

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Learning for development through co-operation: the engagement of youth with co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda

Thesis

How to cite:

Hartley, Sally Ann (2012). Learning for development through co-operation: the engagement of youth with co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 2012 The Author

Version: Version of Record

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

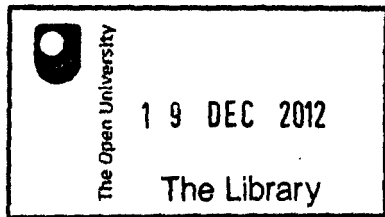
oro.open.ac.uk

**Learning for Development through Co-operation:
The engagement of youth with co-operatives in Lesotho
and Uganda**

Sally Ann Hartley B.A.(Hons), M.A.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Development, Policy and Practice
The Open University, UK

August 2012



DONATION

With 2011 designated the United Nations Year of the Youth and 2012 the Year of the Co-operative this research contributes to issues raised by these two significant and timely events. The renaissance of co-operatives globally and their revival in countries in Africa has promoted interest and debate around co-operatives as collective values-based businesses and their potential to promote economic and social development and address poverty (UN, 2010). There is also increasing recognition that youth in Africa present both a potential and a challenge for development (UN, 2011). Youth access to education, civic participation and the ability to secure and sustain livelihoods are core concerns. Initiatives to involve youth in co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda bring these two areas together and are of particular interest.

The focus of this thesis is whether and how co-operatives provide opportunities for youth learning and the development of their capabilities and agency to achieve valued goals. The analysis is framed through conceptualisation of co-operatives as learning spaces within which theories of situated learning are combined with the capability approach. Using qualitative and participatory methods to investigate youth engagement in co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda the thesis argues that co-operatives provide situated social learning spaces where youth learn for development. Learning emerges within such spaces for: business and vocational knowledge and skills, personal development, collective learning based on trust and co-operator identity, and wider outcomes such as community engagement, enhanced relationships and networks and development of the co-operative form. Learning is, however, both enabled and restricted by: gender, the level of prior formal education, the networks of which a co-operative is a part and the type and success of a co-operative.

Based on the premise that learning is a catalyst for building agency and capabilities for development, and by combining situated learning theories with the capability approach, this research deepens understanding of the social nature of learning in co-operatives, an area that is often overlooked.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend a big thank you to my supervisors Professor Hazel Johnson, Doctor Linda Shaw and Professor Gordon Wilson who have kindly and professionally guided me along the PhD journey. Their dedication and insights have provided me with a firm foundation from which to build my thesis and learn and personally develop as an academic. I would also like to say thanks to staff at the Development Policy Practice (DPP) Group at the Open University, all of whom who have welcomed and supported me along the way. I would also like to acknowledge the funding provided by the Economic Social Research Council (ESRC), Co-operative College UK and the Open University, which has enabled me to dedicate the time and energy required to complete the PhD.

I am also particularly grateful for the support that co-operators in Lesotho and Uganda gave to this research. In Uganda, thanks go to the Uganda Co-operative Alliance, particularly the General Secretary, Leonard Msemakweli, the members of Kigayaza Youth Co-operative, JoyFod SACCO and Tweekembe Youth Group. In Lesotho, to the Department for Co-operatives within the Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing, particularly the Commissioner for Co-operatives, 'Maphamoli Elisabeth Lekoetje and other co-operative officers at the headquarters in Maseru and also to the members of Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative and Rise and Shine Co-operative and staff at Mohale's Hoek High School. Also to the Research Assistants I worked with in Uganda, especially Anthony Twalibangi.

I would also like to acknowledge the work and staff and volunteers at Restless Development (formerly SPW) who continue to inspire and remind me of the agency and energy of youth and the importance of a values-based approach to work in development. In particular I would like to thank colleagues from Restless Development Uganda, who provided a desk, interest and support whilst I was on fieldwork and Restless Development Zambia who were a core foundation for my

understanding and learning experiences into the complexities of development. Finally I would like to remember Jim Cogan, founder of SPW with whom I wish I had had the opportunity to discuss my research.

Thanks finally to my lovely family and friends. The interest and support from old friends scattered around the world and new friends from the DPP (students present and past) and from the village of Woburn Sands have encouraged and spurred me on. I would like to make a particular mention of Eric Levine for doing a proof for me. An acknowledgement for my dog Mosi, whose endlessly wagging tail and need for long walks sustained me during the more stressful times. A special thank you to my mum and my husband Nik for their unwavering love and support, and also Nik for his patience in the many discussions we have had on my thesis and his proofing services.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
CONTENTS.....	7
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	9
LISTS OF BOXES, FIGURES AND TABLES	10
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	12
1.0 INTRODUCTION	12
1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM	13
1.2 FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH	16
1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.....	20
CHAPTER 2 - SITUATING YOUTH AND CO-OPERATIVES IN THE LITERATURE	23
2.0 INTRODUCTION	23
2.1 DEVELOPMENT.....	24
2.2 CO-OPERATIVES	34
2.3 YOUTH IN COUNTRIES IN AFRICA.....	46
2.4 YOUTH AND CO-OPERATIVES	52
2.5 CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	57
CHAPTER 3 - GUIDING IDEAS OF A CO-OPERATIVE LEARNING SPACE	59
3.0 INTRODUCTION	59
3.1 EXPLORING SITUATED LEARNING IN CO-OPERATIVES.....	60
3.2 EXPANDING ANALYSIS OF LEARNING IN CO-OPERATIVES: THE CAPABILITY APPROACH.....	76
3.3 GUIDING IDEAS FOR THE THESIS	83
3.4 CONCLUSION	87
CHAPTER 4 - METHODOLOGY AND METHODS.....	89
4.0 INTRODUCTION	89
4.1 RESEARCH APPROACH	89
4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN.....	95
4.3 CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH.....	102
4.4 RESEARCH METHODS	108
4.5 DATA ANALYSIS.....	118
4.6 RIGOUR AND RELIABILITY OF THE DATA.....	119
4.7 CHALLENGES AND LEARNING POINTS.....	120
4.8 CONCLUSION	123
CHAPTER 5 - THE CONTEXT OF YOUTH'S ENGAGEMENT WITH CO-OPERATIVES	125
5.0 INTRODUCTION	125
5.1 CONTEXTUAL FACTORS SHAPING YOUTH'S ENGAGEMENT WITH CO-OPERATIVES.....	126
5.2 OVERVIEW OF YOUTH'S ENGAGEMENT WITH CO-OPERATIVES	137
5.3 SPECIFIC CONTEXTS OF THE FIVE SELECTED YOUTH CO-OPERATIVES.....	141
5.4 KEY CONTEXTUAL FEATURES AND ISSUES FOR YOUTH CO-OPERATIVES	151
5.5 CONCLUSION	155
CHAPTER 6 - INDIVIDUAL LEARNING IN THE CO-OPERATIVE LEARNING SPACE.....	157
6.0 INTRODUCTION	157
6.1 DATA OVERVIEW OF INDIVIDUAL LEARNING EXPERIENCES	158
6.2 SKILLS AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT	165

6.3 LEARNING EXPERIENCES	171
6.4 IMPACT OF LEARNING ON INDIVIDUAL AGENCY, CAPABILITIES AND ACHIEVED FUNCTIONINGS	186
6.5 CONCLUSION	202
CHAPTER 7 - COLLECTIVE LEARNING IN THE CO-OPERATIVE LEARNING SPACE.....	204
7.0 INTRODUCTION	204
7.1 DEFINITIONS AND DATA RELATED TO COLLECTIVE LEARNING.....	205
7.2 MECHANISMS FOR COLLECTIVE LEARNING	210
7.3 INFLUENCES ON COLLECTIVE LEARNING AT THE LEVEL OF THE ORGANISATION AND WITHIN THE NETWORK	231
7.4 THE ROLE OF TRUST IN LEARNING	234
7.5 NEW WAYS OF THINKING IN CO-OPERATIVES	238
7.6 REFLECTIONS ON COLLECTIVE CAPABILITIES.....	242
7.7 CONCLUSION	243
CHAPTER 8 - SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE.....	245
8.0 INTRODUCTION	245
8.1 CONCEPTUALISING CO-OPERATIVES AS AN EXPANDED LEARNING SPACE.....	245
8.2 YOUTH LEARNING FOR DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE CO-OPERATIVE.....	253
8.3 YOUTH AGENCY	256
8.4 NATURE OF YOUTH CO-OPERATIVES.....	257
8.5 RE-THINKING LEARNING AND EDUCATION IN CO-OPERATIVES	260
8.6 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE THEORETICAL LITERATURE	265
8.7 CONCLUSION	267
CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSION	269
9.0 INTRODUCTION	269
9.1 KEY FINDINGS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	270
9.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLICY DISCUSSIONS.....	275
9.3 KEY LEARNING POINTS, LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH	280
9.4 CONCLUSION	283
APPENDIX 1 - ARRANGEMENTS FOR REFERENCING THE DATA IN THE THESIS - DATA CODES.....	285
APPENDIX 2 - COMPARISON OF GENERAL INFORMATION ON LESOTHO AND UGANDA.....	288
APPENDIX 3 - COMPARISON OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SECTORS IN LESOTHO AND UGANDA	289
APPENDIX 4 - OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH METHODS CONDUCTED IN LESOTHO AND UGANDA.....	291
APPENDIX 5 - EXAMPLE OF A DATA GRID.....	294
APPENDIX 6 - EXAMPLE OF A LEARNING AUDIT	296
REFERENCES.....	297

List of Acronyms

ACE	Area Co-operative Enterprise
AGM	Annual General Meeting
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CCA	Canadian Co-operative Association
DPP	Development Policy Practice Group
DFID	Department for International Development
ESRC	Economic Social Research Council
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FBO	Farmer Based Organisation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HDR	Human Development Report
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICA	International Co-operative Alliance
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MBO	Member Based Organisation
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Development Service
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RPO	Rural Producers Organisation
RQ	Research Question
SACCO	Savings and Credit Co-operative Organisation
SCC	Swedish Co-operative Centre
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UCA	Uganda Co-operative Alliance
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USSP	Uganda Strategy Support Programme
YEEO	Youth Economic Empowerment through Co-operatives Project

Lists of Boxes, Figures and Tables

Box 1	Descriptions of a co-operator, JoyFod SACCO
Box 2	Challenges faced by Twekembe Youth Group
Box 3	Role of co-operative principles, Twekembe Youth Group

