Shultz, 2010).

In contrast to an exchange of opinions the participants were actively thinking and collectively exploring alternative views to identify common understandings. Through engaging in this deliberative dialogue the synergy of perspectives transcended the contribution of the individual participants. The transforming moment involved the participants reaching the edge of their dissonance and borders to shift from being able to identify with their own point of view to being able to consider and contribute to a collective understanding.

An illustration of a transforming moment was how men and women related to each other at the beginning and how this changed throughout the three days. On day one tea break and lunch breaks participants huddled with their peers and did not engage in discussions outside of their immediate groups. On day two and day three, participants sat in their themed areas and discussions and experiences overflowed into the breaks with non Swahili speaking participants engaging through the broken English of the Bingwa and the other external participants. Outside the sessions the only segregation that remained was that Zanzibari men and women did not sit together.



Figure 8.5 Deliberative dialogue between participants

I attribute these transformations to distinct elements of the deliberative dialogue. To begin with the initial focus on assets and strengths enabled all of the participants to identify with each other and recognize each other's contributions as valid. This was particularly relevant to the local and external participants as there was a 'seeing of perspectives' through the eyes of another and the 'other', resulting in participants empathising and identifying with each other. Examining values and beliefs through sharing views and perspectives took participants to the edge of their dissonance (Wals 2007) and their borders (Giroux 1992) of understanding, facilitating expansion away from facts to underlying values. This was particularly evident when there were more than three people involved in the discussion as observed by one of the participants:

"You know I was listening to him and her as they discussed what changes they had seen and what pressures and influences there were and it really helped me to question and shape my own response before sharing it." (Participant: 2013)

Such vicarious encounters are a distinguishing attribute of a deliberative dialogue where participants see their own position more clearly through the positions of others. Another distinguishing feature was the challenging of hidden assumptions that frame resistance to change by creating set ways of understanding an issue. Deliberative dialogue brings these assumptions out of hiding to engage in difference of opinion and value, enabling global learning as focused on local and global pressures and influences. While there is no such thing as a neutral space, I endeavoured to create a safe space where, while power dynamics were acknowledged, so were commonalities enabling participants to transcend their differences and speak with shared understanding (Dryzek 2006).

Through this process a shared consensus emerged that natural capital assets were the only stakeholders in the room without a voice and that all decisions, actions and reflections should embrace consideration of the natural resource base while building on other capital asset strengths. There was a collective decision that all participants should draw on available expertise to address issues like firewood usage, salination of water supplies, sanitation and pollution issues as much as feasibly possible.

8.4. Planning Action for Sustainable Change

At the end of the three days the participants had engaged in a deliberative dialogue, identified individual and collective strengths and assets, and had

considered the global and local pressures and influences on the changes they had experiences and the sustainable change they would like to see. The result of this global social learning process for sustainable change was a framework for action that combined the sustainable change outcomes with the Bingwa's priority areas. The framework built on existing assets and strengths from a range of perspectives. It combined sustainable use of resources with opportunities to increase engagement in decision-making processes to develop new skills and use sustainable innovations.

The Bingwa established priority action groups drawing from their GLP participants and interested others and, with new funding secured through Comic Relief, planned to implement their activities through the third cycle of change

Table 8.2 Bingwa Frameworks of Action during Third Cycle of Change				
Priority Areas /Change Outcomes	Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant	Active engagement and increased involvement of women and youths in all aspects of livelihood development	Shared learning opportunities between different sectors and expertise levels and types	Conserving and restoration of natural resources and fragile habitats
Women and Enterprise: Develop and support food processing and marketing of products to tourism industry	Fruit and vegetable preservation and processing that utilised 'gluts' in produce: Jams, pickles, dried fruits	Establishment of a producer network engaging women from a number of different cooperatives with governance structure	Provide opportunities to engage with sectoral experts from within Zanzibar and externally through linkages	Use of fuel efficient and clean energy technologies such as rocket stoves, solar driers and solar box ovens
Teachers and schools: Develop and support a whole school approach to learning about sustainable life skills	Introduce critical reflection pedagogies such as global learning into the classroom through CPD	Use of critical reflection pedagogies and pupil centred learning in the classroom and action groups with elected governance structures	Build on Wales Zanzibar school links to support access to global experiences through the Global Professional Learning Community	Engage in education about biodiversity, conservation and restoration of fragile habitats such as mangroves
Young People: Develop and support a youth employability and enterprise training Community	Identify VET opportunities that supported production of new technologies such as rocket stoves Introduce	Ensure gender equity in all aspects of VET and support development of youth cooperatives Work with	Provide opportunities for exposure to experts in design and new technologies to support learning experiences Provide	Include conservation and the environment in learning about new technologies Integrate
Enterprises: Develop and support a combined approach to food production and environmental conservation	improved technologies such as bee husbandry instead of bee robbing apiary, small scale mariculture in mangroves	different groups and facilitate creation of producers learning and production networks with elected governance structures	opportunities to engage with sectoral experts from within Zanzibar and externally through linkages	awareness and use of innovative technologies with conservation and restoration of mangroves

8.5. Photovoice Reflection on the Changes

Six months on, working with the Bingwa and their priority groups, I engaged in a photovoice reflection of the changes that had occurred and why from the Bingwa perspectives. I sought to understand how increasing rural people's understanding and awareness of global sustainability issues had facilitated a dialogue and active engagement between communities and decision makers and how this had contributed towards sustainable development in Zanzibar in order to determine the relevance of global learning.

I framed my inquiry around the four sustainable change outcomes:

- Active engagement with women and young people to increase their involvement in all aspects of livelihood development at a community level
- Shared learning opportunities between different sectors and expertise levels and types
- Conservation and restoration of natural resources and fragile habitats
- Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that were culturally relevant

To facilitate this process and to enable rigour I engaged in this critical reflection by combining a photovoice analysis by the Bingwa with observations and a series of semi-structured interviews and discussions with them, their priority groups and institutions. While the photovoice sought to capture significant change, each semi-structured interview was framed by three open questions focusing on the identified sustainable change outcomes:

- What successes and achievements had been reached?
- What challenges and issues had been faced?
- What were the recommendations for change?

As before the eight Bingwa were equipped with disposable cameras, each taking up to twenty six photographs of the significant changes that had occurred. I sat down individually with each of the Bingwa and they chose six from the twenty six that they had taken and proceeded, as before, to share the stories of their photos. Once I had completed this process with each of them, I prepared a montage of the forty eight photos, and the Bingwa grouped them by intent. By this I mean they paired and grouped photos displaying images that illustrated the sustainable change outcomes identified previously. I then gave each of them three sticky dots and they used them to 'vote' and rank which photos they felt displayed the most significant change in these four areas, as detailed below.



Figure 8.6 Photovoice Reflection on most significant change

Table 8.3 Photovoice Reflection on Most Significant Change

Photovoice Picture Description	Most Significant Change Illustrated
Group of men and women	Introduction of new and appropriate technologies
standing together under some	that are culturally relevant
trees, near their 'modern' bee	
hives	
Young people, boys and girls	Active engagement with women and young
working together to tend to a	people to increase their involvement in all aspects
school garden that they have	of livelihood development at a community level
planned and manage as part of a	
priority group activity	
Young women trainees holding a	Shared learning opportunities between different
video camera preparing to film a	sectors and expertise levels and types
community meeting/celebration	
School children planting mangrove	Conservation and restoration of natural resources
seeds near their school	and fragile habitats

I carried out a thematic analysis of the responses to the semi-structured interviews and combined my analysis with the participatory analysis of the photovoice reflection on changes.

8.5.2. Photovoice of Sustainable Change

The first noticeable change was how references to sustainable use of natural resources evolved to become sustainable management of natural resources as a key component of sustainable livelihoods and a priority for all four sectors: Youth, Women, Enterprise and Schools.

Collective action and collaboration were at the heart of the changes described and through collective action the removal of societal barriers was achieved. For example, men and women from different family groups were now working together. Through engaging in the GSL, the Bingwa and their priority groups had actively participated in social interaction with new flows of information

between everyone involved. The social change and empowerment outcome of this was active involvement of women in decision making at both individual and community levels.

Following the photovoice illustration of the changes that had occurred participants were asked to identify which changes could be attributed to the GSL. After a period of reflection one participant got up and drew a circle around all of the changes saying,

"We collaborate differently now. All these changes are because of how we collaborate and listen to each other." (M1: 2013)

This widening and intensification of social interaction at a community level and also with external actors expanded social networks and created new spaces for a global social learning process of deliberative dialogue (Shultz 2010) leading to communicative action (Habermas 2004) and capability of voice (Sen 1999). This was powerful, especially when combined with the development of shared definitions of issues, potentials and strengths that could be built on to address and challenge constraints and maximise potential. There was a noticeable shift towards valuing the inter-relationships between technical knowledge and local practice with a shared realisation of the importance of how to engage effectively. Previously participants had been limited by constraining notions of what technical knowledge to impart or receive. This had a further impact on the relationships between the Bingwa and their priority groups and within the external and local participants, making these relationships less paternalistic and more participatory.

8.6. Thematic Reflection on Sustainable Change Outcomes

Theming my analysis of the semi-structured interview notes around the four sustainable change outcomes, the importance and centrality of collaboration and its dynamism as a concept emphasised a consideration of local knowledge, values and practices.

8.6.1. Active Engagement with Women and Young People

While the GSL had the ability to determine gender equity and spread through targeted selection, once it had been completed it was anticipated that cultural norms and social dynamics would determine the level of engagement of women and young people in livelihood development. Through the interviews, as with the photovoice reflection of significant changes, gender issues were prominent. Both men and women had not considered each other's daily tasks (such as just how women divided their time or how hard men actually worked) and through identifying and building on their strengths in all of the four priority group areas both men and women reported an increase in their participation in economic activities as enabled in the GSL. This suggests that identifying and building on strengths/assets and engaging in a critical reflection of proposed activities, and the global pressures and forces that impacted upon them, increased opportunities for men and women. There were some uplifting stories of men encouraging their wives to participate in the priority group activities and of women using the critical thinking skills developed through the GSL at a household level. In relation to the rural community groups, women in particular

noticed that through the training they became active collaborators in the training. Resultant activities involved mixed groups.

M4 and W2 focused on changes related to community capacity and change in attitudes towards collaboration and engaging with women:

"You know it is traditional for us men to sit on the baraza²⁵ after mosque and make our decisions amongst ourselves over coffee and kashata²⁶. You know we have solved some big problems there and gotten ourselves into trouble in the past²⁷. Discussions with our women folk have been a household issue, but this project has enabled us both to appreciate each other's views outside the home." (M4: 2013)

"Sitting together to plan and work together is very new for us. You know the men talk after mosque and we talk around the fire while we cook. While women could achieve positions of responsibility outside the home, this learning project has made an opportunity to listen to each other outside the home to plan and deliver activities that support our community." (W2: 2013)

The male orientated cultural hierarchies in Zanzibar resulted in a number or jealousies that negatively impacted on this change outcome. Interestingly these were only evident in relation to the women and enterprise activities, where men were actively excluded, suggesting a negative impact of purposeful gender disparity. The focus of external agencies (such as Action Aid, Oxfam and Care International) on women's empowerment was begrudged by the men and this could be an area for reconsideration in terms of approaches. The focus on empowerment as an outcome rather than a process could in part be attributed

Informal meeting place, often a stone or concrete bench on the outside of a house or mosque
 Nut or coconut sugar candy
 A reference to the lack of political freedom prior to 2010 elections

to this. I remained uncomfortable with the notion of participants being 'empowered' through an intervention rather than empowering themselves through engagement. The social change that was occurring was in itself empowering, as highlighted by the collaboration between men and women and their reactions to planning and working together.

Describing how the GSL had affected the relationship between students and teachers in lower secondary school the two education Bingwa M2 and W3 cited the need for teachers to "be close" to their students to enable achievement. This has implications for all forms of education and learning. Over the years I have grown accustomed to discussions in Zanzibar. They are never short and usually involve a story of many connected themes. Discussions always start with a religious blessing. Quite often, there can be a period of contemplation before the blessing, which can be unnerving, and sometimes frustrating if you are unaware. I have sat in silence for more than twenty minutes waiting for the designated person to open discussions with the blessing. If there are less than four people involved the blessing is followed by greetings. Once these are exhausted and all known family members' health and wellbeing accounted for discussion can begin. Through these discussions a space is created for participants to share their extensive thoughts and for acceptance. In getting close to students, both M2 and W3 were referring to the importance of this space to connect to learners in multiple contexts:

"It is really important for our students to have a confidence in us and what we do as teachers. You know when the teacher falls asleep in class, what message does that give his students? That teacher is not even a good bank manager²⁸. Using these approaches, our teachers and students use information to solve problems, now isn't that something we all need to do?" (W3: 2012)

"Building confidence is so important for learning. You can't build your students' confidence without engaging them. Our teachers are used to a culture of respect and fear [of the cane] and that's just lazy teaching. Providing, how you say this 'deliberate dialogue' space in a classroom changes the culture conducive to learning. You can hear the difference when you walk past the classroom." (M2: 2012)

Teachers and students through active engagement in activities that were pupil centred displayed enthusiasm to learn and participate. Building on existing assets and strengths, such as Ministry-sponsored but often defunct Environmental Clubs, young people have reinvigorated them as interactive student initiatives, linking learning to livelihoods, global awareness and active engagement. The student-led nature of the activities, ensuring gender equity in relation to positions of responsibility, has also proven successful in linking young people with their wider community on issues related to nutrition, biodiversity, health and sanitation.

8.6.2. Shared learning opportunities

Traversing the gap between institutions and communities was identified as being very important in terms of external assistance or expertise. Three Bingwa had this role combining their credibility with external agencies and Ministerial departments with their legitimacy in supporting community driven development. The social capital that resulted was laden with responsibility in terms of control and balance between the priority group communities and external actors.

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²⁸ reference to Friere's banking concept of education

Moderating the relationships between external actors and communities was identified as a long-term process to realize the opportunities and benefits in a way that countered the dominant culture of dependency in Zanzibar.

Creating spaces for shared reflection and learning had been integral within the GSL. Encouraging collective and collaborative action was also paramount. Exposure to external expertise and learning new skills broke down a number of significant cultural barriers resulting in an emergence of mutual respect for difference and a greater awareness of collective dissonances.

The Bingwa realised a need to analyse the dissonances and their impact on the social organization of the communities:

"You know our communities have lots of societal issues that should be considered as well as the technical perspective, low education levels and not just literacy, the inability to use information is a big issue. How our communities are marginalized, the lack of accountability and transparency between external actors and our communities need to be analysed. Only then can we identify the potentials, strategies and constraints of our society to make sustainable decisions." (M1: 2013)

From the semi-structured interviews it was apparent that exposure to a new European volunteer scheme had contributed greatly to knowledge development. These were European volunteers of mixed ages, without the neo-colonial aid trappings of big cars and gift-laden projects. They offered a marked contrast to the more commonly experienced European tourist walking around barely clothed. The result was a shared appreciation of each other and 'the other'. I refer to this notion as seeing 'people as people' rather than as strange humanoids. As one of the Bingwa explained:

"You know some of these Wazungu think because someone can't read or write they are stupid, rather than having missed an education. Yet some of these educated Wazungu behave in very stupid ways. I feel confident to challenge this now and would happily sit down and share my views with these people in ways I would not have been able to before. I like this new confidence." (W2: 2013)

One of the common suggestions for change arising from the semi-structured interviews was to create a network where actors could meet in order to develop and disseminate a more widely shared understanding of the current situation, with a view to increasing cooperation amongst themselves and to facilitate a constructive relationship with tourism investors.

They decided that if made accessible to the whole community this type of learning, oriented towards interaction between local and external actors, would improve current relationships between the two apparently conflicting groups. Moreover, they resolved that the community should also have an input into the analysis of these findings suggested that developing existing structures such as village elder meetings to overcome the power gap between local and external actors.

The shared learning opportunities and exposure to the 'other' within a school setting was influenced by a school linking initiative in which two of the Bingwa were involved. This had a significant role in increasing knowledge of link teachers from the rural schools:

"You know getting their passports and visas to travel to Wales makes such as difference, especially for the rural teachers who have not left Zanzibar before. Our Government and your Government present so many challenges to negotiate and I see the change in them, you know, their confidence, and that's before they get on the plane. The

visit is the easy part. I see them when they come back, how they share their experiences with their students and how their eyes light up." (W3: 2013)

Teachers learning and sharing experiences with each other resulted in the Wales Healthy Schools Initiative being adapted by the Bingwa, on request from the Zanzibar teachers and with additional support from Public Health Wales, resulting in the development of a Zanzibar Healthy and Sustainable Schools Framework²⁹ as an unexpected outcome from the GSL.

The Zanzibar school sector demonstrated transferability and adaptability through this initiative. The Bingwa working with the North Region schools emphasised healthy and sustainable living issues. In justifying why one participant said:

"You know Cathy, if you look at the assets and the importance to be healthy and skilled as human capital, and then look at social capital and the natural capital, surely what we are trying to achieve is a healthy and sustainable world. Access to dirty infected water is not sustainable, pollution affects our health and our sustainability." (W3: 2013)

This resonated with my research approach and methodology. PAR and photovoice have been used extensively in assessing health promotion in the USA to influence value change and lifestyle choices. There appeared to be untapped complementary lessons to be shared between Global Learning and Health Promotion sectors.

²⁹ A whole school approach to integrating Healthy and Sustainable Living Skills across the curriculum stemming from a development and management plan of participating schools based on the Wales Health Promoting Schools Initiative.

8.6.3. Natural resources and fragile habitats

The fragility of the habitat underpins the PAR and was both implicit and explicit in every activity. All of the participants understood the whys and how's to reduce their impact on the environment. While evidence suggests that even when this is not the most significant motivator for changing attitudes it has been an outcome.

The value of photovoice as a process for sharing ideas (photographs enabling guided discussion) was acknowledged by all of the Bingwa. It served as both a learning method and a means of initiating change in relation to the necessity of conserving natural resources:

"You know, deciding what to take a photograph of really makes you think about the context." (M1: 2013)

"Going out into the mangroves with my students gives them the opportunity to learn about lifecycles of trees and the science concept of photosynthesis and respiration, not to mention biodiversity." (W3: 2013)

Engaging students in activities out of the classroom was seen as an affordable way of exposing them to their wider world through learning. M4 told me:

"Involving our students and our communities in the replanting of mangroves cultivates the forests and a sense of accomplishment, 'a win win' and a really important part of the learning approach from the GLP." (M4: 2013)

Ensuring that conservation is a by-product of a sustainable livelihood rather than a motivator proved essential in achieving this outcome. It was evident that unless there are viable alternatives livelihoods will continue to be made through unsustainable, harmful practices. In the above example the GLP resulted in mangroves being viewed as a valued habitat instead of a wood source.

The engagement of the groups in their livelihood activities and their focus on the economic and social benefits of sustainable and responsible enterprise (rather than an explicit focus on the importance of conserving and restoring natural and fragile habitat) highlights the importance of actively engaging with community strengths and priorities from the outset of any project seeking to effect change.

8.6.4. New and Appropriate Technologies that are Culturally Relevant

As already stated, the use of photovoice and the participatory processes of research analysis and collaborative decision making were acknowledged by the Bingwa as culturally relevant, new and appropriate technologies as the following three quotes illustrate:

"Being able to see and comment on photographic images that illustrated community issues, opportunities or changes can help us in education and also support community action." (W3: 2013)

"You know traditionally our social structure resembles the collective learning tools we have used in the project. Our elders would constantly reflect on the decisions made, but they are less powerful now and most decision are guided by economics. These tools could help us to recapture some of the traditional ways that served us well in the past." (M3: 2013)

"Good relationships are fundamental to all our lives. Being able to communicate and share knowledge and learning and to question our own knowledge are so powerful. Being able to reflect and reconsider, especially as a younger woman who is expected not to question has changed how I make decisions." (W1: 2012)

In addition to global social learning being identified as a culturally relevant new, appropriate technology, there was an emphasis on the importance and value of learning new approaches as well learning to use new skills. In relation to livelihood technologies, the introduction of rocket stoves and how that linked to every aspect of the project and the research was cited repeatedly. They were produced locally by young vocational education trainees, who sold the stoves at an affordable price. They were used by the women's enterprises to process and prepare foods, by schools to prepare food, by fisher groups to process products and were increasingly used domestically as a labour saving device. In local trials the rocket stove used 40% less firewood than the traditional mafia stove, (Sazani Associates, 2013). This had implications on time both spent collecting firewood as well as for firewood needed. In summary it was an affordable, appropriate and culturally appropriate technology.

8.7. Global Social Learning for Sustainable Change

Through the PAR it became evident that Bingwa participants were motivated to explore further social learning opportunities and to engage more constructively with the different policy makers, institutions and processes that governed their access to the various capital assets. While the approaches were different with each of the priority group areas, all involved creation of new spaces and a shift from strategic action to communicative action through broader engagement and collective action. The community groups organised a network or platform for regular shared dialogue between themselves and the institutions that had shared interests, in order to meet, review and reflect on the issues and

potentials and how to combine strengths to find solutions. Likewise, the teachers developed a 'professional learning community' of teachers and a School Management Committee (SMC) whose members worked together across disciplines and subject areas to develop cross-curricular whole school approaches to health and sustainable life skills. These were defined as learning how to engage in livelihood activities that were healthy, sustainable and linked to enterprise. One senior SMC member, during one of these meetings, provided the following analogy:

"So if our project is the mango tree providing shade and shelter for us to sit and share our ideas, then we the SMC are the roots and our teachers the branches and our learning the leaves. That makes our pupils the mangos, so we must work with you to nurture and fertilize our soil so that we grow strong and can survive if the rains come or not." (SMC member: 2013)

Decision-making processes at an individual and household level were strengthened after the GSL. Through the resultant work with the women - supporting access to appropriate technologies and engaging them in a collaborative process - they noted that self-esteem improved and their ability to pursue and set goals collectively based on their values. Furthermore the values that the different women had at the outset changed as they became influenced through exposure to others.

There was also a change in gender relations with women citing how they were more involved and their opinions given greater credence at home and at a community level because of their participation in the project. They valued the shared opportunities that were developed through the focus on community enterprises as in a number of cases several members of the same household

were exposed to the GSL and benefitted from being engaged in the project. The women's groups rejected another network saying:

"All these agencies want us women to sit on networks. I can spend a whole week going to Action Aid this, UNICEF that. We need a learning process organised in such a way we can all participate, not just another women's forum as that does not help our Bwana's to take what we do seriously and just increases the jealousy they are beginning to feel about why everyone wants to talk to the women. This project has been different as there are shared opportunities, we have been able to have discussions with the men folk, and they have been able to listen to us as people. A woman's forum would destroy this." (W2: 2013)

Young people talked about the differences in levels of autonomy within their families and the communities and how this affected collective action. They commented on communities like Kigunda where economic differences within the community are low, everyone works together and there is very strong social capital. They contrasted Kigunda with communities like Nungwi, which has expanded because of tourism and houses many migrant workers, resulting in disparate income levels and far less collective activity than previously.

From my semi-structured interviews with the Bingwa I observed a gradual change in them and their participants, especially between local and external actors. There grew in social and psychological stature, became more confident, and enjoyed an enhanced ability to engage effectively as individuals and also as members of groups. The external actors, agencies and government representatives began to redefine their roles in order to consider the diversity of knowledge coming from their chosen priority areas. There was also an intensification of social interaction between the groups, between men and women, older and younger members of the communities and between the

external actors and community members, becoming less paternalistic and more participative. Drawing on Said, Giroux and Wals my analysis shows that people are unable to cross the dissonance, the degree of difference in values and perspectives, and borders until they feel confident in who and where they are. Such a sense of place stems from an individual valuing what they have in relation to what they value, and how 'capable' they are.

Compromise was also important and resulted as a by-product of conflict between gender, age or institutional disparity. Interestingly where the two instances of conflict arose, once compromise had been reached, problemsolving capabilities were developed and all of the participants cited increased confidence in being able to address other challenges.

An appreciation of an individual's own value and work capability provided the strength and interest to listen to others without feeling threatened or disempowered. This in turn enabled decisions to be made through considering a range of perspectives. This change in the inter-relation between technical prescriptive knowledge and indigenous understandings gave rise to communicative action and an analysis of the potential and limitations of proposed and existing actions in relation to sustainability. The increased community awareness and the ability to assess critically a situation highlighted the externally driven interventions or strategic actions as a major constraint to their sustainability.

An example of this was a new borehole in M4's village drilled by an International NGO without any consultation. It was saline and of no use or value to the community. Reflexive community engagement would have avoided this situation and the fact that the community weren't deemed to have had any

knowledge of value echoes Spivak's (2007) subaltern, which describes the social group who are excluded from power and influencing structures.

Dissonance borders could be redefined through collaboration as well as through fear of the other. The GSL highlighted the importance of collaboration in that when there is an effective and deliberate dialogue between the different actors, individual and collective strengths were realised and valued. The actors or participant's status had no role to play if it leads to perceptions of one strength being valued over another.

8.7.1. Social challenges to Interaction and Collaboration

The idea that collaboration and social interaction grease the wheels of collective action has been articulated within different disciplines (Putnam 2000, Ibrahim 2010) and was reinforced by this PAR. It was apparent that the Bingwa and participants now faced each other with confidence. They shared information and worked together. However, the greater the self-perceived status of the Bingwa the less influence they had as they were constrained by their expectations of respect. Likewise, the weaker or younger they were, the stronger their collaboration and cooperation. This was evident in an instance where W1, as a young woman, was receiving lots of respect for her work with women to the disgruntlement of a few of the older men (those Bingwa who thought their age and education status should overrule any form of meritocracy). The Bingwa that worked with the young people as their priority group also struggled with hierarchies within their collaborative structure.

Seemingly, mutually beneficial relationships with a local training college became marred by status and while the Bingwa and their young participants collaborated in a wide and dynamic way. The college polarised their

achievements, undermining them by not engaging in the collaboration and wanting to instruct and receive respect, in turn reducing the collaborative capital and the empowerment of the young people.

Reflecting critically on the respective rights, means and roles highlighted this inequality. Through dialogue and drawing attention to the win-win scenarios of improved and sustainable livelihoods as a shared interest and an attainable solution, it was agreed that engagement and affiliation were essential components of an effective collaboration. Compromise was the solution. This resulted in a liaison group being established comprised of the Bingwa, four young people (two boys and two girls, elected by their peers) and two college representatives whose role was to review and evaluate progress against the agreed empowerment outcomes.

This also signified an important social change and one that can be related to all types of collaborations between 'unequal' parties. For example, the aid intervention that instructs funds and expects people to do, compared to the one that engages with and plans in a participatory manner.

8.8. A Reflection on the Global Social Learning Process

Through this chapter, I have reflected on the social changes that occurred as a result of the Bingwa delivering the GLP to mixed groups of participants, drawn from their priority groups. The changes they experienced resembled the changes I experienced when delivering the GLP to them. Starting with assets has been proven through the GLP to establish a safe space for discussion and deliberative dialogue from a range of perspectives. Identifying changes experienced and changes wanted and building on identified assets and

strengths set the scene for a critical reflection on the global and local influences and pressures on those changes and what was needed to address them. In delivering the GLP and Global Social Learning (GSL) a process was enabled. This process and photovoice reflection allowed sustainable change outcomes to be reviewed and then refined from nine to four outcomes, as detailed in the following table

Sustainable Change Outcomes

Introduction of new and appropriate technologies that are culturally relevant

Active engagement with women and young people to increase their involvement in all aspects of livelihood development at a community level

Shared learning opportunities between different sectors and expertise levels and types

Conservation and restoration of natural resources and fragile habitats

How these related to the priority group areas formed the basis of the participatory development of a series of specific actions, which I then reviewed again using photovoice. Through this reflection, collaboration was cited as one of the key attributes of involvement in global social learning. In particular, collaboration that addressed the four sustainable change outcomes.

Social change towards sustainable livelihoods is certainly strengthened by collaboration - collaboration that is dynamic and involves active engagement with the other. Through this collaboration or communicative action there is greater appreciation and value of individual and collective strengths and assets and through collaboration it becomes easier to explore a range of different perspectives and to develop the confidence to engage in a critical collaborative reflection.

From this chapter it has become apparent that deliberative dialogue provides a mechanism and space for global learning to occur as a social learning process. Through focussing initially on the strengths and assets of those participating in the process, global learning in turn enables a process of sustainable change. Through this I am able to deduce that global learning is not only relevant but an essential factor in enabling sustainable change and social change towards sustainable livelihoods.

In the next chapter I reflect on my findings through my theoretical framework to develop a practical framework and model for sustainable change.

Chapter 9. Emerging Themes and Learning

9.1. Introduction

Through the PAR and the three cycles of change, I sought to answer my research question and sub questions:

What is the relevance of global learning, as a social learning process, in enabling social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies in Zanzibar, Tanzania?

- 1. How can global learning influence the formation and social construction of values and capabilities of rural actors?
- 2. To what extent has the social learning process contributed to changing power relations between the different actors?
- 3. In what ways has this process contributed to social change and what are the implications for sustainable livelihoods and food sovereignty?

I have engaged in a critical reflection on the process of social change towards sustainable livelihoods from three different and interrelated perspectives to achieve this. The PAR resembles a vortex in that my research focus has gradually narrowed with each cycle of change. The first cycle of change provides a global focus on the development of the Global Learning Programme (GLP) by a collaboration of educationalists and rural development practitioners from across the Global North and South. The second cycles of change provides a national focus on the delivery of this GLP in Zanzibar to a mixture of local and external actors from rural development and educational sectors. In this context local actors were from across Zanzibar and external actors were from Europe. The third cycle of change provides a local focus on the Global Social Learning

(GSL) that occurred when eight of the participants in the global learning programme took their global social learning as a process to the wider community of Northern Zanzibar and the sustainable change that ensued as illustrated in Figure 9.1

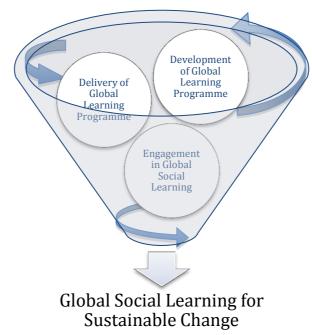


Figure 9.1 **Global Learning for Sustainable Change Process**

Engaging in a PAR to ensure a continuous critical reflection framed by the sub questions has focused on the interactions that were facilitated through the development and delivery of the GLP and resultant GSL that occurred. The PAR illustrates the importance of being able to frame and build on what an individual has as opposed to what they need. An example is social capital, as an asset framed by social relations, it is built through the exchanges, collaborations and collective decision making processes facilitated by the GLP and the GSL.

In this penultimate chapter I return the theoretical framework I developed in Chapter 2, to further analyse and reflect on the emerging themes and learning from the different cycles of change to answer my research questions. To this end, this chapter is structured around the individual and collective components of my theoretical framework and the sustainable change themes that resulted from the praxis of deliberative dialogue to:

- Inform and be informed by individual and community realities;
- Understand global forces and pressures that impact on local livelihoods;
- Influence policies, institutions and decision making processes;
- Engage in communicative action to enhance capability to make sustainable choices.

9.2. The Global Social Learning Framework

Theoretically I proposed a Global Social Learning Framework that drew on the people centred and actor orientated approach of the sustainable livelihoods framework so that the security of identity, prioritised by Sen (2006) and Said (2003) is strengthened and grounded in local realities. This is achieved through adopting an asset-based approach to build on individual and community assets and strengths. (Moser, 2006 and Bebbington, 2001). The security of this sense of self and place, establishes a safe space to engage in a deliberative dialogue (Habermas, 2004, Shultz 2010), a critical reflection on the local and the global pressures, forces and impact upon local livelihoods from a range of perspectives. The social learning achieved through this sharing of the different knowledge or dissonance among the actors and participants (Wals 2009) enables a crossing of hegemonic borders (Giroux 1992) and facilitates a shift towards what Habermas (2004) refers to as communicative action where making of decisions and choices is based on collaboration and sharing different perspectives. This results in a capability of critical voice (Sen 2006) and

pluralism (Said 2003) towards choices and actions and ultimately social change towards sustainability, as illustrated in figure below.

Key: H - Human Capital Asset Global Forces, Pressures N - Natural Capital Asset - Financial Capital Asset P - Physical Capital Asset - Social Capital Asset Understanding Communicative Individual N Informing Deliberative Engaging Action and Dialogue Sustainable Community Change Realities Outcomes Policies & Institutions Enhanced capability to choose, be and do sustainability

Figure 9.2 Global Social Learning Framework

Through my Global Social Learning Framework, I am focussing on what I believe to be the fundamental changes required to enable sustainable development and to challenge the negative impact of human activities on the earth's resources. I argue that learning is synonymous with change and that as Roling (2002) suggests, sustainable human society stems from interaction and an acknowledgement of interdependency. Therefore, for change to be sustainable, learning should involve collective interaction that considers the local and global pressures, forces, policies and institutions on society. I achieve this through bringing together a range of critical paradigms and praxis that focus on the importance of considering (thinking and talking about) another perspective. Theoretically, my approach complements much of the postcolonial critique and justification of global learning to focus on critical theory through the practicalities and pragmatism of reflexive practice and active engagement.

9.2.2. Theoretical Framework to Practical Process

The Global Social Learning Framework provides me with a theoretical structure to support a participatory and empowering process to develop knowledge, values and action competences. This process harmonises individual and collective capability to participate more fully and more effectively in personal, organisational and societal issues. The practicality of this process draws on the how and what an individual knows, how this knowledge is organised and ultimately utilised. The result, a Global Social Learning (GSL) process grounded in critical theory and built on reflexive practice or praxis.