Figure 1	Starting points for the research
Figure 2	Process of building guiding ideas from the literature
Figure 3	Representation of a person's capability set and their social and personal context (adaption of Robeyns 2005)
Figure 4	Research questions and the expanded and contextualised analysis of the co-operative learning space
Figure 5	Photograph of business plan training with Kigayaza Youth Co-operative
Figure 6	Process of developing and implementing the research
Figure 7	Photographs of FGDs with youth co-operatives
Figure 8	Push and pull analysis of contextual factors influencing youth's engagement with co-operatives
Figure 9	Mohammed's photographs of youth harvesting sugar cane
Figure 10	Photograph of the members of Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative - mixture of youth and older members
Figure 11	Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative's photographs of the dinosaur footprints
Figure 12	Rise and Shine's photographs of members training each other
Figure 13	Photograph of members of Kigayaza Co-operative - two female members and 16 male members
Figure 14	Photograph of the office of JoyFod - the only co-operative in the study with a formal office
Figure 15	David's photographs of people who have been lent money by the co-operative
Figure 16	Networks for youth co-operatives
Figure 17	Photograph of Mohammed training a youth group on how to tackle poverty through group formation
Figure 18	Godfrey's photograph of a local women's group being provided with information on HIV and AIDS
Figure 19	Photograph of 'idle' youth near JoyFod's office
Figure 20	Godfrey's photographs of the members of Kigayaza and the benefit they acquire from learning
Figure 21	Rise and Shine Co-operative's photographs of members in meetings with parents and their Head Teacher
Figure 22	Photograph of situated learning during Kigayaza AGM
Figure 23	Photograph of Rise and Shine's meetings book
Figure 24	Photograph of a poster presented by members at JoyFod during a FGD
Figure 25	Photographs of internal training at JoyFod
Figure 26	David's photographs of how trust has been built between members of Twekembe Youth Group
Figure 27	The bases of co-operation and the role of learning (adaption of Lyon 2005)
Figure 28	Photographs of Mr and Miss Co-operative
Figure 29	A conceptual framework of co-operatives as an expanded learning space
Figure 30	A model for re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives
Figure 31	Photograph of group learning audit from the FGD with Rise and Shine

Table 1	Co-operative framework
Table 2	Basic criteria for selecting a co-operative as a case study
Table 3	Core features and variables of youth co-operatives
Table 4	Phases of the empirical research
Table 5	Key stakeholders involved with youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda
Table 6	Overview of the co-operatives selected in Lesotho
Table 7	Overview of variations between the selected co-operatives in Lesotho
Table 8	Overview of the co-operatives selected in Uganda
Table 9	Overview of variations between the selected co-operatives in Uganda
Table 10	Overview of the research methods implemented in Lesotho and Uganda
Table 11	Challenges faced by youth
Table 12	Typology of youth's engagement with co-operatives
Table 13	Types of youth co-operatives
Table 14	Overview of youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda
Table 15	Overview of the impacts of co-operative membership on youth
Table 16	Summary of the learning audits conducted in Lesotho
Table 17	Summary of the learning audits conducted in Uganda
Table 18	Common skills and personal development in youth co-operatives
Table 19	Common learning experiences in youth co-operatives
Table 20	What youth value in their lives
Table 21	Tracking broader effects of learning with Bokang, Rise and Shine
Table 22	Tracking broader effects of learning with Charles, JoyFod
Table 23	Overview of the role of learning in achieved functionings
Table 24	Areas of collective learning and the effects on the co-operatives in Lesotho
Table 25	Areas of collective learning and the effects on the co-operatives in Uganda
Table 26	Common areas of collective learning
Table 27	Interpretations of the definition, values and principles of co-operatives
Table 28	Influences on the co-operative learning space
Table 29	Learning for development through co-operatives
Table 30	Distinctive features of youth co-operatives

“The question of youth co-operatives is critical because it is not just learning how to do co-operative business, but the values and principles which go with it, which create a vision of a just society in the minds of youth.” (Chambo, 2007)

The sentiments of Professor Chambo, a long time educator and co-operator in Tanzania and the former Principle of Moshi University College of Co-operative and Business Studies, indicate the increasing interest around the role of co-operatives for youth. Co-operatives potentially represent a platform for youth to work together and create wealth and livelihoods for themselves and their communities. As collective, values-based organisations they provide a particular kind of platform for learning that can enhance youth agency and promote participation in development.

1.0 Introduction

This research explores youth’s engagement with co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda, where there have been significant efforts to include youth as part of a revival of co-operatives. In both countries co-operative leaders and government officers have a belief that youth are the future of co-operatives and co-operatives provide a channel for youth to develop and build their livelihoods (IntL¹ Commissioner for Co-operatives, 2010; IntU General Secretary UCA, 2010). A co-operative channel for youth engagement matters, as the large youth populations in these countries and across Africa have increasingly focused academic and policy discourses around youth education and employment and the potential of youth to contribute to national development.

This research brings debates on the respective roles of youth and co-operatives together and analyses them in terms of the potential co-operatives have in promoting youth learning for

¹ I use a coding system to make references to the data and maintain the flow of the narrative (see Appendix 1).

development. It centres on youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda that have been established in schools and communities, focusing on understanding the experiences of the members and situating them in the context in which youth and co-operatives operate.

This opening chapter begins by outlining the problem the research addresses and the subsequent research focus and research questions. I identify core influences on the research and I finish by outlining the structure of the thesis and relate this to the different research questions.

1.1 Research problem

The significance of the subjects of this research - youth and co-operatives - is emphasised in the United Nations' (UN's) decision to make 2011 Year of the Youth and 2012 Year of the Co-operative. However, to date discourse around these two areas remains largely separate despite the clear connections between youth learning, agency and livelihoods. In this section I begin by discussing co-operatives and then focus on youth.

Co-operatives

Co-operatives offer a 'third way' to do business (MacPherson and Yeo 2005; Smith, 2004): they are businesses informed by a particular set of values that operate somewhere in between the private and the charitable sector (ILO, 2010). Currently there is a revival of co-operatives globally (Webster et al, 2011), a growth in the number and scope of co-operatives and also an increased interest in their role in economic growth and development (ILO, 2010; UN, 2010; Webster et al, 2011). They have a significant global presence, employing 100 million people and with a membership of one billion individuals (ILO, 2010). Growth of co-operatives is taking place in developed and developing countries and a recent study found that one in seven people in Africa are part of a co-operative (Develtere et al, 2008).

Researching and conceptualising co-operatives is challenging. Discussions of co-operatives relate to a range of areas including (but not limited to) economics, education, management and development; there are consequently a number of approaches to understanding co-operatives. A co-operative's unique form, which means they are not private or public sector organisations, creates a challenge in conceptualising them within existing theories (Borzaga et al 2009; Novkovic 2008). Furthermore, whilst there is now a unified global framework for co-operatives provided by the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) (ICA, 1995), the ways in which they develop can be diverse. They can range in size (numbers of members and turnover) and the sector they are in (Birchall, 1994; Develtere et al, 2008; SCC, 2007). There is also debate as to their potential; while many studies have argued for the positive impact of co-operatives on members (Birchall, 2003; Birchall and Simmons, 2009; Chambo et al, n.d; Develtere et al, 2008), there are also studies that identify weaknesses, for example, a lack of connection to poorer people, the potential for elite capture² and the lack of skills and education to run co-operatives (Bernard et al, 2008; Francesconi and Heerink, 2010).

Central to the revival of co-operatives in Africa is the debate on their potential role in reducing poverty (Birchall, 2003; Birchall and Simmons, 2009; Chambo et al, n.d; Develtere et al, 2008; DFID, 2010; Kuria, 2011). Research highlights that co-operatives stimulate employment and income generation and equitable growth for members, as well as providing access to skills, building relationships and networks (ibid). This multidimensional development can be understood in terms of people-centred and human development (Korten, 1990; Sen, 1999): building knowledge and participation in learning which in turn can build agency and capabilities. However analysis of co-operatives in the current revival is limited. While there has been some

² Elite capture refers to individuals or groups who hold power in a community, based on issues such as a land ownership, education or income, tradition, they act in their own self-interest and extract what they want from a project and the poor get what is left (Dasgupta and Beard, 2007).

growth in analysis of co-operatives, it is limited and generally focuses on economic impacts and specific sectors. I return to this in Chapter 2.

Youth³

For many countries in Africa, youth constitute over half of the population (World Bank, 2007). This demographic has led to debate on the implications of large youth populations for development, in particular how to improve access to livelihoods, educational opportunities and participation to enable youth to use their agency and contribute to the future of their countries' development (DANIDA, 2007; Maguire, 2007; UN, 2007; UN 2011; UNFPA, 2005; World Bank, 2007). Although youth is a focus of interest in the co-operative sector (in some countries), the potential of co-operatives as vehicles for agency, livelihoods and learning for youth has not been addressed.

In some countries in Africa the role of co-operatives for youth (and vice versa) is being explored as a model³ for generating livelihood opportunities. Existing literature (mainly organisational reports of specific initiatives) describes the impacts of co-operative membership on youth in terms of skills development and community involvement, as well as increases in income (Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Smith et al, 2005; Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2003). However, this grey literature is limited in the extent to which it assesses the nature of youth engagement and research tends not to relate to the academic literature.

³ For clarity I use the term youth rather than young people throughout the thesis. This is in line with related policy papers (such as UN, 2007) and academics (Honwana and De Boeck, 2005). United Nations state that youth are 15-24 years old (UN, 2007) but definitions vary, for example the Commonwealth Youth Programme refer to 15-29 years old (Commonwealth Youth Programme, 2007).

In response to these gaps, this research provides an in-depth investigation and analysis of youth engagement with co-operatives, focusing particularly on youth learning and the extent to which co-operatives enhance youth agency and capabilities for development.

1.2 Focus of the research

The thesis combines ideas and literature on youth, co-operatives and development and examines the nature of youth engagement in co-operatives and whether and how co-operatives provide a space for youth learning. It is framed by a people-centred and human development approach, which focuses on human agency and capabilities and which I combine with the idea of learning for development⁴. I focus on the social experiences of youth learning and how in turn their capabilities and agency are shaped by being members of co-operatives. In turn, I examine how the collective learning and agency of youth both shapes co-operative activity as well as their engagement in the wider community.