Focusing on strengths and assets from the outset facilitated a culture of change built on opportunity rather than need. This focus challenges the dominant neoliberal development agenda that prioritise and fund evidenced based needs, retaining power through their decision-making processes. Identifying good practice through the appreciative inquiry in the first cycle of change, Chapter 4 highlighted the importance of social relationships inherent in the formal and informal networks and associations. Central to the framework and the process was the validation of theoretical realities through resonance with experience. Chapter 6 and the second cycle of change exposed achievement of contextual literacy through having access to, understanding and relating information to experience in a given context in order to challenge and synthesize it. Enabling such deconstruction and reconstruction of information and knowledge, to understand its importance and relevance, was achieved through active participation and engagement with participants. This was brought to the fore in

Chapters 7 and 8 in the third cycle of change, where priority was given to understanding perceptions of local realities in making information relevant and valued. This involved understanding and using appropriate language to foster and develop the contextual literacy of the participants directly involved and wider societal actors.

In the following sections I will use the component parts of my theoretical framework to explore the social changes in more detail to answer my research question.

9.3. **Deliberative Dialogue**

At the centre of my framework is Deliberative Dialogue, a safe social learning space for a critical reflection to happen. This space enables participants to go beyond the boundaries of given information and cross the dissonance borders of what is seen and known to gain and consider a range of perspectives. Through the cycles this sense of a safe space enabled actors and participants exposure to a range of dissonances regarding the global and local issues, pressures, forces, institutions and policies that impacted on and governed local livelihoods. I have categorised the exchanges that took place into 4 types: understanding, informing, influencing and engaging. I have not given priority to any particular one as I see them as interrelated and of collective importance to the processes of deliberative dialogue.

Deliberative dialogue was enabled through participation in a collection of Participatory Action Learning (PAL), 'learning by doing' activities. These activities sought to enhance an individual's capability to explore and analyse information, irrespective of literacy levels. Another defining feature was the understanding, challenging and managing of the different perspectives expressed and explored through reflexive practice. Throughout the cycles this process was credited for strengthening community lead decision-making and analysing the consequences so that decisions were informed and not biased. It was participatory, flexible and involved numerous opportunities to build and negotiate relationships between disparate, polarized positions and different sectors. Focussing on the participatory learning processes of social change, the approach enabled a reflexive, deliberative and participatory dialogue between participants and a shift from multiple to collective cognition (Roling 2002). In the first cycle of change this was achieved through the appreciative inquiry and the acknowledgment of collective good practice. In the second and third cycles of change, delivery of the GLP combined PAL activities with contextualized case studies to introduce and explore different scenarios contexts from a range of perspectives. In all three cycles of change, this intentionally non-coercive process was orientated to collective agreement. Participants engaged in a global social learning process that progressed from an understanding of individual and community realities to a consideration of the links between global issues and local development and the importance of decision-making processes, resulting in a transformation towards sustainable action.

The knowledge production that resulted from these iterative loops of action and reflection involved multiple participants, perspective and voices. The shared knowledge, awareness and skills resulted in community understandings of the development challenges and opportunities for sustainability. This lead to collective action and reflection that Keen (2005) has also observed when

individuals and groups work together to improve interrelationships between social and ecological systems. This was evidenced across the cycles through the acknowledged dependency of human society on the natural resource base to develop sustainably or unsustainably, as illustrated in the second cycle by the natural resource as a capital asset being regarded as the participant or stakeholder without a voice. Observing how individual and partial understandings of local realities were expanded through dissonance and sharing of knowledge suggested that global learning as a social learning process influenced the formation and social construction of values, or in other words behaviour change.

9.4. Informing Individual and Community Realities

Through the Deliberative Dialogue I introduced a focus on individual and community assets and strengths. Defining Individual and community realities through their capital assets and strengths transformed inequitable relations between participants in the training delivered in the second cycle of change and then between community members and external actors in the third cycle of change. In doing so it encouraged retention or a redistribution of power to transform social relations. How power dynamics and relations impacted on community engagement, decision-making and mobilisation of resources, depended on the different levels of engagement involved and the nuanced communication strategies between men and women, elders and youth, external and local actors. Challenging these inequalities required a better understanding of the multiplicities of identities (Sen 2006) as an integrated picture that begins with the individual. During the cycles participants defined themselves and their

communities through a pentagon of capital assets. Social capital, as the relationships of trust and obligation and human capital as the ability (through health education and skills) to engage, were clearly closely linked to attributes of individual and collective empowerment.

Through the participants understanding and analysing their local realities and thought processes, they acknowledged the importance of assessing their community's assets and strengths as the first step towards challenging the inequity of their situation. In cycle three, the Bingwa contrasted this approach with many of the international agency projects they had been exposed to and how they had become accustomed to their communities being defined by their problems (poverty, education, and corruption) instead of opportunities and strengths such as their strong sense of community and connection to place and heritage. At the outset there was an interesting disjuncture between this sense of ownership and the unsustainable use of the natural capital asset, as the participants engaged in a critical reflection of their capital assets, how they all inter related, how they utilised them and the relationships between the assets became central to all of the ensuing discussions, plans and actions. Connections started to be made between the changes in natural assets and their use of it; for example how the octopus stock in the lagoons increased during Ramadan when local divers didn't fish. In addition, the scarcity of wood fuel, tree cutting habits and alternatives became topics for conversation and dialogue. Access to financial capital was highlighted through the village savings and credit cooperatives, (SACCOS). Stories emerged about the failure of so many SACCOS because of failed loan repayments and how really they should value them more as they were theirs and not some project gift from an external

aid body. Physical capital stood out as the one asset they were least able to influence or access, in particular water, electricity and transport provision. For example, as the ethnography suggests everyone had a mobile phone, very few people had the ability either to charge it or to purchase credit.

Discussions about responsibility and change occurred in every cycle of change indicating a change in attitude from "how can you help us?" to "what can we do?" and "what we need" to "what we have". The Bingwa and the wider participants social realities started to focus more on transformation, innovation and creation of structural arrangements towards sustainability. They described the importance of cultural ownership and their sense of place in defining relationships. Being secure or anchored in a 'sense of self' or identity and 'sense of place' or belonging, appeared essential in being able to consider a different perspective on a situation or decision making process that impacted upon local livelihoods. Therefore, by identifying an individual or community's asset base provided sense of place and the security to connect with global public spheres and issues. Essential to this is Said's understanding of belonging, developed in his account of culture, establishing a realm in which participants feel "comfortably at home among people, supported by known powers and acceptable values, protected against the outside world" (Said1983: 16). From this safe space, pluralism becomes a trigger for the social learning to take place, (Wals et al 2009) the heterogeneity of the participants; in particular their different types of knowledge are what Wals (2009) refers to as dissonance. As reflections on the cycles showed, this provided a continuous energy for social learning. Wals (2010) attributes this to key in the breaking down of ideological barriers and enabling of new forms of thinking and acting. These

barriers or borders, according to Giroux (1992) are the main obstacles for social learning to occur. The research showed that when similarly minded groups engaged in discussion there was minimal dissonance, no borders to cross and stagnation. Too much dissonance or too big an ideological border to cross, likewise blocked social learning. Identification of assets and strengths created a sense of self and place and resulted in a secure safe social learning space for knowledge to be shared. From this mobilization of new ways of seeing the world (Selby 2007) emerged an interest in understanding the local and global pressures and forces that impacted upon local livelihoods and it is this component of the framework I consider next.

9.5. Understanding Local and Global Forces and Pressures

Enabling new ways of seeing the world combined the perspectives of the participants with the iterative loops of critical reflection, described in section 9.4. This focused on the interrelations between wider world and the global forces and pressures on Zanzibar and local livelihoods. This is where global learning pedagogy came to the fore. Zanzibar, as explained in Chapter 4, as a small island state is particularly vulnerable to global pressures and forces, in particular tourism and climate change necessitating being able to adapt and or mitigate against change. To engage in either of these without an understanding of the drivers of these global pressures and forces is at best reactionary and ineffective. Global learning fostered a proactive response and change of approach throughout the PAR. The political struggles and ideological shifts, from state socialism towards liberal capitalism had arguably been influenced by the cold war. The resultant culture of dependency and lack of responsibility

contrasted hugely with the assets based approach introduced through the PAR. Global interdependency was highlighted by the islands dependency on imported goods and services, global trade agreements and tourism. For example, the price of cars increased 40% after Japan's, 2011, tsunami as most cars are imported from Japan via Dubai (per obs). In 2010, the mainland based union government of Tanzania sold tuna fishing rights, to a range of foreign entities with a simultaneous negative impact on available fish stocks (January and Ngowi 2010). The onset of tourism as a global force simultaneously raised expectations as an alternative source of financial capital and has engaged in an over exploitation of natural capital assets such as water, land, forests and marine resources and an under exploitation of human capital, with less than 20% of all employment going to Zanzibar nationals (ZIPA 2010). In contrast and in response, a global force, identified through the cycles and detailed in the ethnography, is the Mwamsho (awakening) movement, a rise of Salafism as an extreme pious form of Islam in the rural areas. The consequences of these pressures and forces, as described through the PAR are extremes of dissonance, too polarized for differences to be shared with global economic pressures at one end of the spectrum and global extremist forces at the other. The resultant lack of critical pluralism provides a very real and important opportunity to create a deliberative dialogue space for optimal dissonance to occur and for the knowledge of the different sectors to be shared and reflected upon. Through the PAR and the work of the Bingwa, the importance of such social differentiation of communication and engagement was identified. The research showed that for communication to be effective, it should start with an understanding of people's perceptions and knowledge of the global pressures

and forces that impact on them, if they are to be engaged with in a meaningful way. Addressing societal concerns about tourism and to challenge the emerging religious response, the GSL in the third cycle actively engaged in what Said (1993) refers to as Secular Criticism and worldliness. Global learning, in this context was an extremely relevant response to challenging the 'alterity' and uncriticisably intense "Manichean theologizing of 'the Other'" (Said 1983:291). The critical consciousness realised through global social learning actively challenges exclusion of that which is "other" and the notion that "what is fitting for us and what is fitting for them" (Said 1983: 15-16). The former are designated as superior, the latter, are designated as inferior.

Reducing this ideological and communicative gap was an area that the Bingwa sought to challenge, albeit without much success, but the Bingwa did notice a change in the communities' tolerance of different realities and a strengthening of their individual and collective identities. This culminated in all of the Bingwa working together with their priority groups to arrange a community celebration at the end of the PAR. It took the form of a rural fayre, attended by more than 2000 people, that show cased sustainability through cultural demonstrations, competitions, fun, games and economic alternatives.

The fragility of the islands ecosystem and its extreme vulnerability to climate change is essentially an insurmountable challenge, that further exasperates the decline of livelihoods opportunities, which combined with tourism and the increase in population, has resulted in overusing of coastal resources. Every community the PAR engaged with, cited examples of climate variability and change that had impacted on their livelihoods, through extreme weather events.

Interestingly, just as society had responded to the exclusion of a 'rights and justice based' dialogue by adopting a 'capabilities based' dialogue, the response to climate change was to redefine it from 'Mabadariko ya haliyahewa' (change in the climate) to 'mabadariko ya tabia ya'nchi' (change in the behaviour of the inhabitants) over the lifetime of the PAR. The redefining of this global issue gave ownership to this global pressure relating more to climate change adaptation and mitigation than the science of climate change. This people centred, actor orientated approach highlighted an important relationship between understanding and resilience/vulnerability of understanding as how can behaviour change be enabled without a justification or reason. The synergy developed through adopting such an approach to climate change enabled the Bingwa and their priority group participants to develop shared visions of risk and adaptation. They focused on the co-management of their natural capital assets and identified opportunities for viable alternatives to the destructive behaviours that had become the norm. Effective communication amongst the Bingwa and their priority groups, identified and raised awareness of global pressures and forces, encouraged dialogue and ultimately influenced behaviour change. Within both tourism and climate change, the one way delivery of information reinforced structural power relationships, maintaining monopolies of knowledge validating the knowledge of some groups over others. This gave "rise to organized collective passions [such as Mwamsho] whose social and intellectual results are often disastrous" (Said 1983: 290). Global social learning as a process enabled the participants to shift from such an information focus to an understanding of the local and global forces and pressures and with this shift emerged discussions about the barriers and constraints to them influencing and accessing the decision making processes and institutions that govern the forces and pressures that impact on local livelihoods.

9.6. Influencing Policies and Institutions Decision-making Processes

The current Government of Zanzibar policy acknowledges the need to understand and respect rural coastal community views, for integrative thinking and to involve them in decision-making processes. In the 2010 coastal strategy document, it states "Communities especially those living in coastal areas need to be made aware of the importance of coastal resources to their livelihood and thus their wise use of the resources is so crucial" (ZRG 2010:33). For this to become a reality there needs to be capacity to absorb and share information at both a community and an institutional level. Social justice is incomplete when a government can distance itself from taking responsibility for uneven processes and outcomes associated with the local governance structures. The ethnography and the cycles of change provide the relationship with the tourism sector as a prime example. Rural communities do not have a voice. The village sheha committee is the community gatekeeper and for the most part sheha, rather than community priorities have been prioritised and community priorities ignored.

As illustrated in the ethnographic Chapter 4, Small Island in a Global Arena, the vulnerability of the rural communities is increased by the coerciveness of the state mechanism. This is provoked by the political instability and the shift from state socialism to multiparty democracy, coinciding with the break up of the

Soviet Union. While there is an acknowledgement of needing to engage with rural communities, the 'how's' are still the missing link. In its place criminality, corruption and perceived urban superiority dominate the economic system to the detriment of the rural communities.

Through the PAR and the different cycles of change a network or platform was organized by the Bingwa, for regular shared dialogue between the priority groups and the institutions with shared interests. The aim was to meet, review and reflect on issues, potentials and to identify and combine strengths to find solutions. The teachers developed a professional learning community, (PLC) of teachers and school management committees in Zanzibar and with their links with schools in Wales, a Global PLC. Through this, they worked across disciplines and subject areas to develop cross-curricular whole school approaches to health and sustainable life skills. One senior SMC member, during one of these meetings provided the following analogy.

"So if our project is the mango tree providing shade and shelter for us to sit and share our ideas, then we the SMC are the roots and our teachers the branches and our learning the leaves, that makes our pupils the mangos, so we must work with you to nurture and fertilize our soil so that we grow strong and can survive if the rains come or not"

(SMC member: 2012)

Decision-making processes at an individual and household level were also strengthened through GSL. The Bingwa W1 and W2 noted that with the women they engaged with to support access to appropriate technologies through a collaborative process, self esteem improved and with it the ability to pursue and

set goals collectively based on their values and what they valued. Furthermore the values that the different women had at the outset changed as they became influenced through exposure to others. For example two women became members of their Sheha committee and active in community governance.

Through the GSL a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the rural communities and their complexities was provided. The accessibility of the methods and principles enabled rural communities to understand the processes that guide their development processes. One of the outcomes from this was an increase in collective action and more effective participation in decision-making. Through the PAR the priority groups the Bingwa focused on became the drivers of their development and the Bingwa, and the institutions the facilitators. This affirmation of the power of community in determining their sustainable development was an empowering process, from the inside out. It generated a collaborative energy capability and voice as a step towards making the government more accountable through translating political rights into future realities. This did not mean that there was a united interpretation of sustainability but through the GSL there was mediation between the powerful and the powerless. The research identified some of the complexities of the accountability relationships between civil society and institutions. Focussing on empowerment rather than problem alleviation, left a legacy that contributed to social transformation. The PAR highlighted the importance of moving beyond prescription of solutions and initiatives by global institutions, agencies and policy makers to embracing a mechanism driven by accountability.

The Bingwa's narratives echoed a transformative discourse indicative of a deeper understanding of the importance of critical engagement with rural communities and civil society. Within these, the importance of assessing strengths and limitations was an essential component of social and environmental justice. The PAR also showed that despite the Governments acknowledgement and the good intentions to promote such justice, the powerless are still excluded from a political space for public reflection to grapple with responsibility and trust. GSL provided a mechanism for social and policy learning, textual literacy towards sustainability through effective engagement with decision makers and in decision making and choices at an individual and collective level.

The Bingwa and their priority groups began to challenge practices deeply rooted in their culture and their modes of social organisation. Linking learning to everyday practices engaged participants in discussions, dissemination and debate in a non-linear process compared to the traditional linear provision of information and awareness. Capability to access and influence decision making processes at an individual and institutional level combined with viable alternatives were identified as crucial for sustainable change. With tourism, there was an acknowledgement of communication and understanding of the other as a major obstacle. With climate change, while information had been provided and there was a general acceptance that cutting down trees was bad, there had not been a connection between it being bad and it being detrimental towards local livelihoods. The proponents of the 'do not's also needed to engage in a critical reflection of their desired outcomes and participatory processes to foster integration of equity, justice and the environment. This

difficult power balance of cooperation between community and institutions requires trust, respect and an acknowledgement of the 'other'. Further more, without viable alternatives there was no motivation to change. From the three-day reflection seminar and final photovoice in the third cycle of change, it was agreed that motivation and change, stemmed from a combination of comprehension of the bigger picture, exposure to viable alternatives and ability to influence decision-making. With these in place collaborative decision-making and action was possible or in other words communicative action.

9.7. Engaging in Communicative Action

The creation of safe global social learning spaces, ensured that "truth could only emerge in settings where all assertions are equally open to critical scrutiny, without fear or favour" (Kemmis, 2000). The social interactions or deliberative dialogue that took place within these spaces was grounded in local realities and the assets and strengths of the participants. They understood and considered the local and global forces and pressures that impacted on them and identified barriers and constraints to influencing decision-making. Habermas would regard this global social learning space created by the Bingwa, their priority groups and external actors as 'ideal speech conditions'. An empowering and communicative interaction "aimed at mutual understanding and directed towards unforced agreement among people" (Habermas, cited in Kemmis, 1993:39).

Through the deliberative dialogue fostered by the global social learning space, open dialogue and discussion prevailed, ensuring a critical consciousness and actions coordinated by good reason and worldliness. When asked during the

third cycle of change photovoice about significant changes, communication, trust and collaboration were cited repeatedly. The Bingwa related global social learning to a sense of community and belonging, collaboration and engagement and influencing power relations and good governance. The collaborative planning and action that resulted from the deliberative dialogue is indicative of communicative action as defined by both Habermas (1984) and Kemmis (2001).

The Bingwa talked about the challenges and discussions that took place and the openness and trust they experienced between themselves as a group and how it developed within their priority groups. From an asset based perspective this generated and reinforced social capital strengthening collaboration as action towards mutual understanding and unforced agreement. The mutual understanding as a result of the global social learning that occurred between the group with the unforced agreement towards sustainable change following on. The intergenerational dialogue, detailed in cycle three, provides a good example of how the theory of communicative action relates to the PAR. Through the deliberative dialogue young people were exposed to and were encouraged to engage in discussions and reflections on their individual and collective strengths and the local global pressures and forces that impacted on them. In deciding what changes they wanted, they cited inclusion and involvement in decision-making. Through their participation, they became regarded as incumbents, or participants, as opposed to individuals, in the social change towards sustainability. This was demonstrated in their motivation and enthusiasm to engage. Similar social transformations occurred within and between the other priority groups right up until the end of the PAR. This social integration built on the Bingwa and their priority group's diverse understanding

of each other and about their situation and how it connected with the wider world, enabling me to again relate the social change to each of the critical theorists that have influenced my thinking. Habermas (1987:343) would regard this as a "coherence of knowledge sufficient for the consensus needs of every day practice". Said (1994) Giroux (1992) would relate this to critical consciousness in being able to connect knowledge to power and Sen (2004) would regard this as possessing a critical voice, being able to form views within a society through consideration of perspectives from outside that society. Through the PAR and the development of this critical consciousness and communicative action, a process of collective bargaining and decision making evolved, with men women old and young people from a range of backgrounds collaborating and listening to each other. Evidence was provided through the photovoice reflections on the changes on the change in attitudes towards a can do stance and towards a greater consideration of sustainability.

Young people talked about the differences in levels of autonomy within their families and the communities and how this affected collective action. They commented on communities like Kigunda where economic differences within the community are low and everyone works together and there is very strong social capital and in contrast communities like Nungwi which have grown from tourism and a lot of migrant workers resulting in big differences in income levels and a lot less collective activity than there used to be. The relationships between Kigunda and Nungwi and the impact this had on sustainability and enterprise, if not considered could have prevented the Bingwa from engaging at all. Kemmis (2001), showed that through a critical action research participants encouraged to address their experience of boundary crises through

communicative action move beyond the theoretical discourse into the practice of democracy. This in part suggests that once in a deliberative setting, participants from any sector can exchange and absorb the influences gained through deliberation rather than domination.

The social learning that pre-empts the change in understanding and ultimately communicative action challenges existing values and questions how problems are conceptualised. Nevertheless, the political, historical and institutional context determines how this process translates into change outcomes. The ability of these processes to effect social change could also be applied to social disorganisation and behaviour change towards unjust outcomes.

Engagement with the tourism sector is a good example of this. The impasse between the rural communities and tourism investors remains. This raises some important questions regarding the effectiveness of the approach. There is no doubt that the rural communities are willing to engage with the tourism sector, but through the PAR it was not possible to engage the tourism sector or to that matter the institutions that govern tourism in a deliberative dialogue regarding sustainable development. There are a range of forum for discussion, but each has minimal dissonance and none are cross sectoral and hence nothing changes. The resultant dominant dialogue regarding sustainable change continues to be disparate rather than deliberative and action for the most part strategic rather than communicative. The dominant concern for control and regulation prevails over any concern for 'the other'.

Communicative action resulting from the collaborations observed through the PAR required a willingness to agree to disagree and for all to be able to be

"quite not right" (Said: 2003) in order to facilitate sustainable change. The PAR was, as illustrated, confronted with the disincentives of cultural and ideological barriers, perception of risk, social dynamics and politics. These potentially hindered any communicative action and challenged collaboration. It became apparent that social hierarchies and inequalities are reinforced by vulnerability. Linking knowledge with action and ensured that the community contexts were understood and this proved to be essential, in changing power relations between the different actors. Ultimately, the existence of communicative action depended on the power structure within these social and collaborative relationships.

For these relationships to be effective an acknowledgement of the power base and limitations is required, also a safe space for deliberative dialogue to bring together potentially opposing values and competitive mind sets from different sectors. During the first cycle of change, the development of the global learning programme highlighted that empowerment and participation have an important role in developing the capability for development. In the second and third cycles of change, this creation of a safe space for social change provided gave rise to 'the capability of voice' (Sen 2002). The most striking change was within each cycle of change participants shifted from maintaining a mutual isolation to becoming interdependent with the inter-relation between technical prescriptive knowledge and indigenous understandings changing to give rise to communicative action towards sustainable change.

9.8. Enhanced capabilities to choose, be and do sustainably

Change is ultimately determined by the values that influence the choices an individual makes. One of the greatest attributes of global learning from my perspective is its emphasis on informed choice and decision-making. History shows us many examples of the results of uninformed choice or selectively informed choice. For example, globally, politicians court favour with their interpretation of events and future realities to influence decision-making and selectively informed choice. Global learning as a social learning process does not do this. It is dependent on dissonance, different perspectives and deliberative dialogue. It acknowledges the importance and influence of value-laden choices and counters this with a notion of informed decision making as described in Section 9.8. Capability as defined by Sen (1997, 1999, 2005) is the ability to be and do what one values, therefore enhancing capability suggests enhancing values. I use the term enhance rather than change in acknowledgement of existing strengths and that values to be influential should relate to and be grounded in local realities.

Throughout this chapter, I have cited numerous examples of values being enhanced, by collaboration and exposure to different perspectives or dissonances. Critical reflection of the different cycles of change enables me to state that global social learning enhances capabilities. Developing understanding of the global and local forces that shape the participants lives and engaging in deliberative dialogue to gain different perspectives influenced those values and a desire for sustainable change. It was an important consideration throughout the research, not to influence but to expose the participants to a range of influences, one of which was necessarily my own as a direct result of the duality of my role as researcher and practitioner. To this end the GLP and associated activities were structured to enlarge choice. As a process, global social learning was mutually reinforcing so that participants "have more freedom to live the kind of life which, upon reflection, they have reason to value" (Robeyns 2005: 3). This built individual and collective ability to engage, or agency. Through global social learning, this collective agency became critical agency, as there was not only the freedom to be and choose, but also the freedom to question and reassess (Sen 2002). The global social learning process has a critical thread running through it, influenced in part by sustainability but also by every other perspective encountered. The capability of voice is essentially critical and as Sen suggests a true measure of inequality in any society. Irrespective of the influences having the confidence to be able to question and to make decisions and choices based on reflection, consideration and deliberation are my foundations for global social learning in any setting. All societies have dissenters; their critical perspective is essential in sustaining a just society in that only the person with critical voice is truly free. This was acknowledged throughout the PAR. All the way through the cycles, participants valued the space and security to question and reflect on information and knowledge. The learning and ways of knowing were valued for themselves rather than their contribution to say job seeking. This was highlighted through my critical discourse analysis of the semi structured interviews and focus group discussions. My underlying intention was for everyone to have an equal voice, use of the assets based approach to initiate a deliberative dialogue and develop adequate capability sets enabled this intention to be realised. This suggests that for the desired outcome to be real it requires appropriate support. This intensification of the social interactions between participants and groups not only determines well being but continually strengthens it with a deeper determination. Capability to cross borders and engage with dissonance is determined by the sense of self and place and the very sense of self and place stems from valuing what an individual has in relation to what they value, how capable they are.

Capability of critical voice enabled a range of interactions central to the development of identities, values and goals resulting in social change towards sustainability among the Bingwa priority groups. Yet this critical voice was in itself dependent on the security of identity values and goals as influenced by tourism in Zanzibar, further more unless critical, the voice had no worth in terms of social change. Collaboration depends on an effective and deliberate dialogue between the different actors, individual and collective strengths. These were realised and valued as contributors, but their status had no role to play if it leads to perceptions of one person's strength being more valued than another. Social change towards sustainable livelihoods is certainly strengthened by collaboration, collaboration that is dynamic and involves active engagement with the other. Through collaboration there is a greater appreciation and value of individual and collective strengths and assets and through collaboration it becomes easier to explore a range of different perspectives and to develop the confidence to engage in a critical collaborative reflection. The Bingwa expressed the attitudinal changes were the most significant and the precursor to collective capabilities and critical voice. They stressed that if there hadn't been a change of perception of collaborative or communicative action, capabilities would not have been enhanced and they would be voiceless.

9.9. Sustainable Change Outcomes

The anticipated outcome of the Global Social Learning Framework and Process is sustainable change. Understanding the powerful influences of the Tourism sector combined with the religious response and the parallel challenges of climate change on the viability of the rural economy puts the islands vulnerability into context. While there is an emerging consensus on the importance and relevance of sustainability, interpretations of social, environmental and economic goals diverged considerably. The role of the GSL in building resilience and in turn reducing vulnerability stems from the deliberative dialogue and the space for critical pluralism. Building on the PAR findings, such critical pluralism can only be achieved if there is a constructive and deliberative dialogue that addresses the conflicts between the perceived social economic and environmental costs of sustainability. There was recognition of the role of incentives and motivators to encourage and the role of risk and power in challenging social change and "a need for clear communications and information that is actionable for it to be valued by the community" (M4: 2012).

Enabling the most vulnerable to achieve capability of voice, while a significant challenge is essentially sustainable change. The transformation from a stance of negativity and need, to positivity and strength was an empowering process and a source of motivation.

Eco-friendly strategies to generate economic solutions to environmental need cannot succeed if pushed solely by the environment sector, the political power dynamics generated through a single sector focus build resentment through not

representing the diversity of skills in the rural communities. The GSL showed how focusing on strengths, the environment became regarded and valued as a natural capital asset and the choices and changes that resulted were ultimately more sustainable. The ideas and attitudes of the Bingwa followed by their priority groups diffused into the wider community through the exposure to external knowledge, the openness of the organisations and the self perceptions as agents of sustainable change.

Throughout the cycles of change collective and collaborative action was at the heart of decision-making. What was clear in Zanzibar was for action to be collective then there needs to be a flow of information between individuals and groups and the social capital generated through these interactions were seen as an asset at both an individual and a societal level. This is illustrated by the change in gender relations experienced by women participating as Bingwa and in the priority groups. They cited how they were more involved in and listened to within the household and at a community level as a result of their participation in the project. They also valued the shared opportunities that were developed through the focus on community enterprises as in a number of cases several members of the same household were participating in different priority groups.

Power and risk were both perceived as influential factors to achieving sustainable change. The women, for example found that through the cycles of change, traditional power structures were challenged and they as the voiceless marginalised actors were listened to. This reinforced the notion that perceived risks were minimised by framing of the global social learning in peoples knowledge and realities.

The resultant rethinking of systems and behaviours from this process-orientated approach to engagement emerged from the Bingwa's narratives. Food sovereignty became more of an implicit focus and part of a portfolio of livelihood activities considered through global social learning. Attention was drawn to the attachment to sense of community and place and the connections between the local, national and global contexts through critical consciousness resulting in transformative sustainable change.

9.10. A Reflection on Global Social Learning

An island like Zanzibar provides a microcosmic view on the complexities of livelihoods. Understanding local realities, how resilient or vulnerable rural communities are and where is the edge of their dissonance provided an opportunity for participants to interrogate their social attitudes and the general cultural orientation, which underpins their livelihoods and approach to learning. In doing so, they harnessed the power of 'social cohesion' and 'social capital' creating sustainable change, and building resilience in complex situations. Through each of the cycles from the development of the global learning programme to its delivery and the global social learning that occurred, influenced the formation and social construction of values, enhanced the capabilities of rural actors, transformed power relations and contributed to sustainable change. The shared dynamic between social learning, values and sustainable change, opened "people's minds to the realities of the world "(Bourn 2008:8).

Chapter 10. Global Choices for Sustainable Change

10.1. My Research Journey

This chapter concludes the global learning journey in Zanzibar with my reflections on the research, its potential impact on Zanzibar and the wider world together with the limitations of my study and opportunities for further study. The global learning journey from sustainable livelihoods to adaptive capabilities described through this thesis was captured by Participatory Action Research, which focussed on the social changes that occurred. There were three distinct cycles of change:

- 1. Development of a Global Learning Programme
- 2. Delivery of the Global Learning Programme
- 3. Reflection on the Global Social Learning Process

Through my critical reflection on each of these cycles, in the context of Zanzibar as a small island in a global arena, I am able to conclude that not only is global learning as a social learning process relevant to enabling sustainable livelihoods, it is an essential component of this process. I have shown that global learning as a pedagogy of critical praxis provides a meeting place for the theorists that have inspired my development as a global learning practitioner and the praxis of global learning. Along this journey I have drawn inspiration from leading and emerging thinkers in global learning, critical theory and emancipatory approaches to development to form a pragmatic contribution to two of the most pressing global challenges: sustainability and plurality.

Through the cycles of change emerged three global forces and pressures that impacted on all aspects of local livelihoods: Tourism, Salafism and Climate Change. Running through each cycle was an exploration of the interdependence and interrelatedness of the rural communities, governing institutions, tourism, salafism and climate change. At the beginning of the global learning journey there was little comprehension of their connectedness or the importance of the networks and collaborative mechanisms in enabling sustainable livelihood strategies. Through the journey I have shown that global social learning influences values and enhances capabilities for sustainable change.

Chapter 4, detailed my first cycle of change, the development of a global learning programme as part of an EU funded project focussing on food sovereignty over two years. Through this cycle of change, food sovereignty became an implicit rather than an explicit consideration in terms of global social learning with food production and trade a central consideration of the participants and actors engaged in the PAR. The global learning programme that resulted is an acknowledgement of this. The good practice examples of food sovereignty and empowerment interventions, identified across the Global North and South, detailed global pressures and forces such as climate change and tourism linked to complex and multidimensional issues associated with sustainability. In line with my hypothesis, the research findings showed that throughout the Global North and South, there were a number of common and transferable features:

- Globally aware and informed communities are more likely to make more sustainable choices:
- Unless an individual can relate to the issue at hand they will not understand it or see its relevance to them, so relevance was key to social change;
- Understanding and building on perceived strengths was an empowering process rather than an outcome;
- Being exposed to different perspectives strengthened ability to set priorities and agendas;
- Experiential, hands on, peer lead social learning approaches develop awareness and new knowledge

The chapter concluded with a global learning programme that focused on creation of a collaborative space, to shape attitudes through exposure to and reflection on new ideas. This would be achieved through critical consideration of different perspectives and experiences to influence decision-making. Complex global and local issues would be translated into clear and relevant messages to impart understanding of the impact of such issues on local realities.

Chapter 5 took a step back from the GSL to describe the context of rural Zanzibar as the locality where I would introduce the GSL and measure the changes that resulted from this intervention. As a small island state, Zanzibar presented itself as a microcosm of many of the issues identified through the first cycle of change. Over the last 50 years Zanzibar has been exposed to numerous political struggles and ideological shifts from a socialist state towards liberal capitalism resulting in a culture of dependency and a lack of responsibility. The decline of livelihoods opportunities and increase in population has resulted in overusing of coastal resources. The onset of tourism in the 1990's simultaneously raised expectations as alternative sources of

financial capital and exasperated the problem through an over exploitation of natural capitals such as water, land, forests and marine resources. As tourism continues to grow and compete with local subsistence activity, the wide range of negative effects on culture and traditional way of life is a ticking time bomb as Peak suggests. "A final form of oppression is the modern tourist trade, in which once again outsiders exploit the Swahili" (1989:124). The local population insist that tourism has increased poverty and has introduced a range of new socioeconomic problems that the communities are not equipped to manage. These include environmental degradation, prostitution, and alcoholism to name a few. The current Zanzibar Government policy acknowledges the need to understand and respect rural coastal community views, for integrative thinking and to involve them in decision-making processes. In the 2010 coastal strategy document, it states "Communities especially those living in coastal areas need to be made aware of the importance of coastal resources to their livelihood and thus their wise use of the resources is so crucial" (ZRG 2010:33). Nevertheless unless rural communities are equipped to challenge global pressures such as tourism, climate change and extremism an undesirable situation emerges that if left unattended could see a return to social unrest.