1.2.1 Conceptual framing

The research analyses learning in the co-operative by bringing together theories of learning with theories relating to development. In particular it combines ideas based on situated learning theories (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Rainbird et al, 2004), which centre on the learning that comes through interacting with others and through participation in everyday experiences at work, with analysis of the effect of learning on development, in terms of agency and capabilities through the capability approach (Sen, 1999). In the latter I focus on learning as a capability and the role it plays in building other capabilities and achieved functionings in areas that youth value. I analyse

⁴ The idea of learning for development is part of the discussions on the role of learning in development (Eyben, 2006; Johnson and Wilson, 2006; 2009; Pasteur, 2006); it refers to the idea that processes of learning are at the core of the potential to improve processes of development. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 2.

how the experiences of learning are influenced by the structures and social and economic context in which they are situated.

1.2.2 Research Questions

The research focuses on the following six research questions (RQs):

1. Why and in what ways are youth engaged with co-operatives?
2. How is youth engagement with co-operatives affected by the broader social and institutional context?
3. In what ways are co-operatives learning spaces for youth?
4. What kinds of learning can be identified and how do they occur?
5. How and to what extent does learning in a co-operative develop the capabilities and agency of youth and with what development impacts?
6. How does youth learning shape thinking and practices in co-operatives?

These research questions represent the central pathway through the thesis – guiding the theoretical discussions, data collection and data analysis. However while they suggest a linear approach, in practice, the research was an iterative process where initial questions were created and then developed through the processes of theoretical reflection, data collection and data analysis. The approach was designed to be inductive as well as deductive, responding to the lack of knowledge in the area and the desire to make the research a reflective process through which my own learning could feed back into the research.

1.2.3 Empirical study

My research focuses on youth in youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda, collecting and analysing data about their experiences through in-depth case studies. It is participatory and aims

to bring youth voices, their perspectives and what they value to the fore without the youth feeling inhibited by the research process and myself as a researcher. Multiple methods were used to engage the interest of youth and also manage triangulation and weaknesses in the different methods. Data was also collected from stakeholders involved with youth and co-operatives, at the community, regional and national level.

1.2.4 Influences on the research design

The research was initiated through collaboration between the Development, Policy and Practice Group (DPP) at the Open University and Co-operative College UK in the form of an Economic Social Research Council (ESRC) funded Case Studentship. This collaboration, as well as my own background as a practitioner working in youth development (in a developing country context), influenced the theoretical and empirical design of the research. The research has a practical as well as an academic foundation. It was established to explore what was happening with youth and co-operatives in countries in Africa and generate data on the nature and effects of this engagement which could then inform policy and practice. The link with the Co-operative College also informed the location of the research sites and assisted with the access to them. My own background, skills and ideas, derived from working with youth, has also influenced the design of research and the methods. It led to the research being designed as a two-way process: focusing on research *with* youth rather than *on* them (Heron and Reason, 2001). It enhanced my ability to collect data, particularly detailed information on youth's experiences, but it also risked a degree of subjectivity. I discuss these issues further in Chapter 4.

1.2.5 Contribution to knowledge

This research makes several contributions to knowledge of both an empirical and theoretical nature:

1. It extends the notion of what is learnt in a co-operative beyond technical and personal knowledge to wider outcomes such as learning about democracy, participation and community engagement. This increases understanding of co-operatives beyond immediate economic benefits to their wider social impacts.
2. In combining situated learning and the capability approach, I show how social theories of learning can help analyse the processes through which capabilities are developed in individual co-operative members. In addition, a situated learning perspective can demonstrate how co-operatives as a whole are collective spaces for learning and are shaped by their members. Analysing the social processes involved also enables me to demonstrate the constraints on and limits to learning and capability development.
3. These insights enable me to propose a new perspective on learning in co-operatives: one which enables me to further develop analysis of social experiences of learning in co-operatives. Learning in co-operatives thus becomes a collective as well as an individual process of capability development informed by the dynamics of engagement in co-operatives, the values that inform them and the trust that is built, as much as by formal co-operative education and training.
4. The research provides empirical knowledge on the implementation, coordination and potential impact of youth co-operatives both in a school and a community setting. This includes what underpins the potential of these co-operatives and the role that they play in the revival of co-operatives, and access they provide for youth in terms of livelihoods and opportunities for learning and participation.

5. The research also informs policy in the co-operative sector in terms of the wider impacts of co-operative membership, the nature of co-operative education and for the international development youth sector it emphasises the role of co-operatives in providing access to livelihoods, learning and capabilities.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This section briefly outlines the purpose of each of the chapters in this thesis. The chapters can be grouped into sections. Chapters 2 and 3 represent the review of the literature and the development of the guiding ideas for the thesis. Chapter 4 focuses on research methodology and research methods. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the data and discussion chapters. Chapter 8 and 9 bring the discussions together and draw conclusions.

Chapter 2 provides the context and the background ideas relating to development, co-operatives and youth. In it I critically review the development literature, particularly relating to people-centred and human development. Following this I focus on agency and the role of learning in development, both key aspects of the research. I look at the literature on co-operatives, defining them, discussing the history and nature of co-operatives in Africa and analyse the key factors for their revival. I then turn to the literature on youth in Africa, discussing the different interpretations of agency and how these are related to the different contributions they can make to development. In the final part of Chapter 2 I look at existing literature on youth co-operatives and discuss the empirical and theoretical gaps that exist in analysing youth and co-operatives and the logic of using learning to underpin the analysis.

Chapter 3 develops the guiding ideas for the analysis in this thesis. The first part of the chapter analyses how to understand and explore learning in a collective workspace such as a co-operative

and focuses on the social and situated nature of this learning. In the second part I analyse how the impact of learning on agency and capabilities can be assessed using the capability approach. Together situated learning and the capability approach provide the pillars for the analysis of learning in the co-operatives and its impact on development and form the basis of Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 4 focuses on the research methodology and methods and discusses how the research was designed and what informed it. I provide a brief overview of the context of the case studies and discuss the selection of the five co-operatives. I discuss how data was collected using qualitative and participatory methods including interviews, focus groups discussions, as well as a self-directed photograph project and how data was analysed and triangulated.

Chapter 5 is the first of the data analysis chapters and looks at the influence that the broader context of the revival of co-operatives and the high unemployment rates for youth have on youth co-operatives (RQ 1 and 2). This data is brought together in an analysis of the push and pull factors for youth co-operatives. The chapter goes on to explain the specific context of youth co-operatives, including the different types of engagement between youth and co-operatives, and also provides background data about the five selected co-operatives.

Chapters 6 and 7 look specifically at the engagement between youth and co-operatives and analyse this engagement in terms of social experiences of learning (RQ 3 and 4). The two chapters look at what is learnt, how it is learnt and the effects of the learning. Analysis in Chapter 6 relates to individual experience and in Chapter 7 to the collective and the organisational experience. I explain common areas of skills and knowledge and learning experiences and identify the differences that exist. In Chapter 6 I use the capability approach to look at the impact of

learning in co-operatives on individual agency and whether youth achieve valued functionings (RQ 5). In Chapter 7 I discuss the impact of learning on the co-operative and whether it leads to any new ways of collective thinking or behaving (RQ 6).

Chapter 8 is a synthesis of the analysis from Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The first section develops the conceptual framework of co-operatives as an expanded learning space and the key influences on learning. The second section focuses on empirical and theoretical contributions relating to impacts of being in a co-operative on learning for development, youth agency and youth co-operatives. In the next section I present a model for re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives. In the final section there is a discussion of the theoretical contributions of the research.

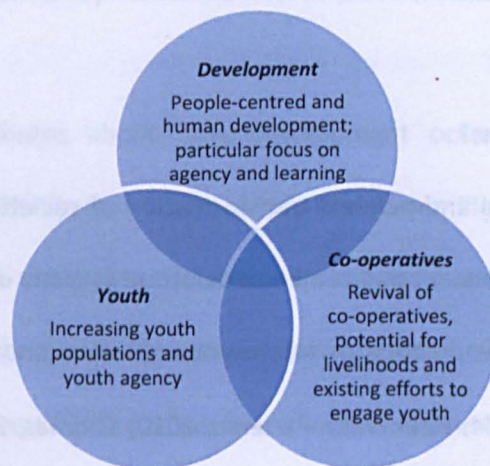
The conclusion (Chapter 9) starts with a summary of the key findings from the research and their relationship to the research questions. I then translate the empirical and theoretical contributions in terms of policy for youth and co-operatives and make a set of recommendations. I outline some key learning points and limitations with the research and outline how this research could be extended through further studies.

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I critically review literature on the core issues which have led to this research. Firstly, the co-operative revival in Africa, including programmes to engage youth in the co-operative movement; secondly, the context of current youth demographics in Africa and the potential for youth to exert their agency in development; thirdly, development, in the dual senses of i) the vision of meeting human needs and ii) the ability to make it happen. I develop central themes, identify key arguments, and explore gaps in the existing knowledge which have resulted in the six research questions. Consideration of these approaches also acts as a stepping stone towards building guiding ideas for the thesis, the subject of Chapter 3.

This review thus has three overlapping areas for consideration, which form the starting points for this research:

Figure 1 - Starting points for the research



The chapter begins by situating this research in development literature, particularly people-centred and human development, the role of agency and learning. I go on to discuss co-

operatives particularly in an African context: conceptualising them, stressing the central nature of values, and discussing the extent to which they can act as a platform for development. Next I look at literature on youth: increasing youth populations in Africa, examining who is a youth in the African context, challenges with defining them, the complex realities facing youth and the nature of their agency. I finish this chapter by looking at the gaps in the existing knowledge of youth and co-operatives and discuss the logic of using learning to underpin my analysis as well as representing my research questions.

2.1 Development

In this section I focus on key themes from the development studies literature⁵ and then, in line with the concerns of this research, concentrate on people-centred development and human development and thereby on the agency people have to articulate their needs and make changes to their lives (Chambers, 1997; Korten, 1990). Following on from this I focus on the role of learning in development which is increasingly recognised as playing a central role in building agency and capabilities and as having the potential to enhance the delivery of development (Eyben, 2006; Johnson and Wilson, 2009; Pasteur, 2006; Samoff and Stromquist, 2001).

2.1.1 Whose and what type of development?

Development is about the economic, social and political transformation of societies (Brown and Hanlin, 2013). However, it is a contested concept and can be understood in many different ways - as theory, as lived experience and as the practice of intervention (Brown and Hanlin, 2013; Hettne, 2009; Kingsbury, 2004; McKay, 2004; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Thomas, 2000). Despite

⁵ Hettne (2009) distinguishes between development studies and development thinking. The former relating to the study of development post world war two, which primarily concentrated on developing countries transforming from colonisation to independence; the latter having existed since the beginning of 'modern times' relating to the development of the world and societies within which we live. Both are relevant to this research but most ideas are drawn from the literature evolving from development studies.

this complexity there are some core ideas. According to Thomas (2000), development is about 'visions' of how people's lives can change and improve. Whilst development involves 'goals' it is also about "routes" (Brown and Hanlin, 2013: 6), involving intended and planned interventions and also immanent or unplanned processes (Brown and Hanlin, 2013; Thomas 2000). Over time theories and practices have changed and development theory therefore has been dynamic, connected to historical context and the dominant thinking at different times (Brown and Hanlin, 2013; Hettne, 2009; McKay, 2004; Thomas, 2000).