Chapter 6 detailed the introduction of the GLP to twenty participants, working or living in the marginalised coastal northern region of Zanzibar. Through delivery of the GLP a global social learning process emerged and through the PAR I engaged in a critical reflection of the social change that resulted. Coming from a variety of different backgrounds and cultures, hierarchical relationships between the participants were challenged, trust was developed and with it, a more reflexive perception of the opportunities and challenges rural communities in

Zanzibar face locally and externally. Exposure to such critical reflections on the roles and rules of interactions from a range of perspectives achieved a shared understanding of sustainability. Creation of a safe space for critical reflection and deliberative dialogue enhanced participants capability to collaborate and participate in this transformative process. Building on strengths and existing assets, fostered a 'can do' approach that in part countered the 'shalt not' restrictions on culture. Ultimately, understanding of 'the other' as a two way process realised the potential of enabling border crossings (Giroux, 2007). There was an acknowledgement of the importance of learning from others and sharing experiences, together with collaboration and collective action leading to social change. This cycle of change concluded that local and external forms of knowledge can be shared through social learning. Further more that through a deliberative space, participants from different social, political and cultural contexts can achieve a shared understanding of their individual and collective strengths and how they could utilise this to inform and influence decisionmaking.

Chapter 7 and 8 took global social learning to the wider community, through eight of the twenty participants engaging in the third cycle of change. They were a mixture of community activists and educationalists, working in formal and nonformal education settings that ranged from a school classroom to under a mango tree. Over 18 months taking their learning experience from the safety of the GLP, this cycle of change enhanced the capabilities of the rural people engaged with to develop and utilise their skills to contribute towards more sustainable growth. In identifying and building on strengths, deliberative dialogue became a mechanism for collective action to address community

problems, challenge barriers and constraints. This was particularly evident in the social change in relationships between men and women who began to plan and work together. Local capabilities to be active and productive were strengthened by focussing on strengths and the 'can do' rather than 'we need' approach adopted through global social learning. From this I was able to conclude that informed choice and decision-making or the ability to be and do what you value, ultimately shapes social change. Further that social change towards sustainable livelihoods is dependent on deliberative dialogue and collaborative communicative action. This was evidenced through a new found acknowledgment of the islands fragility and vulnerability impacting on local livelihoods and the whetted appetite for community resilience to shocks, trends and seasonality through sustainable innovations and adaptation.

10.2. Impact and Implications for Zanzibar

The mercantile culture of the Swahili has been challenged by its recent history and political turbulence, and while trading is still a dominant activity, enterprise is not. The research identified different perceptions of trade and enterprise although commonly associated. Trade was associated with buying and selling, an example being the man who sells the mangrove wood to afford trousers for his son. In contrast, an enterprise was associated with a venture or idea to generate profit from selling of products, for example the fattening of crabs in the mangroves to sell to the tourism market. Enterprise requires more creativity, accountability for associated risks and decision-making ability, than trading. While both have space for values and ethics, enterprise with its focus on the

process of production rather than just on supply and demand of a product, was acknowledged as having greater ability to influence social change. Enterprise became associated with assets, trade with needs, further more the importance of access to innovation, and sustainable technologies to support income generating activities and enterprises became seen as an essential component of sustainable change.

The understanding of Zanzibar as part of the global community and the responsibility to conserve its cultural identity, heritage and biodiversity for present and future generations was a significant outcome. Through this there was an acknowledgement of the community's vital contribution to the coexistence of traditional and western culture (through tourism). In the context of globalisation this integration between participants' local and external knowledge enabled an articulation of multiple perspectives, for different forms of knowledge and knowing and different concepts of society, nature, values and attitudes to be expressed in a safe space. The collaborative or communicative action this created validated the goals and transformations of power relations required to achieve a just sustainability.

Natural capital became widely acknowledged as a priority, yet it was social capital resulting from the networks and collective action, which facilitated, and was strengthened by, global social learning. Its existence altered the power relationships within civil society and between the participating rural communities and the policy makers, institutions and governance processes. While there was an expectation of the state to support the physical capital assets, the participants used their social capital to bond the connections between human,

natural and financial capital assets, strengthening their capability to manage the global pressures and forces that impacted on their local realities.

From the PAR, it was evident that the development of the networks of trust and reciprocity identified are vulnerable to external and internal influences and pressures. The global pressures and forces on Zanzibar are the marginalising processes of tourism, its emerging counter, salafism and the risks and stresses associated with climate change. Addressing each of these singularly and collectively requires development of textual literacy and critical pluralism. Tourism investors need to have their perceptions challenged and to begin to extend their limited tolerance of the local population to one of acceptance and appreciation as more than a guest's photo opportunity. If this does not happen, it will only fertilise the hard line bed of salafist Islam, which in turn threatens the cultural richness, heritage and sustainable development of the islands.

Adapting and mitigating to climate change implies sustainable living, affects rural communities, the Government and the tourism sector, and provides a common cause to unify a response and to embrace the ecological and economic diversity and inequality of rural Zanzibar. The GLP began this process and facilitated an appreciative exchange of perspectives of local and external realities and perceptions, highlighting the role of social capital in increasing access to and obtaining natural capital for individuals and communities. For example activities such as collective management of mangroves and bee keeping involved negotiating rules, knowledge and obligations through social capital and enhanced the security of local livelihoods. The positive and shared learning relationships developed between the

participating rural communities, the Bingwa and the Government coalesced the diverse interests and developed relationships of trust and reciprocity.

While the systems approach developed through global social learning had limited success in extending these interactions to the tourism sector, it demonstrated ability to enhance security and reduce social and environmental risk. The collaborative interactions provided a starting point for 'critical pluralism' (Said 2003), integrating the different perspectives to develop an appreciation of vulnerability, interdependence and dissonance. These can also be translated as components of a viable climate change adaptation strategy. The tourism sector and the salafist 'Mwamsho' movement have demonstrated an equal resistant to any form of deliberative dialogue that challenges their hegemony. Climate change as a common threat to the livelihoods of the rural coastal communities as well as the tourism sector provides an opportunity for dialogue and sustainable change.

10.3. Sustainable Change to Adaptive Capability

Based on these collaborations, the deliberative dialogue and collective decision-making enhanced through global social learning demonstrated an ability to alter the perception of climate change to something rural communities have the ability to influence. I call this 'Adaptive Capability'. Applying this concept to my findings, the synergistic nature of the social capital that emerged as a result of global social learning, detailed in Chapter 7, certainly strengthened participants' adaptive capabilities.

Adaptive capabilities are determined by the willingness for collaboration within and between different sectors of society that build on existing assets and strengths.

In Northern Zanzibar an integrated approach such as the one fostered by the Bingwa contributed to adaptive capability, engaging the communities in activities that, to use climate terminology, developed synergies between mitigation and adaptation, essential for resilience to climate change. Drawing together these collaborations between individuals and communities involved in my research, I am able to conclude that climate risks can be challenged and adapted for, by realisation of local and global interdependencies. The social capital generated through this collaborative approach, the acknowledgement of individual strengths and valuing of different perspectives, builds adaptive capability. Taking this forward, the social capital generated through collaboration and also through the ownership and sustainable management of natural capital (marine resource), increases the resilience of the socioecological system of the coastal communities. Facilitating a deliberative dialogue between the institutions and policy makers, the rural communities and the tourism sector in the context of climate change provides a safe space to share and reflect on the potential conflicts and synergies and interdependence to understand and manage climate risk. Ultimately the choices that individuals and communities make are determined by their values and if through deliberative dialogue values can be influenced to consider the implications of global pressures a process of global learning, social change and sustainable choice and action emerges. This relationship is summarised in Figure 10.1

Figure 10.1 Adaptive Capability



As illustrated, I can conclude that identification of these synergies between global learning, social change and sustainable choice result in adaptive capability, and consequently the relevance of global learning as a social learning process towards sustainable livelihoods.

10.4. Limitations and Constraints

The nature of PAR is reflexive and each cycle of change throughout my research included a participatory reflection of barriers and constraints to social change towards sustainable livelihoods.

One of the benefits of an asset-based approach is the opportunistic nature of its influence. I cannot state strongly enough just how identifying and building on

strengths influenced the attitudes and values of the initial participants, evidenced in their defining themselves as 'Bingwa' and their priority groups. Fifty years of dependency culture, encompassing 40 years of state socialism, of varying degrees has nurtured a needs based approach that reinforces state control and regulation of assets.

Yet there was exclusivity, with the wider community not always engaging with or sharing learning. As a process, time and social energy were an on-going limitation and on a couple of occasions, the size of the priority group was decided by the respective Bingwa. This happened more where there was an expectation of allowances, which meant that fewer community members actually participated in the programme than anticipated. This related to ethical considerations regarding stipends detailed in Chapter 3.

A compromise was reached that compensation would only be paid if travel was required. This was in line with UK practice where volunteers cost are covered but time is given freely. It remains to be seen whether meetings continue without funding or external support and in turn if the social changes resulting from the GLP are ultimately sustainable.

The networks that were established also became attractive to other activists and a few of the priority group meetings became platforms for political campaigning. Instead of reinforcing communicative action through debate and dialogue it was challenged through submission to dogma and destruction of the 'safe space'. This raised issues regarding the sustainability of the approach. Further research is required to understand how the government could be influenced to mainstream this approach towards sustainable change.

In addition, acknowledgement and showcasing of the priority groups activities as examples of the Districts progression, raised their profile with decision makers and did open some doors of influence, activities also became associated with party politics, which countered the deliberative dialogue and caused conflict at a local level as not all participants had the same interests.

Yet even within defined parameters the approach of external expertise has adopted an approach of service delivery rather than participant lead practice. This resulted in confusion and inconsistencies in straddling the gap between institutions and the rural communities.

Following interviews with the Bingwa and Priority Groups on completion of my research, it was revealed that there continues to be a difficulty of shifting responsibilities to communities and challenging the attitudes of those who are accustomed to being treated as recipients and opposed to contributors. The on going needs based and problem focussed mandate of the development world prevails and this continues to challenge the motivation of rural poor to take control and initiative of their livelihoods.

The role of external actors was also a potential limitation. While I was funded to support and nurture the reflexive process, there was no guarantee that the move from strategic action to communicative action and collaboration would be sustained as communities bowed to the defined provision of support common to most interventions and research projects. There is potential contradiction between interventions that are planned and quantified in advance and the adaptive capability approach developed through this PAR Study.

This limits the replicability of my approach in that it requires a radical rethink in the way interventions are planned, monitored and how they evaluate their impact. It is encouraging that during the course of my research the discourse on evaluation appears to be shifting towards theories of change and learning, especially in the education sector. This has resulted in my presenting at a number of high profile conferences and my inputting into the monitoring and evaluation strategy of donors such as Comic Relief and Wellspring Advisors.

There does appear to be a movement towards 'softer indicators' complementing defined 'hard' indicators and a renewed focus on learning and change. I am encouraged by this move towards a more reflective and reflexive approach to the dynamics of social development and the potential impact of global social learning on sustainable development.

As a practitioner I am not content to leave my research findings there and am compelled to shape an actionable and deliverable model for adaptive capability. The complexities of Zanzibar while concentrated in the small island state are indicative of the complexities, challenges pressures and opportunities faced globally. This microcosmic nature has enabled me to develop a model for an integrated approach that is transferable.

10.5. Global Social Learning for Sustainable Change Model

I have developed a model to summarise the global social learning process that resulted from my theoretical framework described in Chapter 9. This model fosters effective social engagement and collaboration critical understanding with

a reflection of dissonance to facilitate sustainable change. It maintains the cyclical spiral reflexive nature of the research process for application to a range of contexts and to enable effective collaboration and engagement in achieving sustainable change. I have broken this process into seven distinct steps that connect to each other with an iterative loop, as illustrated in Figure 10.2

Step 1 Livelihoods Analysis of Assets and Strengths

The first step is to gain insight of the context of diverse and dynamic communities through identifying their individual and community strengths and assets and to differentiate between the assets by grouping according to their character: social, human, physical, financial or natural. This ensures that the focus from the outset is positive and on what works.

Step 2 Mapping of Policy Makers and Institutional influences

The second step involves mapping of all of the institutions, policy makers and other forms of governance that have influence or involvement in and/or on local realities. In doing so, insight is gained on the governance structures, how they enhance and or constrain livelihood opportunities positively and negatively. In doing so the key institutions that need to be included in a deliberative dialogue are identified.

Step 3 Space for Cross sectoral Global Learning

The third step is cross-sectoral global learning that provides a safe space for a critical reflection on the global pressures and influences on local realities and on the role of governance and institutions in determining the level of influence. Exchange and exploration of different perspectives, through deliberative dialogue develops understanding from a range of perspectives and in the development of shared values and priorities to focus on collaboratively. The development of the cross-sectoral collaborative relationship is key to successful engagement and pivotal to this model.

Step 4 Sustainable Change Outcomes

The resultant collaborative process yields a cohesive mechanism to discuss change and desired outcomes. Through this collaboration participants explore their values and enhance their capabilities to determine the viability of change alongside their dynamic livelihood realities. Agreeing desired change outcomes collectively informs the functionality of their engagement and actions required to achieve them. This influenced participant's ability to make choices to determine the change they desire.

Step 5 Technical Support

Step five presents the opportunity for external intervention that is negotiated with the participants to ensure that it is culturally and ecologically acceptable. Sustainable change outcomes cannot be achieved without viable alternatives to

unsustainable practices. For the most part external intervention will involve introduction of affordable innovations that contribute towards income generation.

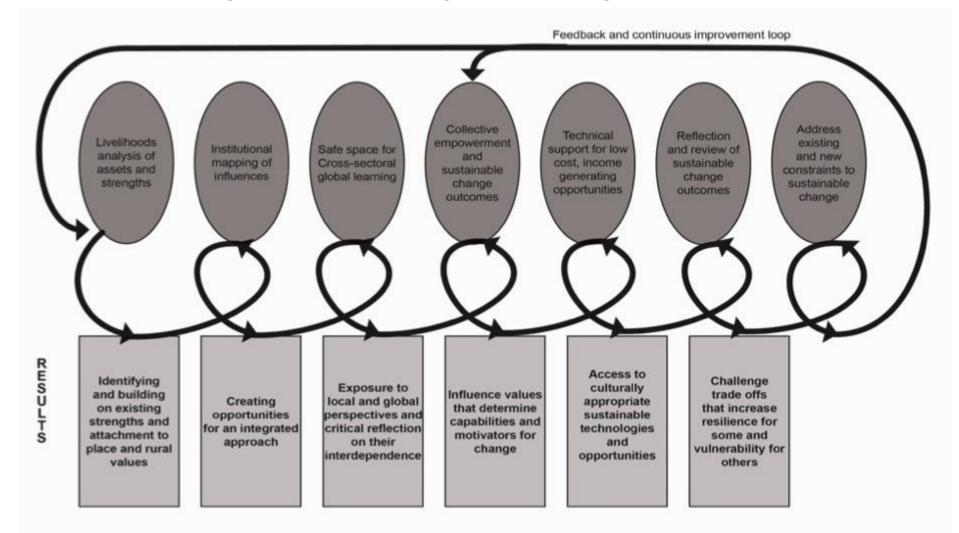
Step 6 Critical Reflection and Review

Step six is an evaluation of the learning and change that has occurred and the contributing factors. It is an essential part of the process to ensure that learning continues. Engaging in a critical reflection and review of the changes that have happened enables dissonance borders to be stretched and for participants to acknowledge mistakes and successes and to be able determine the reasons why. Through engaging in a reflexive practice, new influences and pressures are also considered as benefits and or constraints.

Step 7 Addressing Constraints

The final step synthesises information, knowledge learning and experiences gained in the previous phases to redefine desired sustainable change outcomes and determines how to proceed and collaborate towards shared outcomes. It ensures that an integrated assessment informs the collaborative systems perspectives and experiences. Understanding the different roles and responsibilities has proven to strengthen relationships necessary for sustainable prosperity of interactions locally and globally. Ultimately creating a safe space for participants and communities to reflect on their diversity and dynamism and develop adaptive capability.

Figure 10.2 Global Social Learning for Sustainable Change Model



10.6. Transferability of Model for Sustainable Change

The transferability of my model for sustainable change, stems from the complicated context in which it was developed. The complexity of Zanzibar as a small state in a global arena with so many competing global and local forces has provided me with a particularly complicated context, which can also be referred to as a "wicked problem".

Wicked problem, is a social planning term to describe difficult, complex situations and problems. Rittel and Webber (1973), Conklin (2006). "Wicked" denotes resistance to resolution and complex interdependencies, rather than evil. Classic examples of wicked problems include environmental, economic and political issues that require mindset and behavioural change. Many social problems—such as inequality, political instability, certain diseases or famine—are wicked as they can't be fixed. This also resonates with the gender dynamic that the project influenced, and the potential for further research to compare empowerment between mixed gender groups and women's groups engaging in global social learning.

Consequently, my research approach and subsequently model for sustainable change is a transferable approach to addressing any wicked problem. Just as poverty, health, education, nutrition and economy are often interlinked and not dependent on Northern or Southern contexts they required understanding from a range of perspectives that emphasises abductive reasoning, empathy and reflection.

Just as my research brought together complementary constructs that had not previously taken cogniscence of each other, there is also the comparability and

complementarity between my approaches to research and social learning and health promotion. There is a huge scope for shared learning and on influencing healthy and sustainable livelihoods. Whereas health promotion has achieved global acknowledgement as an effective solution to the wicked problem of unhealthy lifestyles and choices, global learning is still widely acknowledged as a Northern and an educational construct for the middle classes and the first area to restrict in an economic downturn, as evidenced in Wales at the start of my research.

10.7. A Final Reflection

Through my doctoral research, I have shown that Global Learning, as an area of enquiry and experience, can enrich and invigorate livelihood perspectives for wicked problems such as the contemporary challenge of globalisation and climate change. Furthermore, I found that focussing on assets and enabling people to determine their strengths builds the necessary confidence for them to understand and address the barriers and constraints they encounter when attempting to influence and or access decision makers.

The model, I have developed, provides a mechanism to pull together theoretical insights from institutional perspectives, policies, global market considerations and local realities to inform collective decision-making and collaborative action. It is a theoretically grounded, practical model of engagement to develop the adaptive capability of people from a variety of settings. Adaptive capability requires a view of the ability to bring about change, as something individual understood from a collective perspective. Expanding adaptive capability therefore requires communities to collaborate from the outset as the process of

collective change or agency contributes to shaping values influenced by different perspectives.

Putting protagonists at the centre of a deliberative dialogue increases individual awareness of being able to achieve what one values and their contribution to change. The practical value and pragmatism of Habermas' (1984) theory of communicative action is the creation of safe social space for critical engagement and reflection on different perspectives. This, as confirmed by my study, presents an important shift away from the state agency regulation and towards shared responsibility. Enabling ideal speech (Habermas, 1984) or capability of critical voice (Sen, 2004) created conditions for external actors and local rural people to interact with each other in an emancipatory and empowering process that resulted in sustainable change.

In conclusion, the global learning journey of my research has been one of continual reflection and consideration of the 'other'. I have redefined global learning as a globally relevant critical pedagogy that focuses on the role of knowledge making and decision making in the context of globalisation. I have built on research in the Global North that focuses on the importance of space for critical reflection and dialogue (see Brown 2013 and Andreotti 2006), to show that these Northern constructs are equally relevant in a Southern context. Creating a safe social space for deliberative dialogue enabled me to value the confidence of not knowing or understanding and being able to learn from others. I have demonstrated the relevance of global learning as a social learning process and as an enabler of social change towards sustainable livelihood strategies. I have brought together discourses from the Global North and South that all too often do not take cogniscence of each other. In doing so, am making a major contribution to the discourses around global learning, education and

community development at a time when the issue of quality education in the context of development is on the agenda.

My research focus on a small island state, impacted on by all of the global influences and pressures of much larger state or collection of states suggests replicability and viability for expansion and adoption. Focussing on a region enabled me to adopt a multisectoral approach that would not have been practical in a larger geographical area.

Taking the Northern construct of global learning out of the Northern classroom and redefining it as a social learning process with rural communities in the Global South, I hope to continue my journey and contribute to the global challenges of plurality and sustainability, to stop making assumptions and develop my capability to embrace dissonance and be 'not quite right' (Said, 2003).

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Appendix 1: Appreciative Inquiry Analysis Framework

Stakeholder Analysis Template

Stakeholders	Priority	Nature of involvement/ Interest in the project	Priority
Eg Rural People	Very High	Participants in learning and training pathways	Very high

Global Learning Analysis Framework

Assets	Social	Economic	Ecological
Rural/ Food			
sovereignty Issues			
Knowledge			
Skills			
Values			
Attitudes			

Capital Assets Analysis Framework

Capital	Social	Physical	Natural
Livelihood assets and			
strengths			

Appendix 2: The Global Learning Programme

The modules

Module One: Understanding the links between Global Issues, Food and Livelihoods

1.1 Question One: What is the Global Context for the local community and/ or project?

1.2 Question Two: What is the Livelihood Context?

Module Two: Engaging in Decision Making Processes

2.1 Question One: How can you be involved in your community

2.2 Question two: How can local community engagement in local development processes be improved?

2.3 Question Three: How can local governance accountability be strengthened?

Module Three: Planning and Managing Actions and Activities

- 3.1 Question One: What is the role of Food Sovereignty in supporting rural economies?
 - 3.2 Question Two: How can actions and activities be adjusted to reduce vulnerability and enhance capability and capacity?

MODULE ONE: UNDERSTANDING THE LINKS BETWEEN GLOBAL ISSUES, FOOD AND LIVELIHOODS.

Question one: W	/hat is the Global Context for	the local community and/ or	
project?			
Content Themes	a. What are the current global issues affecting the area		
	b. What are the impacts of the	se issues at an individual and	
	collective level?		
	c. What coping strategies are / can be used to manage these		
	impacts?		
	d. Who by and who is responsib	ole?	
Ice breaker	Paired Interviewing	Case studies:	
Introduction	Introduction to key concepts		
ma oddonom	maddener to hely consepte		
1.1a	Consensus group	- "Bioeccellenze"	
1.1b	Case study carousel	Italy	
1.10	Case study carouser	italy	
1.1c	Intograted Assessment (DSD)		
1.10	Integrated Assessment (PSR)		
	activity	- Altropico	
Evaluation		Ecuador	
		200001	
Follow up	Can you think of other exam	ples for a PSR chain in your	

Study question	community?		
Question two: What is the Livelihood Context?			
Content Themes	a. Which resources are important to local livelihoods?		
	b. Who controls access to these resources?		
	c. How do global issues affect the resources?		
	d. How important are these resources to coping strategies?		
Ice breaker	Resource Sweets		
		Case studies:	
Introduction	Introduction to key	CAE" Roma Italy	
	concepts presentation	- Fenocin	
1.2a	Resource assessment activity	Ecuador	
1.2d	Negotiation strategies		
	and debate		
Evaluation			
Follow up	Find an example of		
	production, local livelihoods and global		
Study question	issues to bring to the next session?		

MODULE TWO: ENGAGING IN DECISION MAKING PROCESSES			
Question One: How can you be involved in your community?			
Content Themes	Why get involved in the community or a local development		
	project?		
	What are your rights, needs, and responsibilities at an		
	individual and community level?		
	What level of involven	nent in your community or local	
	development do you want?		
Ice breaker	Move If	Case studies:	
Introduction	Presentation from food	- Pinord	
	group	Senegal	
2.1a	Stakeholder analysis	Blaengarw Timebank	
2.1b	Power and influence	Wales	
	matrix	vvales	
2.1c	Participation Strategy		
Evaluation			
Follow up	Carry out a full stakeholder analysis of a project happening or		
Study question	you would like to happen in your community		
Question Two: How can local community engagement in local development			

processes be improved?		
Content themes	What services and activities are available in your area?	
	How are where do you ge	t information about them?
	Are there opportunities for participation	
Ice breaker	Visual globingo	Case studies:
introduction	Volunteer presentation	- Remurpe
2.2a	Community	Peru
	mapping exercise	- Social Farming
2.2b	Community mapping .	network
	exercise	Italy
2.2c	Comparison carousel	
Evaluation		
Follow up	Think about the impac	t community particpation has on
Study question	government policy	
Question Three: How can local governance accountability be strengthened?		
Content Themes	How can community em	powerment through participation be
	facilitated?	
	Which structures promote	e and support discussion at different

	level of governance?		
	What local capacities and development resources need to be		
	strengthened to foster	constructive working	relationships
	among communities,	development init	iatives, and
	governments		
Ice breaker	Continuum line		
		Case studies:	
introduction	Volunteer presentation		
2.3a	Chapati/Venn diagrams	- Food coops Wales	
	linkages and		
2.3b	Influences	- Labayka Developm	ent Fund
2.3c	Impact Flowchart		
Evaluation	Discussion	Zanzibar	
Follow up	Why is there a need for	l more integrated decisi	on-making that
Study question	takes into account rural livelihoods?		
Framing	Session activity	Suggested time	Case study

question			
MODULE THREE	: PLANNING AND MANAG	ING ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES	
Question One: Th	ne role of Food Sovereignty	y and collective actions on livelihoo	od
resources?			
Content Themes	What are the links be	etween well being, social justic	æ,
	environmental justice and	food?	
	How can individual and	community rights to nutritious for	od
	support sustainable livelih	oods?	
	What is the role of lo	cal organizations in the adapti	ve
	management of food syste	∍ms	
Ice breaker	I went to the shop	Case studies:	
introduction	Key concepts presentation	- Pembrokeshire fish week	
3.1a	Making the links	Wales	
3.1b	Policy and action	-	
	analysis of case study		
3.1c	If I could I would	Mna Mengi Fishermans	
		Zanzibar	
Evaluation			
Follow up	Ask everyone to drav	v up a stakeholder analysis f	for
Study question	implementing		

	the agreed actions in their commun	ity
Question Two: A	ctions and activities to enhance capa	bility and capacity resulting
in food sovereignt	y?	
	How can positive impacts be maxim	ized?
Content themes	How can negative impacts be minim	nized?
	What are the main benefits and	barriers to adjusting your
	actions and activities ?	
	How can these be developed and or	r resolved?
Ice breaker	Sovereignty Dominoes	Case studies:
introduction	Key concepts presentation	- Cilento Organic District
3.2a	What went wrong scenario	Italia
	analysis	
3.2b	Action Planning	- Granja Porcon
3.2d	Round table discussion on	
	actions	Doru
Evaluation		Peru

Global Learning Programme Methodology

Module Title	Understanding the links between Global Issues, Food and Livelihoods
Question One	What is the Global Context for the local community or project?
Content – main themes covered	What are the current global issues affecting the area What are the impacts of these issues at an individual and collective level? What coping strategies are / can be used to manage these impacts? Who by and who is responsible?
Materials	Flip chart, sticky notes, blue board or pin board (and drawing pins) and A5 sheets or cards A4 paper, pens, sticky dots
Session Time	5 HOURS
Activities	 1.1 Paired Interviewing 1.2 Introduction to key concepts 1.3 Consensus group 1.4 Case study carousel 1.5 Integrated Assessment 1.6 / 1.7 Evaluation and Follow up
1.What is the Glo	bal Context for the local community or project?

Session Activities/ Methods		
1.1.1 Paired Interviewing		
	To discover what participants want from the training and to learn a little about them	
Objectives	To help to evaluate and monitor at the end of the training	
	To help participants relax at the beginning of a course	
Time	40 minutes	
Materials	Pens, paper, flip chart, marker pens and egg timer(1 minute)	
Procedure	Divide the participants into pairs and ask each participant to interview their partner by asking the following four questions What is your name, your background and your experience? Why are you attending this course and what do you hope to get from it? Do you have any past experience in sustainable and or rural development Name two good things that happened to you in the past year? After five minutes of interviewing each other, ask participants to the report to plenary about their partner, summarizing the main information in one minute. Record responses to questions 1-3 as the participants baseline	
1.1.2	To introduce the accessor tools	
Objectives	To introduce the session topic	
Time	40 minutes	

Materials	Photo slide show and notes	
	As a group ask participants to watch the 20 minute slide show	
Procedure	While they are listening provide a narrative of media portrayal of global issues, food etc	
	Invite and answer questions for 20 minutes	
1.1.3 Consensus Group Activity		
	To generate ideas and produce group consensus	
Objectives	To draw on individual ideas and opinions	
	To combine these to arrive at collective judgements	
Time	90 minutes	
Materials	Flipchart, paper, pens, blue board or pin board and pins, A5 paper/card	

Procedure The procedure involves four steps:

Silent Idea generation

Write: 'What global issues affect your community' on the flip chart.

Ask participants to respond to the question individually writing issue phrases of no more than five words on a sheet of paper

Group Discussion

Divide the participants into groups of three or four and ask them to share their thoughts and select six issues from their group and to write these on A5 card or paper provided

Collect the papers/ cards from each group and place on the blue or pin board

Grouping of similar phrases

As the group as a whole to identify phrases with similar intent and place these together in a column on the board

Ask the group if they have wrote any other issue phrases that have not been displayed already and add these to the board

Continue grouping together phrases until there are a maximum of six columns

Naming and ranking

As a group decide on a collective name for each column

Hand out three dots (or ask participants to use their pens) to vote for their most important columns, the dots can be used on three different or all on one column etc.

Photograph or record the information on the board at the end of the activity.

1.1.5 Integrated Assessment Activity

Objectives

To identify relevant information regarding interactions between global issues and society

To define these interactions as follows

Pressures: underlying forces such as poverty, population growth, consumption

State: key problem/ issue as a result of the pressures for example deforestation, decreasing fish stocks

Responses: collective or individual societal action that could reduce negative impacts

Time	40 minutes
Materials	Copy of the Pressure, State Responsibility (PSR) template, pens paper

Procedure

Working in groups use the information in the case studies to complete the PSR template, using the main problem

Each group shares their template with the plenary

Facilitate a short discussion on the responses and how relevant they are to problems in their own communities

1.1.6 Follow up / Study question

Can you complete an integrated analysis using the PSR template for a problem in

your community?		
1.1.7 Evaluation		
Ask each participa	nt co complete an evaluation form	
1.1.4		
	To apply local knowledge and issues to a different locality	
Objectives	To explore global issues in different context	
	To understand the value of different perspectives	
Time	30 minutes	
Materials	Responses from the last activity, pen, paper	
Procedure		
Divide the particip	ants into as many groups as there were columns in the last activity	
Ask each group to read through the case study and to identify global issues in the case study that are similar to those they have in their column		
Each group discusses and agrees one key problem linked to a global issue		
Each group feeds back their problem to the whole group		
1.2. What is the Local Livelihood Context		
Session Activities /Methods		
1.2.1 Drain or Sustain		
	To introduce the fundamental importance of natural resources	
Objectives	To explore the relevance of resources to local livelihoods	
	Introduce the concepts of sustainability	
Time	40 minutes	
Materials	Bag of boiled sweets or beans	
Procedure		

Divide into sub groups of 4 or 5

Place enough sweets or beans in the middle of each group so that everyone can have at least 4

Tell participants to help themselves

Repeat the process 3 or 4 times each time topping up the sweet/bean supply, but the last time with just one sweet for everyone in the group

Bring the groups back together and ask if everyone got equal numbers of sweets, did some people get more or less, how did they feel.

Relate the sweets to a finite natural resource such as wood, and how we value and utilise our natural resources

Module Title	Understanding the links between Global Issues, Food and Livelihoods	
Question Two	What is the Local Livelihood Context	
Content – main themes covered	Which resources are important to local livelihoods? Who controls access to these resources? How do global issues affect the resources? How important are these resources to coping strategies?	
Materials	Flip chart, sticky notes, blue board or pin board (and drawing pins) and A5 sheets or cards A4 paper, pens, sticky dots	
Session Time	5 HOURS	
Activities	1.2.1 Drain or Sustain1.2.2 Introduction to key concepts1.2.3 Resource Assessment Activity	

1.2.4 Negotiation Strategies and Debate
1.2.5 /1. 2.6 Evaluation and Follow up

1.2.2 Key Concepts Activity

Objectives	To introduce the session topic
Time	40 minutes
Materials	Photo slide show and notes
Procedure	

Present a 20 minute presentation on Capital assets as livelihood resources and their pentagon

Invite and answer questions for 20 minutes

1.2.3 Resource Assessment

	To identify the livelihood resource/capital asset strengths in the community or project area
Objectives	To be able to see the interconnections between the different capital assets
	To illustrate the role of decision makers in accessing livelihood resources
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Flipchart, paper, pens, resource templates
Procedure	

Divide the participants into two groups

Give each group a case study and a flip chart template

Ask each group to use their case study to identify what livelihood resources are available and to rank their strengths (1=low to 5=high) and to complete the template on the flip chart.

On completion ask each group to identify who has control over the resources i.e. the local authority, national trust, industry the community etc

Ask each group to suggest three low ranking resources that could be strengthened

by a high ranking livelihood resource and who would need to be involved.		
2.4 Negotiation Strategies and Debate		
Objectives	To understand the importance of communication between communities and those that control access to resources To understand how global issues can impact upon access	
Time	50 minutes	
Materials	Responses from the last activity, pen, paper	

Still working in two groups further divide into three sub groups

Explain that each sub group is to champion one of the low ranking livelihood resources chosen by their group.

Give each 'champion group' 15 minutes to build a case as to why theirs is the most important livelihood resource to strengthen

Each champion is then given 5 minutes to make their case to the other group, (who has the control over all of the resources) who then decide which livelihood resource is the one to support and why.

Ask the group how difficult it was to make the decision, how it felt to be chosen or rejected and relate this to a real life experience they have faced.

2.5 Follow up / Study question

Complete a livelihood resources analysis of their community and see where their PSR problem from session one fits

2.6 Evaluation

Ask each participant co complete an evaluation form

Module Two	Engaging in decision making processes
Question One	How can you be involved in your community?