There is agreement that development (as both a planned intervention and immanent process) happens at different levels and involves multiple stakeholders. It relates to the actions and interactions of government, civil society, development agencies, groups and individuals (McKay, 2004; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Thomas, 2000) who are seen as "agents of development" (Hanlin and Brown, 2013: 37). Development is also about interaction between the local, national and the international, where there is a growing emphasis on the international linkages between countries relating to market forces, peace/conflict, the environment and communications (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Shaw and Veltmeyer, 2011).

Over time debates about how development occurs have led to different approaches to development (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Parpart and Veltmeyer, 2011; Thomas, 2000). Central to these approaches are questions of whose development is of concern, who are the agents of development, and the level of development (local, national and global), which in turn are all linked to particular visions of development. Four main schools of thought can be identified: neoliberalism, structuralism, interventionism and people-centred development (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; Thomas, 2000). Whilst this suggests a compartmentalised understanding of approaches, within each approach there are different strands of thinking and

the approaches overlap (Thomas, 2000). However the key features of each approach, particularly relating to who the agents of development are, underlines the extent of their relevance to this research.

Neo-liberalism emphasises the market and argues that if the market can operate competitively, it will bring economic growth and eventually development to all parts of society (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; McKay, 2004; Thomas, 2000). In this perspective, the central ideas relate to privatisation, individual entrepreneurship, a limited role for the state and limited market regulation (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; McKay, 2004). Structuralism, often described as the opposite to neo-liberalism, is based on the idea that growth of the market only brings benefits to some people because societal structures reinforce power relations and inequality between social groups. Consequently economic and social aspects of society need to be managed to bring about development (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; Thomas, 2000). The focus is often on the state and its role in planning and managing the economy to ensure fairer access to development (Hanlin and Brown, 2013). Interventionism combines aspects of both these approaches and emphasises the role of the state (and other institutions, such as development agencies) in managing the negative effects of the market whilst recognising the importance of economic growth for development (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; Thomas, 2000).

Consideration of these first three approaches highlights the dominant thinking that delivering development involves the agency of the market or the state or a combination of the two (Leys, 1996; McKay, 2004; Thomas, 2000). The argument is made by Sen (1999) that this result in people being treated as passive and their capabilities ignored. The fourth approach, people-centred development, focuses on people as the primary agents of development rather than the

state and/or the market (Korten, 1990; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Parpart and Veltmeyer, 2011; Thomas, 2000).

Given that one of my main concerns in this research is about the role of youth - individually and collectively - in development, of the schools of thought above, I focus on the literature on around people-centred approaches and extend it by considering the human development approach of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). I then explore further the issue of agency and learning, both key aspects of people-centred and human development approaches and central to this research.

2.1.2 People-centred development

A focus on people-centred development (Chambers, 1997; Korten, 1990) originating in the 1970s, was a reaction to the continuing prevalence of poverty in many developing countries despite the two previous decades of development interventions (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; McKay, 2004; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Parpart and Veltmeyer, 2011; Thomas, 2000). This view marked a departure from previous theories by inverting the notion of development as a 'top down approach' (emphasising the role of the state or market) to a 'bottom up approach' which focuses on people guiding and generating change (Korten, 1990; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Parpart and Veltmeyer, 2011).

Korten, who was a key proponent, presented a new approach that was about justice, inclusivity and sustainability (Korten, 1990). This was part of expanding the notion of development beyond income to respond to the wider needs people had regarding jobs, health, education, equality and participation in decision making and democratic processes (Korten, 1990; Seers, 1969; Thomas, 2000). Development was interpreted as well-being including access to a livelihood and

developing capabilities in an equitable and sustainable⁶ manner (Chambers, 1997). It changed the “scale” of development, focusing on the micro level rather than the macro level, and on people in communities rather than the country as whole (Hanlin and Brown, 2013: 41). People-centred development is strongly focused on agency: people can make judgements about and act on what they value in terms of their well-being (Chambers, 1997; Sen, 1999). It also acknowledges and places emphasis on people’s knowledge, capabilities and ability to engage in development (Chambers, 1997; Korten, 1990; Sen, 1999). Civil society is seen as a central player in development, particularly people working in organised groups, voluntary organisations or NGOs, the belief being that development agencies and the state had failed to deliver (Korten, 1990).

People-centred development was originally seen as an alternative approach to the others I have noted which emphasise the role of institutions such as the market, the state and international development agencies (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Thomas, 2000), but many of the ideas associated with it, particularly the recognition of people as agents of development, are now regarded as mainstream (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010). Nevertheless gaps remain in the theory and application of people-centred development. Even though there is recognition of the role of institutions and structures in promoting and constraining local agency, people-centred approaches are criticised for neglecting the role of the state and the market (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Thomas, 2000). The approach is also criticised for emphasising and idealising the role of the group, leading to a neglect of the individual and their role in development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010). Furthermore whilst there is some recognition of power⁷, there is a neglect of the power dynamics in communities and groups (Thomas, 2000) and

⁶ There was recognition that development needed to be about the long term and that it needed to be achieved within the boundaries of the physical environment (Chambers, 1997; Korten, 1990).

⁷ Chambers (1997) argues that participation involves handing over power from development professionals to poor people and Korten (1995) discusses the power dynamics between the local, national and international level with regards to development processes.

the inequalities that exist within poor communities are overlooked (Mohan, 2008). Without a change to the structures and power relations existing at the local level and between the local level and the state and the market, it has been argued that the potential of a people-centred approach to development remains limited (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Thomas, 2000).

2.1.3 Human development

I now turn to human development, which is a related but separate approach to people-centred development, strongly associated with UNDP and the work of economist, Amartya Sen. Human development, like people-centred development, puts people first and recognises development as multi-dimensional (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009). Importantly, human development also focuses on the role of other stakeholders (including government and development agencies) in supporting development, rather than viewing people as agents of their own destiny (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Tharamangalam and Reed, 2011).

Human development is underpinned by Amartya Sen's ideas of development as capabilities (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009; Fukuda-Parr, 2003; UNDP, 1990). Sen (1999; 2009) interprets development as well-being, focusing on a person's ability to live the life that they value, placing emphasis on the multiple aspects of life, the quality of life and the choices people make within the freedoms they have (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009; Sen, 1999). Sen's approach (which is reflected in human development) therefore has an 'evaluative' aspect, focusing on the *outcomes* of development (expanding people's capabilities), and an 'agency' aspect, focusing on *processes* of development (people as agents of change) (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009; Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Sen, 2002).

Key outputs of the approach include the UNDP's Human Development Reports (HDR) and Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI is a composite index which combines and places emphasis on literacy, life expectancy and health outcomes alongside income (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). Since they began in 1990, the reports have indicated that economic growth does not always automatically lead to improvements in the quality of life (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009). The argument is that policy needs to focus on finding ways to increase the freedoms in a person's life to 'enlarge' the choices people have to improve the quality of their lives (Mahbub ul Haq, n.d.): the UNDP places particular emphasis on the expansion of capabilities through increases in access to education and health (UNDP, 1990).

People-centred and human development approaches have led to an emphasis on development at the local level and people's participation, evidenced in the proliferation of community based development (Dasgupta and Beard, 2007; Mansuri and Rao, 2004) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods (Chambers 1997; 2007). Human development has also changed the goals of national (and international) policy and the measurements and methods of development thinking to include social aspects (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010).

Despite the growth of people-centred and human development, the core focus in development continues to be economic development (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009; Brohman, 1996; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Thomas, 2000). Also whilst there is a particular focus on the role of people's agency in development, to which I turn next, the understanding of development at the local level is limited (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010). There is a need to understand 'ways of being and doing' and not assume that, if access to key capabilities is provided, then people are free to convert this into actual achievements or that they will automatically value these areas (Kabeer, 1999: 462).

2.1.4 Agency

Both individual and collective agency are of importance to this research and, as discussed, people-centred and human development both acknowledge the role of human agency in development. In this section I expand my discussion of agency and discuss collective agency in more detail.

Agency is about people having the freedom to make decisions and take action to make valued changes to their lives (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009; Kabeer, 1999; 2005; Sen, 1999). However as Kabeer argues, agency can be about “*bargaining, negotiation, deception, manipulation, subversion and resistance*” (Kabeer, 1999: 438) as well as decision making. There is an endogenous and exogenous character to agency: people have resources such as knowledge and skills which enable them to be agents of development but people are also situated in a wider social structure which affects the use of their agency (Hanlin and Brown, 2013; Kabeer, 1999; 2005; O’Malley, 2011; Sen, 1999; 2009). In particular, power relations have an explicit influence over individuals and the choices they make, and also influence the internal thoughts and deliberations of a person when they make their choices (Kabeer, 1999; 2005).

While an individual may have agency, this agency can be enhanced if that individual joins a group and creates collective agency (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Stewart, 2005), which in turn increases the potential to fulfil group members’ goals (Thorp et al, 2005). Collective goals are achieved through pooling limited resources - together people can generate more resources, finances, knowledge and a voice, which can afford them better leverage, market opportunities and solutions (Agarwal, 2010; Stewart, 2005). This goes further: co-operation can be seen as part of human nature (Meinzen-Dick et al, 2004). It can be characterised as the “involvement of a group of people”, who have a “shared interest” which means they are motivated to engage in “common action” (Meinzen-Dick et al, 2004: 200). People work in a group for both economic and social reasons

(Agarwal, 2010; Stewart, 2005) as well as increasing their political participation (Agarwal, 2010). The synergy that comes through people working together can enhance the potential for broader change (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). Aspects of development such as education and health relate to individual interests, but participation with others creates the potential for wider social and political change (ibid).

The literature outlines the commensurate challenges: groups can exclude poorer people in society as membership often involves contributing or having resources (Thorp et al, 2005). It is also necessary to consider the role of the individual within the group (Meinzein-Dick et al, 2004); individuals have their own interests which might not fit with the aims of the group. These challenges are managed by groups in different ways: through power and control, through co-operation and also through incentives (Thorp et al, 2005). Ostrom (2004) points out that a collective operates and is affected by the wider context in which it is situated and places emphasis on cohesion between the motivation members have for joining and the extent to which trust exists between members.

Whilst the literature on groups can provide insights on the role and complexities of collective agency, there is a gap in terms of looking at the specific form of co-operatives, as values-based organisations, which I as discuss later in Section 2.2 underlies the impact co-operatives can have on development. There is also a gap in terms of the role played by learning in and for development, to which I now turn.

2.1.5 The role of learning in and for development

An implicit theme in my discussions of people-centred and human development approaches is the role of knowledge and therefore learning in processes of development. Knowledge is seen as a

key component of a person's agency (Chambers, 1997; Korten, 1990; Sen, 1999) and access to education is viewed as core to the development of capabilities (Sen 1999; UNDP, 1990). In this section I extend my discussion of learning by focusing explicitly on the role of learning in and for development.

Development policy has often focused on the transfer of knowledge (reflected on by Borda-Rodriguez and Lanfranco, 2011; Johnson and Wilson, 2006). Historically this has been from developed to developing countries. It has been in the form of technical assistance (Wilson, 2006) as well as through centralising information and creating channels to share it (World Bank, 1998). As discussed earlier in the chapter there is also recognition of local knowledge as a resource for development (Chambers, 1997; King and McGrath, 2000; Stiglitz, 1999). However, within debates on knowledge and learning in development there has been a shift from focusing on the dissemination of knowledge to focusing on acquisition and use of knowledge for development (King and McGrath, 2000). There is also an argument that it is necessary to go beyond knowledge to the active learning processes that are part of development (Eyben, 2006; Johnson and Wilson, 2009; Samoff and Stromquist, 2001). The term 'learning for development' is used to encapsulate the idea that learning is at the core of development and that learning has the potential to improve processes of development (Eyben, 2006; Johnson and Wilson, 2006; 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Pasteur, 2006). I return to the role of learning for development (and this thesis) in Section 2.4.3 and the idea of learning for development in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.).

In summary, for the purposes of my review here, people-centred and human development literature can help frame the research, especially with respect to: the ideas of multi-dimensional development, the focus on individual and collective agency, the importance given to capabilities and the role of learning in developing agency and capabilities. Taking institutional and contextual

settings and inherent power dynamics into account is crucial for understanding the role and functioning of organisations such as co-operatives and the potential they have for developing learning, agency and capabilities. I now turn to the two substantive themes of the thesis: co-operatives and youth.

2.2 Co-operatives

In this section I review the academic and practice-based literature on co-operatives in a global and African context (focusing particularly on East and Southern Africa) to reflect on the key issues relating to the revival of interest in this organisational form. The revival is based on co-operatives being values-based businesses, able to meet the economic and social needs of their members. Existing research indicates that they can address key aspects of poverty but they face challenges, for example whether they serve or exclude poorer people and girls/women, and consequently the experiences of members vary.

2.2.1 Defining co-operatives

A common framework for co-operatives was developed in 1995 by the ICA and provides a shared global definition, principles and values (see Table 1).

Table 1 - Co-operative framework

Definition	A co-operative is an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise.
Values	Self-help, self-responsibility, democracy, equality, equity, and solidarity Ethical values: honesty, openness, social responsibility, and caring for others
Principles⁸	Voluntary and Open Membership Democratic Member Control Member Economic Participation Autonomy and Independence Education, Training and Information Co-operation among Co-operatives Concern for Community

Adapted from ICA (1995)

The ideas behind the framework in Table 1 are seen to underpin the “co-operative difference”; that is the difference between the co-operative organisational form and the form of other organisations, particularly in the private sector (Novkovic, 2008: 2168). The co-operative values and principles describe the essence of co-operatives (MacPherson and Yeo, 2005; Novkovic, 2008; Smith, 2004; Spear, 2000). They express what a co-operative is and how it should operate, influencing management structures, decision making, relationships and the way business is conducted (ibid). The framework results in a distinctive approach to organisational ownership where members become the joint owners of the co-operative. Central to this ownership structure are: 1) members’ financial contribution to the co-operative, through membership fees and the purchase of shares in the co-operative; 2) the oversight and management by members, which takes place through their participation in annual general meetings and boards who are democratically elected by the membership.

Despite the single framework, co-operatives develop in diverse ways (Birchall, 1994; Birchall and Simmons, 2009; Develtere et al, 2008; Smith, 2004) and their development is often contextualised

⁸ The principles are the way that the values can be carried out (Novkovic, 2008).

by a number of factors. They are located in different sectors of the economy – agriculture, banking, transport, insurance, housing, funeral care, energy and retail. They may be identified by the sector in which they operate (for example agricultural co-operatives) or by the composition of their members (e.g. workers, youth or women’s co-operatives) or the nature of their collective (e.g. producers, marketing or consumer co-operatives). They differ by country context, which has implications for the business they do and the legal foundations upon which they are based (Develtere et al, 2008). They also differ in size and number and type of members, and turnover (Birchall, 1994; Develtere et al, 2008; SCC, 2007). They may be multi-million dollar businesses but they can also be small groups supplementing the livelihoods of low income people (Birchall, 1994).

There are debates around the nature of co-operatives but there is agreement in the literature on some distinct characteristics: they have both an economic and a social dimension, aiming to make money for members as well as meet other needs such as solidarity and participation (ILO, 2010; Levi and Davis, 2008; Mathie and Ghore, 2011); they operate between the private and public sectors (ILO, 2010; Mathie and Ghore 2011); they are different from private sector businesses, having different goals, prioritising members’ interests over the profits for shareholders and being owned and controlled by their members (Borzaga et al, 2009; Mathie and Ghore, 2011; Smith, 2004; Spear, 2000). Overall three common features⁹ make them unique: the mission¹⁰, the ownership and the control (Mathie and Ghore, 2011).

There is a global network of co-operatives. The ICA is the global umbrella organisation, with regional centres, which represent one billion members focused on fairer approaches to doing

⁹ Mathie and Ghore (2011) use the term ‘formal member-based organisations’ in their paper which includes co-operatives.

¹⁰ Others would define this more particularly as the co-operative values (Novkovic, 2008)

business and working together (ICA, 2012). As Stiglitz (2004) points out, this global network provides horizontal support between co-operatives in different countries, sharing technical expertise and trade links through co-operative-to-co-operative partnerships. The lead UN agency for co-operatives is the International Labour Organisation (ILO). There are a number of co-operative development organisations operating internationally. Of particular relevance for Africa are the Swedish Co-operative Centre (SCC) and Canadian Co-operative Association (CCA).

2.2.2 Co-operatives in Africa

Most co-operatives in Africa operate in villages, traditionally in farming but a recent growth area is savings and credit co-operatives (SACCOs) (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Kuria, 2011; Pollet, 2009). In agricultural marketing co-operatives, farmers work together to sell their produce and as a group they command improved prices and obtain farm inputs cheaper by buying them together (Chambo et al, n.d.; Kwapong and Korugyendo, 2010a). In SACCOs, banking services are provided to people who cannot access the formal banking system (ICA, 2004). As discussed, co-operatives range in size, and this is the case for SACCOs which can have as few as 50 to 100 members (ICA, 2009) but also as many as a 1000 and in some cases 10,000 plus (Develtere et al, 2008).

These individual co-operatives (referred to as primary co-operatives) are part of a broader structure or network of organisations focusing on co-operatives in a country (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008). This co-operative network includes the government, non-government organisations and donors. The non-government support organisations generally constitute the 'co-operative movement', which plays a central role in representing and supporting co-operatives (ibid). However the scope and presence of the movement differs across countries as do the types of organisations and the support provided to co-operatives (ibid).

Co-operatives were first established in Africa around the beginning of the twentieth century, mainly introduced by colonial governments (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Wanyama et al, 2009) although collective working practices were already part of social life (Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011). Co-operatives mostly developed as state-controlled bodies, which continued post independence (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Wanyama et al, 2008; 2009). State involvement resulted in funding for the sector but also cut across the fundamental voluntary nature of co-operatives as, in some cases, people were forced to join or sell their produce through a co-operative (ibid). This changed in the 1980s and 1990s with the introduction of 'Structural Adjustment Programmes' and a move to economic liberalisation. In many countries government support (including financial) for co-operatives was withdrawn and there was a decrease in operations and at times a resulting breakdown of the sector (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Wanyama et al, 2009). However, in some cases it also opened up the field for the development of more autonomous co-operatives (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; SCC, 2007).

2.2.3 The revival of co-operatives in Africa

Post structural adjustment there has been an increase in interest in co-operatives and the number of new co-operatives being established or re-developed (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Wanyama et al, 2008; 2009). However growth varies between countries (Develtere et al, 2008) and it is also difficult to establish how many co-operatives are in fact functioning (Pollet, 2009). Pollet's (2009: 4) study of nine countries in Africa looks at the number of co-operatives that were "active and functional" and found that there is often a "gross overestimation" of the number of active co-operatives¹¹. Chambo et al (n.d.) found a different but related challenge - some organisations operating like co-operatives chose not to register either because it is too expensive

¹¹ In Uganda, for example, he found that this was potentially as low as 20% (Pollet, 2009: 4).

or they do not have the right information, causing an under-representation in co-operative figures.

Core to the revival is a shift away from state-controlled agricultural co-operatives of the 1970s and a move to a more grass-roots and values-based approach to co-operatives, member-established and member-controlled (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008). To achieve this, Birchall and Simmons (2010) argue that there is need for reform of the sector both from bottom up (i.e. better member education) and top down (e.g. legal reform). Governments, institutions and individuals are re-evaluating and increasingly promoting co-operatives as a way to address poverty through stimulating employment and income generation and equitable growth (Birchall, 2003; Chambo et al, n.d; DFID, 2010; ILO, 2010; Kuria, 2011; 'Maphamoli, n.d.; Mwesigye, n.d.; UN, 2010). Informed by people-centred and human development approaches, co-operatives are seen to promote participation and citizenship and enable people to act as agents of development (Kuria, 2011; Smith, 2004). There is also an increasing demand for co-operatives from people living in poverty who are encouraged to find ways to tap into economic growth via the opportunity for formalised collective action (Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011); and co-operatives provide a platform on which to do this (Penrose-Buckley, 2007).

Co-operative renewal has also been associated with an increased focus on the agricultural sector (Bernard et al, 2008; Francesconi and Heerink, 2010; Fraser, 2009; Louw et al, 2008; World Bank, 2008a). The emphasis on agriculture, especially on small scale farmers, is viewed as important for driving growth, decreasing poverty and enhancing food security (ibid). However there are challenges relating to price, volume and quality of products which hinder farmers' entry into some markets and the majority of small farmers continue to engage in subsistence farming (ibid).