Content – main themes covered	Why get involved in the community or a local development project? What are your rights, needs, and responsibilities at an individual and community level? What level of involvement in your community or local development do you want?	
Materials	Flip chart, sticky notes, blue board or pin board (and drawing pins) and A5 sheets or cards A4 paper, pens, sticky dots	
Session Time	5 HOURS	
	2.1.1 Move If	
	2.1.2 Introduction to key concepts	
Activities	2.1.3 Stakeholder analysis	
Activities	2.1.4 Power and influence matrix	
	2.1.5 Participation Strategy	
	2.1.6 / 2.1.7 Evaluation and Follow up	
How can you be ir	nvolved in your community?	
Session Activities/	Methods	
2.1.1 Move if		
	To energise the participants	
Objectives	To gauge levels of community activism	
	To introduce ideas	
Time	20 minutes	
Materials	List of predetermined questions	
Procedure		

Set up participants chairs in two columns back to back

Explain that if they can answer yes to the callers question they must stand up and move

Each time remove a chair so one person can't sit down.

Ask questions until there are two left sitting.

The caller states the following:

Move if... you voted in the last election?

You are a member of a credit union

You buy fair trade coffee

Grow your own food

Your children walk to school

Your children catch a bus to school

You drive your children to school

You know the oldest person in your community

You know the youngest

You shop at the local supermarket

You have a farmers market

You use low energy light bulbs

2.1.2 Key Concepts Activity

Objectives	To introduce the session topic
Time	50 minutes
Materials	Presentation from a Food Coop representative
Procedure	As a group to listen to a 15 minute presentation Invite and answer questions for 10 minutes

2.1.3 Stakeholder Analysis

Objectives	To identify potential beneficiaries
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	Who might be adversely affected
	To identify vulnerable groups
	Who are supporters and opponents
	Understand relationships between different groups
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Flipchart, paper, pens, stakeholder analysis template

Working in two groups, each is to use a case study to set up a similar project in their region and to begin this by carrying out a stakeholder analysis

Assign the role of rapporteur to the winner of the ice breaker 'move if'

First ask the groups to identify six different stakeholder groups of people from their region

For each of these stakeholder group identify:

What interests they are likely to have in the case study project

What effect the project would have on their interests(positive, negative, neutral)

Their level of importance, i.e. what extent the project focuses on their needs

Their level of influence, or control, over how the project operates

Complete the template on the flipchart with this information

2.1.4 Influence and Power

Objectives	To illustrate the relative importance and influence of stakeholders identified in table one
	To discuss how different groups compare to each other
	To consider how different groups can be involved
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Responses from the last activity, pen, flip chart paper
Procedure	

Using the information from table 1 map the relative importance and influence of the stakeholder groups in table 2

Discuss how the different groups compare with each other

As a group agree how the different stakeholders could be involve

2.1.5 Participation strategy

Objectives	To think about different ways of involving different groups
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Flip chart template , pens

Procedure

From table 2 discuss and agree how different stakeholders could be involved

Use the following guide to complete the table:

Stakeholders with high influence and high importance should be closely involved to ensure their full support for the project

Stakeholders of high influence, low importance may oppose the project as their interests

Stakeholders of low influence, high importance will require special effort to ensure they are involved in a meaningful way

Stakeholders of low influence, low importance, are unlikely to be closely involved.

On completion, each rapporteur presents their groups tables.

2.1.6 Follow up study question

Think of a project happening or you would like something to happen in your community. What interests are you likely to have? What effect would this project have on your interests, what would be your level of importance and influence? How involved would you like to be and why?

2.1.7 Evaluation

Ask each participant co complete an evaluation form

Module Title	Engaging in decision making processes
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Question Two	How can local community engagement in local development processes be improved?	
	What services and activities are available in your area?	
Content – main	How are where do you get information about them?	
themes covered	Are there opportunities for participation	
Materials	Flip chart, sticky notes, blue board or pin board (and drawing pins) and A5 sheets or cards A4 paper, pens, sticky dots	
Session Time	5 HOURS	
	2.2.1 Visual globingo	
	2.2.2 Introduction to key concepts	
A ativitie a	2.2.3 Community mapping exercise	
Activities	2.24 Community mapping extension	
	2.2.5 Comparison carousel	
	2.2.6 / 2.2.7 Evaluation and Follow up	
How can local community engagement in local development processes be improved?		
Session Activities / Methods		
2.2.1 Visual Globingo		
Objectives	To energise the group	
Objectives	To begin to think about commonalities and shared responses	
Time	20 minutes	
Materials	Copies of A4 globingo sheet	
Procedure	Give everyone a globingo sheet and ask them to find someone in	

	the room that uses or has the item in the picture	
	Whoever completes their sheet first shouts globingo,	
	activity ends with a brief summary of the different icons	
2.2.2 Key Concep	I ts Activity	
Objectives	To introduce the session topic	
Time	50 minutes	
Materials		
Procedure	Ask for three volunteers to make 5 minute presentation of their responses to the previous sessions study question	
	Invite and answer questions for 10 minutes	
2.2.3 Community	Mapping exercise	
Objectives	To identify services in an area in a clear and visual way To make links between social inclusion, public services and participation	
Time	40 minutes	
Materials	Large Paper, card, photos, pens, glue, scissors, string, tape	
Procedure		
Divide group into 2		
Give each group a case study (one North, one South) with additional information on community		
Ask group to create a map of each community, mapping out accessible services		
The meanings of symbols/colours should be selected and agreed upon by the whole group		
Once physical things are in place more qualitative judgements can be considered ie to indicate positive or negative perceptions of what is represented		
5 minute whole group feedback of map		

2.2.4 Community Mapping extension

	To analyse information
Objectives	To understand what information is needed for community engagement
	To identify how this information needs to be imparted
Time	40 minutes
Materials	Responses from the last activity, pen, paper
	Groups swap maps with each other
Procedure	Discuss services and ask group to list ways people access information about services and activities in the area
	Discuss if this is successful? List how this can be improved.

2.2.5 Comparison carousel

Objectives	To identify opportunities and barriers to participation
	To ascertain if these are the same for both North and South
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Flipchart paper, pens, blue tac, sticky dots

Procedure

Divide paper into 2 columns – barriers and opportunities

Ask group to list the barriers against and opportunities for participation for their case study (20 mins)

Swap paper with other group so they can add comments for other case study (20 mins)

Stick up information for both

Ask group to stick one colour dots on similar barriers and another colour on opportunities

2.2.6 Follow up / Study question

Can you think or three barriers to participation that you would like to change and three opportunities for participation that you would like to share.

2.2.7 Evaluation

Ask each participa	Ask each participant co complete an evaluation form	
Module Title	Engaging in decision making processes	
Question Three	How can local governance accountability be strengthened?	
	How can community empowerment through participation be facilitated?	
Content – main themes covered	Which structures promote and support discussion at different level of governance?	
	What local capacities and development resources need to be strengthened to foster constructive working relationships among communities, development initiatives, and governments	
Materials	Flip chart, sticky notes, blue board or pin board (and drawing pins) and A5 sheets or cards A4 paper, pens, sticky dots	
Session Time	5 HOURS	
Activities	 2.3.1 Continuum line 2.3.2 Introduction to key concepts 2.3.3 Chapati/Venn diagrams linkages and influences ' 2.3.4 Impact Flowchart 2.3.5 Discussion 2.3.6 / 2.3.7 Evaluation and Follow up 	
2.3. How can local governance accountability be strengthened?		
Session Activities / Methods		
23.1Continuum L	ine	
Objectives	To provide opportunity to be part of a collective or an individual voice	

Time	30 minutes
Materials	None
Procedure	

Ask everyone to stand up

Explain that one end of the room is agree and the other end is disagree and that they are to indicate their response to a statement by moving to the appropriate end of the room.

Use the following statements and some of your own:

Tea tastes better than coffee

Climate change is the biggest problem in the world

Supermarkets increase access to good affordable food

Poverty is a financial problem

Everyone in this country can read and write

Girls are cleverer than boys

Agri or biofuels are the way forward

GM foods could alleviate hunger

It is OK to cut down forests for wind farms

2.3.2 Key Concepts Activity

Objectives	To introduce the session topic
Time	50 minutes
Materials	
Procedure	Ask for three different participant volunteers to each make a five minute presentation of their responses to the previous sessions study question Invite questions and discussion for 10 minutes

2.3.3 Chapati/Venn diagrams linkages and influences

Objectives To highlight the value of using visual tools to understand linkages

	and influences
	To reveal important linkages and constraints in a community setting according to the perceptions of different stakeholders
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Flipchart, paper, pens, glue

Divide the participants into three groups

Give two of the groups a case study and ask the third group to think of a regional project they are familiar with

Explain that circles of different sizes are allocated to different institutions, agencies, groups or organisations.

The small circles are to be placed inside a big circle drawn on the flipchart (to denote the case study or the project being discussed.)

The small circles overlap depending on the degree of contact between the different institutions, organisations etc

On completion each group presents their diagram

As a group suggest reasons why some are linked and some not and ask for ways to improve linkages and communication

Write suggestions on a flipchart

2.3.4 Impact Flowchart	
Objectives	To illustrate how local livelihood systems can be shown on a diagram To develop understanding of the complexities and linkages at a local level To illustrate how an intervention can be represented on a diagram To develop understanding of the anticipated and unexpected effects from different perspectives.
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Large sheets of paper, pens
Procedure	

Working in the same three groups

Ask them to revisit their case study or local intervention and to represent the impact of the main activity on paper

Ask them then to identify the consequences of the activity. This can be positive or negative.

Ask them to link the consequences using arrows to indicate the direction of the flow, ie who or what is affected by the consequence.

Ask each group to present their chart

3.2.5 Power of three discussion

Objectives	To reflect on the module sessions and the importance of engaging in decision making processes
Time	60 minutes
Materials	Bag of minstrels, chocolate sweets or beans

Procedure

Ask participants to sit in a circle and give each person five sweets or beans.

Explain to the participants that there are five questions and they each have five responses, governed by the sweets or beans they have been given

Each time they respond they have to either eat a sweet or put a bean on the floor.

If they have nothing to say they can give their sweets or beans to someone to speak on their behalf.

What have you learned about being involved in decision making processes?

Will you use these methods to increase engagement in your communities,

If so, what implications would they have?

What problems would you anticipate?

How could these be overcome?

2.3.6 Follow up study question

What links are there between active citizenship in your community and an active

global citizenship?			
2.3.7 Evaluation			
Ask each participa	ant co complete an evaluation form		
	·		
Module Title	Planning and Managing Actions and Activities		
Question One	The role of Food Sovereignty in supporting rural economies		
Content – main themes covered	What are the links between well being, social justice, environmental justice and food? How can individual and community rights to nutritious food support sustainable livelihoods? What is the role of local organizations in the adaptive management of food systems		
Materials	Flip chart, sticky notes, blue board or pin board (and drawing pins) and A5 sheets or cards A4 paper, pens, sticky dots		
Session Time	5 HOURS		
Activities	3.1.1 I went to the shop 3.1.2 Brief introduction to key concepts 3.1.3 Making the links 3.1.4 Analysis of case study 3.1.5 If I could I would 3.1.6 / 1.7 Evaluation and Follow up		
The role of Food Sovereignty in supporting rural economies			
Session Activities / Methods			
3.1.1 I went to the shop			

Objectives	To highlight availability of local seasonal food
	To energise the group
Time	25 minutes
Materials	None

Ask participants to sit in a circle and explain the game:

Taking turns everyone has to say the following: I went to the shop with a fiver (£5,€5, \$5 etc) and bought a food item from a certain locality for example some apples from Ulster

The first person starts and then the second, including the first persons purchase and locality, until everyone has had a go.

Alternatively the choices can be made using the letters of the alphabet and continue until completed

On completion review how much we actually know about where our food comes from and where it is grown or produced.

3.1.2 Key concepts

Objectives	To share the knowledge within the group
Time	25 minute
Materials	Flip chart stand
Procedure	Ask three volunteers to make a ten minute presentation of their answer to the last weeks study question Allow ten minutes for questions and answers

3.1.3 Making the Links

or no making the L	
Oh in ativ an	To identify the commonalities in current terms
Objectives	To illustrate the constraints of jargon
Time	30 minutes
Materials	Flipchart paper, pens, photocopies of definitions of the six terms

Divide the participants into four group

Give each group a brief definition of one of six current terms: well being, social justice, environmental justice, fair trade, food security and economic sovereignty

Ask each group to write down as many words as they can that contribute to their concept term that make it more understandable

In plenary ask each group to share their list, write them up on a flip chart and see how much commonality there is between terms.

1.4 Case study carousel

Objectives	To transfer knowledge and experience to a different setting
Time	30 minutes
Materials	Flip chart paper ,pens, concept terms definitions, sticky notes
Procedure	

Still working in the six groups give them each one of the two case studies

Ask each group to read their case study and to use their breakdown of the concept terms to see if they apply.

If they do to write them down on individual sticky notes.

Once completed to stick them on the two case study flipchart posters.

3.1.5 If I could I would	
Objectives	To transfer knowledge and experience from a different setting back to their own community
Time	30 minutes
Materials	Flipchart sticky notes / blue board A5 paper, marker pens
Procedure	

Ask everyone to reflect individually on the session, the terms, the case studies and then list what actions they would like to take, see happen in their community to support the six concepts

Then ask them to write six of these on sticky notes or A5 paper

Collect them from the participants and stick them on the flipchart or board

Ask the participants to group them by similar intent

Then ask does anyone have any other actions on their list not on the board, if so write these on sticky notes/a5paper.

Collect and put on the board in agreed groups.

Ask the group as a whole to name each group

Ask the group to think of and agree a collective term for their desired actions.

Introduce Food Sovereignty as a concept to the group

1.6 Follow up study question

Ask everyone to draw up a stakeholders analysis for implementing the agreed actions in their community

1.7 Evaluation

Module Title	Planning and Managing Actions and Activities
Question Two	How can actions and activities be adjusted to reduce vulnerability and enhance capability and capacity resulting in food sovereignty?
Content – main themes covered	How can positive impacts be maximized? How can negative impacts be minimized? What are the main benefits and barriers to adjusting your actions and activities? How can these be developed and or resolved?
Materials	Flip charts, domino sheets, action planning templates

Session Time	2.5 HOURS						
	3.2.1 Sovereignty Dominoes						
	3.2.2 Volunteer presentations						
Activities	3.2.3 Action planning						
	3.2.4 Round table discussion						
	3.2.5 Evaluation						
3.2. Actions and sovereignty	3.2. Actions and activities to enhance capability and capacity resulting in food sovereignty						
Session Activities	s / Methods						
3.2.1 Sovereignty	Dominoes						
Objectives	To match solutions with problems						
Objectives	To introduce different solutions						
Time	30 minutes						
Materials	Photocopy and cut domino cards						
Procedure	Give everyone a card and ask them to find the answer to their question and the question to their answer						
3.2.2 Volunteer Presentations							
Objectives	To share existing knowledge and experiences within the group						
Time 50 minutes							
Materials	Flip chart						
Procedure	Ask three volunteers to make a five minute presentation of their response to the last sessions study question Invite questions and answers from the group						
	The same and an end of the group						

3.2.3 Action Plann	ning
Objectives	To draw up individual action plans that address the issues raised during the sessions

Time	120 minutes					
Materials	Action planning templates					
	Give each participant a sheet of flip chart paper and marker pen and ask them to copy the action plan template onto the paper					
Procedure	Working individually for 10 minutes ask each participant to reflect and decide on a particular action to focus on.					
Flocedule	Then using their template to a plan of action that takes sustainable livelihoods into account					
	Ask each participant to put their action plan on display and invite participants to look at each other's plans.					
3.2.4 Round Table	e Discussion					
Objectives	To discuss action plans and other issues raised during the sessions					
Time	60 minutes					
Materials	Minstrels, (chocolate sweets or beans)					
	Give each participant 5 minstrels and explain that every time they want to contribute they must eat or dispose of a minstrel.					
	Invite feedback on the action planning process					
Procedure	Who found it easy and why					
	Who found it difficult and why					
	What would you change					
3.2.5 Evaluation						
Ask each participa						

Appendix 3 Participatory Action Learning Data

Collection and Analysis Tools

Tool 1. Intro	
	To discover more in-depth information about participants.
Objectives:	
	To make participants feel proud about their accomplishments.
Suitable	6 to 20 people
for:	
Materials:	None
Time:	45 minutes depending on the number of participants (5 for the
	interview and one minute for each participant to introduce his/her partner.
Procedure:	1. Split participants into pairs. Ask each pair to interview each
	other. Each participant should interview her partner for not
	more than 2.5 minutes. Interviews can focus on such questions as:
	What is your name? What do you do for a living?
	What do you expect from this exercise? Have you ever
	participated in this sort of exercise before?
	Name two good things that happened in this community in the past year.

2	After	the	interview	ask	each	participant	to	summarise	what
sl	ne has	lear	nt about t	he p	artner	in one mini	ute		

Remarks:

This activity ensures that information participants would normally not disclose

themselves if they talked about themselves are revealed through the interviews.

It is essential to make it clear to participants that the time allocated to the interviews

and report back should be strictly adhered to in order to reduce the tendency of

boredom setting in during the exercise.

Tool 2 The Issue Tree

Description

This is a visual issue analysis tool that I used with the Bingwa and they used with their priority groups to specify and investigate the causes and effects of an issue and identify the possible relationships between them. As the name implies, this tool resembles a tree. The trunk of the tree is the main issue under analysis. Roots of the tree are used as visual representations of causes of the main issue while the branches stand for the effects.