Collective action, such as through co-operatives and other types of producer organisations¹², is therefore being looked at as a means for farmers to meet these challenges which has led to their promotion by governments, donors and non-government organisations (NGOs) (ibid). The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) at the UN also place a central emphasis on the role of co-operatives in increasing food security¹³.

2.2.4 Key issues for the revival of co-operatives

There are several key challenges for co-operatives that emerge from the literature on their revival, and which I consider in this section: the potential impacts of co-operatives and the distribution of benefits, the control of the movement, the role of learning and education and legal reform.

A common argument is that where co-operatives have failed it is because the co-operative form has been misused (Birchall and Simmons, 2008; Smith, 2004). A series of studies from United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) (in the 1960s) and the World Bank (1990s) found co-operatives had not helped poor people address poverty due to their being top down and state-controlled (Hussi et al, 1993). To counter this there is now a drive from co-operatives and organisations that support co-operatives towards developing a “genuine form” of co-operative (ILO, 2002: 1); that is, a shift towards co-operatives that are member-owned and controlled, exist for members’ interests and that are independent, and are not being run by

¹² At times other terms are used which encompass co-operatives or describe organisations that are operating as co-operatives – the latter may or may not be registered as a co-operative (Chambo et al, n.d.). For example farmer-based organisations (FBOs) (Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011), producer-organisations (Penrose-Buckley, 2007), member based organisations (MBOs) (Mathie and Ghore, 2011) and village organisations (Bernard et al, 2010).

¹³ “Co-operatives and producer organizations will be increasingly important in efforts to eliminate hunger and reduce poverty” (Head of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, Director-General José Graziano da Silva, 2012). <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=41031&Cr=cooperatives&Cr1>

government or for particular individuals' benefit (Birchall, 2003; DFID, 2005; ICA, 1995; ILO, 2010; UN 2010).

Alongside these changes, studies have attempted to assess the real impact of co-operatives on poverty (Birchall and Simmons, 2008; Chambo et al, n.d.; Kwapong and Korugyendo, 2010a; Kyazze, 2010; Pollet, 2009; Wanyama et al, 2008; 2009) and have found that co-operatives have a positive impact on income and jobs as well as social capital and provision of financial services (Birchall and Simmons, 2009; Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Wanyama et al, 2008). The studies indicate that increased income has enabled families to increase food security, manage risks (i.e. health) and make investments in education (Birchall and Simmons, 2008; Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Kwapong and Korugyendo, 2010a; Wanyama et al, 2008). Some studies (Kyazze, 2010; Smith et al, 2005) have also found that co-operatives lead to social action particularly in the area of HIV and AIDS awareness. However, other studies suggest that, even with the increasing move to values-based co-operatives, the benefits to members and the success of community based organisations like co-operatives can be limited (Bernard et al, 2008; Bernard et al, 2010; Francesconi and Heerink, 2008; Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011; World Bank, 2008a). In some studies the impact of co-operatives is found to be limited to economic development with no social outcomes being created (Pollet, 2009).

The debates emanating from these studies revolve around the extent to which values-based co-operatives can exist, and raise questions around whether co-operatives can operate as autonomous organisations which exist for the benefit of *all* their members rather than the state or individual interests. There is a discussion around whether co-operatives reach the poorer people in the community with some literature arguing that co-operatives are particularly relevant to lower income groups (Wanyama et al, 2009). Conversely Chambo et al (n.d.) found that the

membership fees that co-operatives require can hinder the poor from joining, whilst other studies (Bernard et al, 2008; Francesconi and Heerink, 2010; Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011) found that poorer members benefitted less than the more wealthy members. However, a World Bank study of financial co-operatives found that they reached significant numbers of poorer people. Having a membership that included middle income members was found to increase the co-operative's financial sustainability and acted as a foundation from which they could then serve the poor (Cuevas and Fischer, 2006).

The debate on who benefits in co-operatives, includes discussion on the unequal participation of particular groups, such as women (ICA, 2007; Msemakweli, n.d.; Nippierd, n.d.; Okeyo, n.d.). Requirements for members to join a co-operative, particularly in the form of money and assets like land, often exclude certain groups such as women (ICA, 2007; Nippierd, n.d.; Okeyo, n.d.). Women remain under-represented in decision making and leadership in many co-operatives even when access is possible. This is often linked to constraints on women in society as a whole (ibid).

Indeed some literature suggests that groups such as co-operatives can too easily be controlled by elites (Dasgupta and Beard, 2007; Platteau, 2004). Studies of co-operatives in Ethiopia (Bernard et al, 2008; Francesconi and Heerink, 2010) found that the vested interests and power dynamics in the community were actively preserved by co-operatives rather than challenged. This concurs with other literature that characterises co-operatives as having been used for personal interest (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008). In summary, despite the co-operative ethos of equality, equity and democratic ownership, members can be excluded and the benefits of membership can be different for different members (Bernard et al, 2008).

Relationships also play a central role for co-operatives. As I discussed earlier co-operatives are part of a network of organisations. The core relationship for co-operatives remains with the state (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008; Henry, 2005). The state has a key role to play in the development and enforcement of law and policy and the provision of a supportive environment for co-operatives (Kuria, 2011). Setting a balance between support and control continues to be a challenge (Develtere et al, 2008). Governments can be reluctant to diminish their control (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008) and many co-operatives currently lack a strong voice with limited capacity in many co-operative movements to be able to do this (Birchall and Simmons, 2009; Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008).

Achieving a balance between external support and control, or even interference, is also difficult in relationships between co-operatives and NGOs and donors (Chambo et al, n.d.; Develtere et al, 2008). Several studies (Birchall and Simmons, 2009; KaramiDehkordi and Garforth, 2007; Lacey, 2011) have found that co-operatives need support to fulfil their potential and manage challenges. Challenges include limited access to finance and improving capacity, which necessitate that they continue to work with external partners (ibid). A further challenge is to ensure that this support reflects their core international principles and values (Table 1). However, at times, donors and partners have their own agendas and systems for approaching work with partners (Birchall and Simmons, 2009).

Learning and education is also a central issue for co-operatives (Chambo et al, n.d.; ILO, 2010; Kwapong and Korugyendo, 2010b; Lacey, 2011; MacPherson, 2003; Msemakweli, 2010; Shaw 2009b; 2011) and one of the core co-operative principles (see Table 1). Education is seen as the pre-cursor for developing a co-operative voice (Chambo et al, n.d.) and linked to increasing productivity and economic success for co-operatives (Fairbairn, 1999; ILO, 2010; Shaw, 2009b)

and their long-term sustainability (MacPherson, 2003). Yet, whilst globally education is seen as key to the development of members and the success of co-operatives, an effective, broad-based strategy for co-operative education remains to be developed (MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2009b). Studies have also found that the delivery of education is sparse and the lack of skills remains a key challenge for all co-operatives (Chambo et al, n.d.; Pollet, 2009). For co-operatives to develop, the practice and thinking on learning and education in them needs to be further researched and developed.

Legal reforms are another key aspect of the revival and development of co-operatives and create a foundation for the development of values-based co-operatives (Henry, 2005; ILO, 2010; Theron, 2010). The ILO Recommendation 193 (2002) is the international recommendation for co-operative law and was created to guide co-operatives through legal reform (Smith, 2004). It was developed to act as a catalyst for the international co-operative framework in recognition that current laws have not guaranteed the independence of co-operatives or ensured they develop as values-based organisations in the past (Henry, 2005). A study of countries in east and southern Africa revealed that the majority of countries have now amended their co-operative law in line with the ILO Recommendation 193 or are in the process of doing so (Theron, 2010).

Another important theme arising from several studies is that the context and internal dynamics of co-operatives influence their success as businesses (Bernard et al, 2008; Francesconi and Heerink, 2010; Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011; ILO, 2002). Birchall and Simmons (2009) found that terms of trade, access to markets and level of governance all affect the extent to which members are able to develop and use their co-operatives. In another study in Ghana, Francesconi and Wouterse (2011) found problems arose when the actions of members did not align with the structure and aims of the organisation. Cultural dimensions were also found to influence the

governance structures of co-operatives and who is allowed to join (Bernard et al, 2010). Co-operative development is highly individualised and context specific.

In summary, there is a revival of co-operatives taking place in countries in Africa, where there is increased interest in the co-operative model, increased activity in the sector and ongoing legal reform. A core aspect of this is a move towards an independently-run, values-based form of co-operatives. Although there is growing interest in the revival, and there have been some general studies, there is still a gap in the research on co-operatives in the time of revival and an emphasis on the agricultural sector. Existing studies tend to focus on economic impact (efficiency) rather than assessing the wider impacts of co-operatives (such as equity-based outcomes). The emphasis in many studies of agricultural co-operatives, for example, is on their potential for increasing market share (Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011). There is also little literature on youth engagement in co-operatives and the different ways that co-operatives might contribute to development and whether this values-based form of co-operatives will thrive and expand. Pollet (2009: 28) argues that this lack of research contributes to the sceptical attitude people have about co-operatives as a "development model". It also contributes to stakeholders promoting co-operatives without communicating the potential challenges and their context-specific nature (Francesconi and Heerink, 2010; Francesconi and Wouterse, 2011). There is a need for more research into the socio-economic outcomes of co-operatives and it is here that this research hopes to make a contribution, through focusing on the potential of co-operatives in the development of youth.

I turn to this in the final section of this chapter, but to understand the role co-operatives can play for youth in development I look firstly at the literature on youth in Africa.

2.3 Youth in countries in Africa

“The key to a more prosperous Africa lies in the hands of its younger generations. They will be the dynamic drivers of poverty reduction through long-term economic growth that creates employment.” (Africa Commission, 2009: 4)

Alongside a growing recognition of the agency of youth in international development there is an increasing focus on how to ensure youth use their agency positively and contribute to economic and social development (DANIDA, 2007; Maguire, 2007; UN, 2007; 2011; UNFPA, 2005; World Bank, 2007). However, the academic literature on youth in Africa (e.g. Honwana, 2006; Honwana and De Boeck, 2005) also emphasises the heterogeneity of youth and the complexity of the situations to which they have to respond, and argues that, whilst youth have agency their use of it relates to their particular situation. I start this section with a focus on current demographics, go on to look at the different ways of defining youth and finish by examining youth agency and the different ways it can be understood.

2.3.1 Youth demographics

As mentioned in Chapter 1 for many countries in Africa, youth constitute over half of the population (World Bank, 2007). This demographic, referred to as the ‘youth bulge’ (World Bank, 2007), has led to increasing attention on the implications of these large youth populations for development. A positive view is that youth represent an age group that has the potential to be economically productive (in an existing job or creating new business), able to pay taxes and thus to stimulate the economy (DANIDA, 2007; Maguire, 2007; UN, 2007; 2011; UNFPA, 2005; World Bank, 2007). It argues that, to support this role for youth, new ways must be found to educate youth, ensure that youth are healthy enough to work, and ultimately that they have access to jobs and resources to set up their own businesses (DANIDA, 2007; Maguire, 2007; UNFPA, 2005; World Bank, 2007). Moreover, youth have rights to education, health and other services as outlined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989).

Conversely there is also discussion over the challenge that youth demographics present. Youth can be seen as a burden on a country's fiscal resources and as a problem to be managed. Larger youth populations are also associated with increased levels of crime and conflict (UNFPA, 2005). However, youth's involvement in conflict and crime can also be characterised as youth using their agency to evoke changes to a society which they see as excluding them (Abdullah, 2008; Honwana, 2008). To begin to understand the issues which influence the impacts of youth demographics and the potential agency of youth, it is necessary to unpick what is meant by youth and the complexities of their existence.

2.3.2 Defining youth

It is commonplace to identify youth by age; the UN states that youth are 15 to 24 years old (UN, 2007), whereas the Uganda government's definition is 12 to 30 years old (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2001), and the Commonwealth Youth Programme defines youth as 15 to 29 years old (Commonwealth Youth Programme, 2007). These age-related definitions are principally what characterise youth. However, another way of categorising what makes someone a youth is the "transition model", which this research uses (McGee and Greenhalf, 2011: 25). The model defines youth as a time of transition from being a child to becoming an adult, with lives changing economically, biologically, mentally and socially (ibid). In other words, the definition of being a youth is a period of a person's life when identity is formed (when someone is deciding and developing who they are and how they relate to their community and society in general (ibid)) and when decisions are made which affect the future and the type of citizen that a youth becomes (Honwana and De Boeck, 2005; McGee and Greenhalf, 2011; World Bank, 2007). Consequently youth are categorised according to other factors such as their economic or social status (Hoffman, 2003; Keen, 2005) rather than their age. This research uses this transition model.

In terms of literature on youth in Africa, whilst the academic and practice-based literature is growing, historically the emphasis has been on children (all persons under 18 years old) rather than youth (15 to 24 years old, UN, 2003). Indeed even the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which outlines the rights for children and youth, predominately refers to children rather than youth (UN, 1989) and only to those youth under 18 years old (UNICEF, 2011). There is also a lack of disaggregated data to demonstrate the heterogeneity of youth by gender, location and other factors (ibid).

2.3.3 Situation facing youth in countries in Africa

Youth face challenges relating to unemployment, poverty, access to school (particularly at higher education levels), health and conflict and war (McLean and Fraser, 2009; UNICEF, 2011; World Bank, 2007). The high unemployment rates in Africa are often presented as the main challenge for youth and there is an emphasis on getting youth into work (UN, 2011; World Bank, 2007). However policies over-emphasise the formal sector (Kamat, 2007) and the reality for youth is often having multiple livelihoods linked to both the formal and the informal economy (Agan et al, 2012), with the informal economy becoming an increasing source of jobs for youth (Adams, 2008).

Youth also face other challenges which act as barriers to their progress. For example, studies reveal their vulnerability to HIV and AIDS, teenage pregnancy, gender inequality, and a lack of investment in health and education (DANIDA, 2007; Maguire, 2007; UNICEF, 2011; World Bank, 2007). Girls face a particular challenge despite increasing awareness of the goal of gender equality as discrimination exists at home, in school and in the workplace (DANIDA, 2007; Maguire, 2007; World Bank, 2007). McGee and Greenhalf (2011) argue that gender inequality is underpinned by the predominant focus on boys in society which over time leads to decreases in the self-esteem of girls which in turn acts as a barrier to their participation. There can also be

substantial differences between a youth that lives in a rural area and an urban area (Bame Nsamang, 2002). Agan et al (2012) note that in rural areas children more often become 'adults' at an early age, signified by the take-up of adult activities - having a child, getting married, going to work, being responsible for younger siblings.

Negative images of youth, associated with unemployment and conflict, persist in some areas of society (Diouf, 2005). African youth can be seen as a 'Lost Generation' (Cruise O'Brien, 1996; McGee and Greenhalf, 2011). Youth can lack social status where they are considered to be in "*a process of becoming rather than being*" (Honwana and De Boeck, 2005: 3). Other literature suggests that these built-in prejudices contribute to forms of exclusion: economic, political and social (Klasen, n.d.; McLean and Fraser, 2009). Youth are often marginalised and at the edge of the central economic, social and political aspects of life, their participation is obstructed and their voices are going unheard (Honwana and De Boeck, 2005). When youth feel they are not listened to or their opinion is not valued, they can develop a sense that society does nothing for them which can result in them finding ways to change the system from the bottom up (McGee and Greenhalf, 2011)

Some of the literature on youth also recognises that the situation for youth has begun to change, with youth beginning to participate at different levels of society through their own volition as well as through NGO efforts, and evaluates what spaces are created for youth to participate (DFID-CSO Working Group¹⁴, 2010; McGee and Greenhalf, 2011; Thomas and Percy-Smith, 2010). However, such literature questions the extent to which this moves beyond creating a space for youth's voices to a real influence that can impact on the power relations and systems that govern the life of a youth (McGee and Greenhalf, 2011; Thomas and Percy-Smith, 2010). This is attributed to

¹⁴ Authors included Sally Hartley as a consultant

youth not being seen as 'active citizens': while youth may use their agency in some decision making processes their right and ability to participate in the day to day aspects of their lives is not recognised (ibid).

In summary the experiences of youth differ - across the globe, within a country and even within one community or family (Bradford Brown and Larson, 2002; Thomas and Percy-Smith, 2010; UN, 2003). Their experiences are affected by the social, economic, cultural and historical context in which they live: their socio-economic position, poverty and employment opportunities, access to education and health facilities, their local community, their family life and their peers as well as the broader structures of government and civil society actors (ibid).

2.3.4 Youth agency

As discussed previously, much policy focuses on the contribution that youth can make to development (DANIDA, 2007; UN, 2011; World Bank, 2007). Policies propose that youth need to be given opportunities to build their capabilities and their livelihoods and engage in decision making if they are to make a positive contribution to society (World Bank, 2007). This suggests that, given the 'right' opportunities, youth will choose to use their agency in a way that contributes to development now and in the future. This misunderstands agency. It overestimates the autonomy of an individual's agency, and underestimates the influence of the context that frames the use of agency (White and Choudhury 2007; 2010). Conversely much of the academic literature on youth (Honwana 2006; Honwana and De Boeck, 2005; White and Choudhury 2007; 2010) looks at how youth express their agency, what influences their use of agency and how it is developed. Reflecting the discussions on agency in Section 2.1.4, this literature underlines the social relationships that a youth has and how their position of power relative to other people or

the group (the extent to which they are dependent on or autonomous from the other entity) will affect how they use their agency (Honwana, 2005; Thomas and Percy-Smith 2010).

Youth therefore use their agency in ways that do not conform to mainstream understandings of progress and development in society. Instead, it is argued that youth involvement in cases of civil conflict, (sometimes violent) can be viewed as part of their struggle to change to political and societal systems (Abdullah, 2008; Honwana, 2008). For example, youth movements played a core role in the struggle for independence in Mozambique (Honwana, 2008). In a study of street children in Bangladesh, White and Choudhury (2010) also examine an example of agency enacted through violence. These examples emphasise the different ways agency can be expressed and also the power relations that exist between youth as well as between youth and adults.

Honwana (2005, following de Certeau 1984) uses these ideas to draw on concepts of tactical and strategic agency to conceptualise youth behaviour¹⁵. If youth are in a weak position and thus have few options open to them, they will tend to take up any opportunities as they arise, and manipulate the situation as best they can (referred to as tactical agency) (ibid). In a more powerful position they are able to consider their options and the impact on their long term plans and think about with whom they want to build relationships (referred to as strategic agency) (Honwana, 2005; 2006; Utas, 2005).

In summary policy documents (such as World Bank, 2007) call for youth to develop their strategic agency, to develop goals and pursue them and positively contribute to development - but they assume that youth want to be part of mainstream development processes even though they may have different agendas. Youth can be excluded and marginalised and consequently operate with

¹⁵ This reflects Kabeer's (2005: 15) concepts of "passive" and "active" forms of agency.

limited power which means they operate within the realms of tactical agency. Changing this depends on a different social context emerging. *"Their efforts must be crafted into the agenda"* (Bame Nsamenang, 2002: 97). Opportunities assumed to be beneficial by others may not be accepted by youth who may have other ideas about what they need and may use their agency to express this.

This section has prompted several key questions which inform this research: To what extent is youth's use of agency affected by their position and the social relations in which they live? Do they view co-operatives as relevant to their lives and the changes that they want to make? To what extent do co-operatives enable youth to use their agency? What effects do co-operatives have on youth and their development?

2.4 Youth and co-operatives

In this section I bring together the preceding discussions to analyse examples of youth's engagement with co-operatives in countries in Africa and thus begin to discuss ways in which this engagement can be conceptualised. The literature on existing youth co-operatives in Africa provides a starting point and draws attention to the different impacts of membership, particularly access to livelihoods, income and learning opportunities. However it is limited in the extent to which it critically assesses the engagement, the exogenous and endogenous factors which influence youth and co-operatives, and does not engage with academic theory.

2.4.1 What can co-operatives do for youth and what can youth do for co-operatives?

In 2011 the theme of the International Day of Co-operative was: *"Youth, the future of co-operative enterprise"* (ICA, 2011: 1). The theme highlights the increasing importance given to youth in the co-operative movement. They are seen as the next generation of co-operators, whose interest

and membership in co-operatives is central to the future sustainability of the movement (ICA, 2011; Smith et al, 2005). Co-operatives provide opportunities for youth to set up businesses, responding to the challenge of unemployment and poverty (ibid). It is also argued that engaging with youth from an early stage can build their life-long commitment to co-operatives (Smith et al, 2005). Chambo (2007) goes further and argues that youth co-operatives can develop grass-roots and values-based forms of co-operatives. However, whilst there is recognition of the role youth can play in the revival of co-operatives in Africa, to date, the efforts to engage youth have been limited (Chambo, 2007; Chambo et al, n.d.; Smith et al, 2005). Co-operatives remain the domain of adults, and youth who do join generally remain hidden (Chambo et al, n.d.; Smith et al, 2005). Youth also remain mostly unaware of the co-operative model or do not see it as relevant to their lives, which is, according to the ICA (2011), perpetuated by the co-operative approach and operating principles not being part of school curricula.

2.4.2 Existing knowledge of youth and co-operatives

There are existing examples of youth engaging with co-operatives from Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Uganda and South Africa¹⁶. This has generated a limited literature (Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Smith et al, 2005; Umsobomvu Youth Fund 2003), mainly in the form of organisational reports or brief case studies¹⁷.

The reports provide examples of youth co-operatives being set up in a range of sectors including agriculture, savings and credit, tailoring, crafts, building and tourism, and in some cases they also

¹⁶ At the time of writing there were also incidences of youth co-operatives in Swaziland and Zambia (Obl ICA Regional Conference, 2010). However, documentation either did not exist or was not accessible.

¹⁷ Many of these feature in the collection by Smith et al (2005) and tend to be brief but others provide more detailed analysis, particularly Umsobomvu Youth Fund (2003) in its study of 90 youth co-operatives in South Africa, and Mtonga-Mukumbuta in his study of 61 youth co-operatives in Uganda. Musinguzi (2006) reflects on the same 61 co-operatives in Uganda. There are also some reflections on annual youth forums held with around 150 youth co-operators in Lesotho by Wilson (2008), 'Maphamoli (2008) and Matla (2009).

provide non-profit services particularly linked to HIV and AIDS (‘Maphmoli, 2008; Matla, 2009; Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Smith et al, 2005; Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2003; Wilson, 2008). The core reason youth, who in many cases face unemployment and lack finances for basic needs such as food and education, establish or join a co-operative is to increase their income (Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Smith et al, 2005; Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2003; Wilson, 2008). However, pertinent to this research is that youth have other motivations for being in a co-operative (ibid). Youth establish/join a co-operative as they appreciate the way the co-operative operates democratically and that members are seen as equal (ibid). One study found that the values of the co-operative align with youth’s own values and aspirations (Smith et al, 2005), and that being in a co-operative enables them to participate in and provide support for their community (Smith et al, 2005; Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2003).

Within these studies there is also a theme around learning. Youth report developing a range of skills: business skills relating to running the co-operative, personal development such as becoming more responsible with the ability to make decisions, and skills relating to citizenship such as how to elect leaders fairly (‘Maphamoli, 2008; Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Smith et al, 2005; Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2003). However a lack of skills is also cited as a challenge. Youth do not have the skills they need to run a business (ibid). One argument presented is that, because youth lack skills, mixing them with adults enables them to learn from experienced co-operators (Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2003).

The literature indicates that there are multiple benefits resulting from being a member of a co-operative, for example, the generation of livelihoods and learning, and opportunities to participate in the community. These multiple impacts on youth reflect the growing premise (which was discussed in Section 2.2.) that co-operatives provide a person with the potential to

enhance both their economic and their social development (Birchall and Simmons, 2009; Chambo et al, n.d.; Kyazze, 2010).

The literature also highlights that youth co-operatives are supported by a range of organisations; NGOs, co-operative organisations (non-government and government) and international donors. These organisations play key roles in the initial set up and ongoing support and development of youth co-operatives. While these linkages are not explored in any depth in these studies this emphasises that youth co-operatives do not operate in isolation and are part of a network of organisations which influence their development.

In summary these studies indicate, but do not allow for, a detailed or critical analysis of youth's engagement with co-operatives. In particular, the studies focus on the 'group' and this creates difficulty for making assessments at the level of the individual, for differentiating experiences between individuals and being able to understand individual use of agency. The studies also lack information on the context and they focus on the impact of the co-operative on the youth and do not assess the extent to which youth influence the co-operative structure. As a result key questions remain unanswered. To what extent do all members experience these impacts? Can the same impacts be traced across different co-operatives? In what ways do co-operatives affect youth's agency? How does youth's learning affect the thinking and development of co-operatives? What influences the development of youth co-operatives?

The existing literature is also of an empirical, practical and non-academic nature. The empirical approach is useful as it helps to generate themes which can guide the direction of the thesis. However, the studies do not assess youth's engagement with co-operatives theoretically which creates a challenge and an opportunity: to develop a conceptual framework for the thesis, and

one that will stand up to further use in related academic research and have policy relevance. In the next chapter I begin to explore this and begin to develop guiding ideas for the thesis.

2.4.3 Analysing youth engagement in co-operatives: the role of learning

Learning and its role in the development of agency and capabilities has been an underlying theme throughout this chapter. The literature reviewed in this chapter has suggested that learning is a key aspect of agency and of development and of co-operatives. The discussion in Section 2.1 highlights that a core aspect of people's agency in development is the knowledge and skills they have and the extent to which they can build their capabilities through learning, including non-formal processes as well as formal education. In Section 2.2, the literature on co-operatives suggests that learning and education are a central factor for success and for the revival of values-based co-operatives. In Section 2.3, the literature emphasises the need to find ways to educate youth as well as build the capabilities of youth to be leaders in development. Learning and knowledge are also recurring themes in this section – co-operatives provide youth with the opportunity to develop skills and knowledge relating to business but also to wider processes relating to participation and development.

There are strong cues from both the development and co-operative literature about the place of learning in development, and in enhancing agency and capabilities, of individuals, groups, including co-operatives, and, in this case, youth. However there are many empirical questions that need answering in terms of how learning takes place, how it enhances agency, how it contributes to development, and what obstacles there are. Even more, do settings such as co-operatives provide learning spaces for youth which enhance both the co-operatives' as well as youth's agency in development? Despite the emphasis on education and learning in the co-operative literature there is, as yet, no analytical model that explains the place of education and learning in co-operatives (MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2009b) and the social processes of learning

are often ignored (Shaw, 2009b). The emphasis is on formal processes of learning which, while important, ignore the potential of interactions between members in generating learning (ibid). Such issues lie behind my research and the research questions that I outline in the conclusion to this chapter. The issues raised here are also the starting point for the development of the idea of co-operatives as a learning space which I discuss in the next chapter.

2.5 Conclusion and research questions

This chapter has reviewed existing literature on development, co-operatives and youth and provided the starting points to build guiding ideas for the thesis (which I discuss in the next chapter) provide a foundation for the analysis of youth and co-operatives.

The thesis aims to contribute detailed and critical knowledge on youth's engagement with co-operatives. It will provide knowledge on the broader impacts that co-operatives can have on learning for development – which is central to understanding the dynamics of the current revival of co-operatives in Africa. Drawing on people-centred and human development approaches, the core focus will be on whether co-operatives are a space that enables youth to learn, to build their knowledge and to use their agency to improve their lives in a range of ways that they value. In turn, the research will examine how youth engagement with co-operatives shapes the co-operatives and their place in local communities. These ideas are expressed in the research questions, first stated in Chapter 1, which form a foundation for the thesis:

1. Why and in what ways are youth engaging with co-operatives?
2. How is youth engagement with co-operatives affected by the broader social and institutional context?
3. In what ways are co-operatives learning spaces for youth?
4. What kinds of learning can be identified and how do they occur?

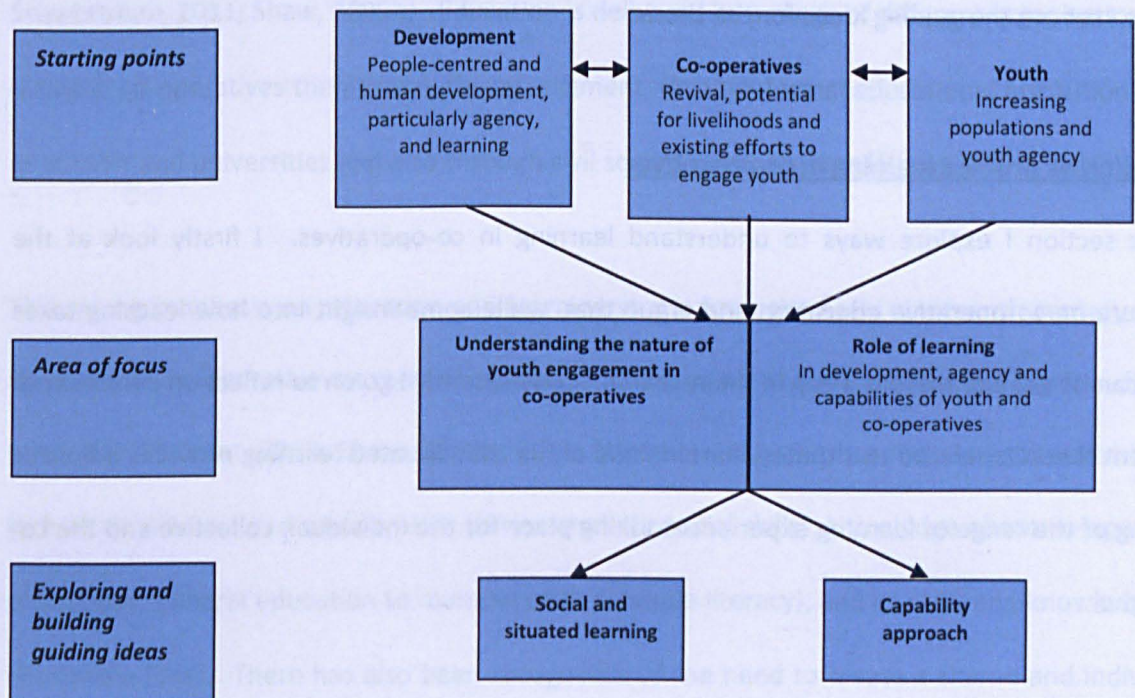
5. How and to what extent does learning in a co-operative develop the capabilities and agency of a youth and with what development impacts?
6. How does youth learning shape thinking and practices in co-operatives?

In the next chapter I draw primarily on the ideas of situated learning and the capability approach (part of the human development perspective) to develop the guiding ideas for investigating co-operatives as a learning space. These guiding ideas inform the analysis in Chapters 5 to 7 and the consolidation of the conceptual framework in Chapter 8.

3.0 Introduction

This chapter develops the guiding ideas for the thesis through a review of the literature on situated learning and the capability approach. This follows and builds on the argument put forward at the end of Chapter 2 that youth engagement with co-operatives can be framed and understood through learning. I argued there that knowledge and learning are drivers for development and co-operatives can potentially provide a space for youth learning. This chapter therefore sets out to discuss literature that can be used to analyse learning experiences and