Uses

- Analysis of the cause-effect relationships of the main issues.
- Identification of the community perceptions of the causes and effects of these
- Definition of who is affected by these causes determination of who should participate in activities aimed at addressing them.
 Each cause can be seen as an issue in its own right.
- · Identification of the focal issues or the causes of the main

	issues.
Materials	Large sheets of flip chart paper, markers or large point felt-tipped pens (various colours).
Participants	Various groups in the community facilitated by the Bingwa and/ or myself.
Procedure	· Identify major issues as perceived by the community
	Assist groups in the community to wordstorm their situation in order to identify their issues, opportunities, issues and likely solutions.
	- Rank issues to identify the main ones.
	Above the central square draw the branches of the tree - the effects experienced as a consequence of the main issue;
	Below the central square representing the main issue draw
	the roots of the tree, i.e. the factors causing the main issues, which are usually seen as issues in their own right.
	Ask participants what caused the issue.
	Repeat the question until you feel it is no longer necessary to continue.
	· Identify the focal issue
Remarks	· A lot of issues can be generated through this process. These issues are not of equal importance and therefore are ranked to identify the priority issues(s).
	Ranking is usually done through an analysis of the importance of each issue and by considering which issues cause other issues.
	Once the main issue(s) is/are identified, the process of building the issue tree for ongoing projects and with the

	community is the same.
	Formulate the issue properly.
	· For the main issue develop a issue tree;
	Use a large paper and draw a major square representing the main issue at its centre;
	Chapter 1. At this point you have a complete issue tree full of
	branches, showing the effects of the main issue, and many roots, representing its causes.
Tool No. 3:	Wordstorming
Description	Wordstorming is a two-tier process of generating and critically
	analysing a host of ideas around a common theme.
Uses	Quickly generates creative ideas about issues and issues of
	concern to the community for further analysis or investigation.
Materials	Large sheets of flip chart paper or cards, markers or large point
	felt-tipped pens (various colours).
Participants	Groups in the community facilitated by the Bingwa and or
	myself.
Procedure	Explain the concept of wordstorming.
	Introduce a small exercise to make it clear that you are foregoing logical or restrictive thought patterns. For example, you can show a hoe and ask participants to enumerate its potential uses.
	Set the ground rules for the exercise:
	All ideas are valuable ideas

One idea at a time

No criticism, no praise, but you can ask for clarification

No interruptions when someone is talking

Be brief and clear

If you cannot think about anything just pass

Establish the real topic to do a wordstorming session on.

Get the ball rolling by asking each participant to mention an idea.

Write the ideas as they are generated on a large flip chart paper or on cards.

After ideas have stopped flowing from the participants the ideas are clustered and evaluated for utility or feasibility. This can be done through voting. Ideas that receive the largest number of votes are retained for further investigation and the rest discarded.

Remarks

Differentiate the wild and the analytical phases of this exercise, otherwise the participants might not get down to talking about the useful ideas. The exercise should not last too long, as wordstorming is only a liberating moment in an important planning process. Make it clear to participants that any idea can be expressed and that there should be no critique or arguing over ideas. This has to be done later in the rational discussion phase

Tool No. 4: Trend lines

Description

Trend lines visualise significant changes of key issues in the community over time. Topics for trend lines often reflect themes that the people consider important, for example, teenage

	pregnancy, infant mortality or soil erosion etc.
Uses	Helps you to learn from the community how it views changes in issues considered important by the people.
	It assists in issue-identification and analysis.
	It focuses community attention on positive and negative changes over time.
	It might show the different perceptions of the various socio-
	economic segments in the community, if the trend line is done
	in groups formed according to age, gender etc.
Materials	Materials the people can use as symbols and feel comfortable
	with, Manila paper and markers (especially where the people
	are literate).
Participants	· Although the trend lines focus on discussions among elders
	and long term residents, young people can also be included.
	Make sure that people from both genders drawn from all
	ecological zones, socio-economic levels and various age
	groups in the community are included.
Procedure	- Explain the purpose of the exercise.
	The Bingwa/ Researcher and the community decide on a list
	of topics of interest for the trends.
	Groups of villagers are organised according to gender, socio-
	economic status, age etc., depending on the topics selected
	and the community composition.
	· Explain the concept of trends using a simple graph. Explain
	how time (in years), moves from left to right along the bottom
	axis, and how the topic increases/decreases on the upright

axis. The child-growth card from the clinic usually rings a bell.

- · Ask the groups to draw their lines on the sand, or on the floor.
- Quantification is not always easy. Ask questions if necessary e.g. 'when was the most, the least?' Another way of doing so, is with stones (e.g. 1 stone is 1 cow, or 1 extension officer, or 1 malnourished child etc.) on an individual.
- Use the discussion of trends to probe for explanations of the changes. This will help identify underlying issues and traditional activities to correct the situation. For instance, if soil erosion is getting worse, ask why and find out what measures have been tried in the past and how well they have worked. Ask what they think might ease the situation.
- Copy the trends and the explanations onto paper.

Tool No. 5: Ranking

Description

This is a tool for ranking issues, needs and opportunities to put them in a particular order.

When done with criteria, it reveals information about why people make certain choices.

Uses

- There are usually more issues, needs or opportunities than resources can solve, provide for or exploit. Under such circumstances there is need for instruments which assist the community as a heterogeneous group to get as close to their priorities as possible. These priorities are the ones that receive preference.
- Ranking provides information on both the choices people make and reasons for the choices.

	· It can be used to compare preferences and priorities between		
	groups in a community.		
Materials	Stones, flip chart paper and markers		
Participants	. Groups in the community.		
Procedure	- Ranking can be done in the various ways listed below:		
	- Preference ranking (with or without criteria)		
	- Relative preference ranking		
	- Pair-wise ranking		
Tool No 6.	Preference ranking without criteria		
Description	To find out people's preferences without asking them why they made certain choices.		
Participants	A limited number of people [for example 5] or two groups [for		
	example groups A and B].		
Procedure	Ask each person to collect 6 stones.		
	Have each person rank issues or opportunities from least (1		
	stone) to most important (6 stones).		
	No reasons should be given for selection.		
	Do not add the rankings.		
Tool No 7 Pre	eference ranking with criteria		
Description	To find out people's preferences or priorities and why they		
	made the choices.		
Participants	One or more villagers.		

Procedure	Ask the villagers to select criteria, for example: which issue of			
	need should be tackled first? Which issue is the most			
	controllable? Which issue is the most important? And			
	opportunities, criteria could be - feasibility, time, acceptance,			
	sustainability and so on.			
	Opens and autien appiert the city to			
	Score each option against the criteria.			
Determine th	ne key:			
For example	- ++++ very positive [low cost]			
+++ Positive	[medium cost]			
++ Neutral [h	nigh cost]			
+ Negative [v	very high costs]			
Tool No 8 Pa	ir-wise ranking			
Description	To obtain a comparative ranking of various issues.			
Participants	The villagers assisted by the facilitator/researcher.			
Procedure				
	Write down all issues, needs or opportunities in a matrix.			
	Limit the number of items being ranked to not more than			
	eight.			
	Ask the villagers whether they want to rank with reasons or			
	without.			
	Compare each issue against the other diagonally.			
	Count how many times each issue was mentioned.			
	Write the total on the score board below.			

Tool No 9 Relative preference ranking		
Description	To obtain a comparative ranking of various issues.	
Participants	Community assisted by facilitator.	
Procedure	Write the item options in one column.	
	Write the selection in another column.	
	Ask the community whether, for example, they prefer one sack	
	of maize or one sack of potatoes.	
	Write their choice in the selection column	
Tool No. 10	chapati or Venn diagramming	
Description	A process of listing, ranking and connecting institutions, groups or individuals and communication systems and information sources that influence the community's decision-making in development.	
Uses	To find out which institutions exist.	
	To establish how the institutions are perceived.	
	To understand which institutions could play what roles in development activities.	
	To analyze the social and power relations of the different	
	institutions.	
	To ensure that all relevant institutions are included in a plan for	
	particular activities.	
Materials	Cards and pens	
Participants	Men and women	

Procedure

- · Cut out different sized cards (circles) to represent each institution or individual.
- Explain objective of exercise to all partners.
- Divide groups according to gender men and women usually have different perceptions about the importance of institutions.
- · Ask each group to list the different institutions in the village.
- · Ask about the different roles of the institutions.
- · Ask whether some institutions are more important than others, with regards to their role in development and decision making, etc.
- Find out the most important institution.
- · Write the name of the institution on the biggest sized circle.
- Ask community to rank other institutions according to whether they are big, medium or small.
- · When ranking, put the biggest circle in the centre.
- Ask which institutions are linked to it and consequently which ones are linked to those ones.
- Explain that linking means institutions are working together.
- · Linking is symbolized by touching and degree of overlapping.
- · Touching means institutions are sharing information.
- · A small overlap means there is some cooperation.
- An isolated circle shows an institution that does not have any contact with others.
- · Allow for debate to take place and note reasons for different

	tue o de		
	trends.		
	· Ask them what the diagram means to them. How would the		
	picture look like in an ideal situation?		
	What can be done to achieve the ideal relationships.		
Tool No. 11	: Focussed Conversations / Semi structured Interview		
Description	Question and answer sessions between the interviewer and interviewee. These sessions provide in-depth information and offer the opportunity for the discussion of sensitive issues that are difficult to bring up in a group setting because individuals are less constrained by what other people might think about their perceptions, attitudes and practices.		
Uses	To further probe and triangulate specific issues raised during group activities.		
	To discuss sensitive issues that are not proper for group activities		
	To hold discussions with key players who might not have the much available time		
Materials	Notebooks and pens.		
Participants	Selected community members (interviewees) and Researcher (interviewer).		
Procedure	Prepare a checklist of issues for the discussion.		
	Select members of the community to be interviewed based on gender, age, relationship ti issue etc		
	- Conduct interview sessions in a location where the interviewee is most comfortable.		

	- Make the interviewee know that the exercise is not just		
	another chitchat but a serious exercise.		
	- Be patient, respectful, and accommodating.		
	Be brief and to the point.		
	Analyse the information so that you are able to use it in the ensuing discussions .		
Tool No. 12: Key informant interview			
Description	An in-depth interview with an individual or a group of people		
·	who have special knowledge on a particular topic.		
Uses	Used for discovering special knowledge.		
	To obtain information about the knowledge and behaviour of		
	others in the community.		
Materials	Notebooks and pens		
Participants	People in the community with special knowledge on particular topics and interviewers.		
Procedure	Prepare a topic guide for the interviews.		
	 Select key informants from the community such as teachers, 		
	traditional birth attendants, merchants, etc.		
	Select suitable locations for the interviews or visit the key		
	informants in their homes or places of work for the discussions.		
Tool No. 13: Focus group discussions			
Description	Focus group discussion -FGD- is a qualitative research technique generally used to discuss a specific topic in detail and probe into people's feelings, opinions and perceptions of		

	the topic.			
Uses	It is used to verify and obtain more in-depth details about information collected with other tools.			
	Group dynamics generated during FGD produce rich responses and allow new and valuable thoughts to emerge.			
	It provides an opportunity for you to observe a group's non-verbal reactions and discover their feelings and attitudes towards the issue under discussion.			
Materials	Notebooks and pens.			
Participants	Groups selected from the community, moderators and note takers.			
Procedure	Be clear about the purpose of the study.			
	Prepare a topic guide to be used during discussions.			
	Make sure the questions are notes concerning important issues.			
	Ensure you have probe questions for digging for more detailed information			
	- Avoid leading questions and biases			
	· Form homogenous groups of six to ten people who share the issues concerned with the topic to be discussed. Use the following factors to determine the composition of each group:			
	· - Gender			
	- Age			
	- Educational background			

- Socio-economic status
- Religion
- Life cycle, etc.
- · Select interview locations that provide privacy for the participants. Select a location where the discussion can be carried out without having external observers or potential intruders.
- · Avoid locations with a noisy surrounding.
- · Select non-threatening locations where participants can air their views without reservations or intimidation.
- · Select locations easily accessible to all respondents.

Appendix 4 Photovoice Templates

Jina Initials	Where was it taken/Imepigea wapi?	Photo number/ namba
Can you describe whats happening I this picture?		
Picha inaonesha shuhuli au sehem gani?		
Why did you choose this		
picture?		
Kwanini umechagua		
picha hii?		
What is the story behind		
the picture?/ Inaonesha		
nini kwa ndani?		
What change does it		
show?		
Inaonesha mabadariko		
gani?		
Have you anything else to		
add?		
Habari yeyote zaidi?		

Collecting Evidence	
What activities best show collaboration and or	
collective action to improve sustainable	
livelihoods in the communities (youth,	
cooperatives and schools)you are working in?	

Shuhuli gani ing	anonocha kwamba watu wana	
Shuhuli gani inanonesha kwamba watu wana		
fanya kazi pamoja na wana shirikana vizuri sana		
	ao ku tengeneza ustawi wa	
	y kwenya sehems wa skule, jamii	
na vijana?		
Group Photovo	oice Reflection	
Chagua picha	a sita kwenya kikundi wenu	
Weka kwenya	a whiteboard	
Jibu swala hii	pamoja:	
 Picha zote in 	aoneshya mwamko gani?	
 Shuhuli hii in: 	anonesha tabir gani	
imebadarika?		
 Kama picha y 	ya kikundi, mafunzo gani	
imetokea?		
 Kama umepię 	ga picha hii miaka mitano iliopita,	
je itakua tafauti na vipi?		
Na pichawenu haoneshi ninije?		
Mabadariko edelevu gani imetokea, au		
imeshakuwa?		
Whole group discussion		
Chagua picha gani inaonesha mabadariko		
na/au ushirika k	kubwa kuliko wengine	
Imeondosha t	tatizo gani?	
Tatizo gani ba	aadozipo?	
Mnawezafany	/a nini kuondosha hizi?	
What change:	s would you still like to see?	
Unataka mabadariko gani baado		
English	Kiswahilli	
Individual	Mtu/watu	
Household	Nyumbani	
Community	Jamii	
District	Wilaya	
Region	Mkoa	
Government	Serikali	

Appendix 5 Permissions and Consent

This consent form acknowledges your participation in the Rural Education for Food Sovereignty programme being facilitated by Sazani Associates and in the follow on PhD research process using a combination of self assessment, focus groups semi structured interviews and photo voice process. The activities will be administered and facilitated by Cathryn Al Kanaan, of Sazani Associates and The Development Education research Centre Institute of Education, University of London UK.

This will require your involvement in a number of different ways.

To attend and participate in the Global Learning Programme

To participate in semi structured interviews, self-assessment, and focus group sessions at 3-6 monthly intervals for the twelve months following the training programme.

To participate in three photo voice studies, that will require you to spend 14 days taking one roll of film (27 exposures) and then giving the camera back to. We will develop your photos and return them to you. We will then ask you to select and reflect in writing on six of your pictures that you believe are most meaningful in their description of the work of the fellowship and that you would want to share with a broader audience. I will collect the photos and your reflections from you and invite you to participate in a half day learning workshop that will engage you and other participants in the photo voice process through a facilitated discussion and analysis.

I may be audiotaping and video recording the conversations and taking field notes. At any time, you can request that the recorders be turned off.

You also have the right not to answer any questions you choose. The

recordings and transcripts will be kept in a locked file cabinet, and your identity

(if you choose not to be identified by name) will not be disclosed (we will use

"site participant"). The data will be used in a research report about the project

that will contribute towards my PhD and may be used in published articles and

presentations.

Because of the small number of participants (9–15), identity might be discerned;

therefore, only limited confidentiality can be guaranteed. However, your privacy

will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. Please know that

participation in this project is voluntary and that you may choose at any time not

to participate. This withdrawal would not incur any penalty or loss of benefits to

you or your program.

Should you have any questions or concerns about the rights of subjects and the

duties, of investigators, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of the

study, you may Contact – anonymously, if you wish – [d.bourn@ioe.ac.uk].

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact

Cathryn Al Kanaan at cathryn@sazaniassociates.org.uk

Sincerely,

Cathryn Al Kanaan (now MacCallum)

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The Global Learning Programme facilitators have my permission to focus

observations on my interactions with other participants during the photo voice process.

Yes No

The facilitators have my permission to access the photos, photo reflections, and other documents I develop as part of the reporting process.

Yes No

The facilitators have my permission to use audiotape and video recording equipment for group and individual conversations during the photo voice process.

Yes No

The facilitators have my permission to use audiotapes, video recorders, and photographs that may include me in presentations, as long as they do not identify me by name or through other background information without my consent.

Yes No

The facilitators have permission to refer to me in the report by:

Name and work title

Name only

Work title only

No name or work title, (anonymously)

I give to Sazani Associates, its nominees, partners and assigns, unlimited permission to copyright and use the photographs that may include me in

presentations, as long as they do not identify me by name or through other

background information and waive the right to inspect or approve the copy of

any finished product that may be used in connection therewith so long as it is

solely for not for profit purposes.

Your signature below indicates your voluntary agreement to participate in this

process as detailed

Participant's name (PLEASE PRINT):

Email address:

Phone number: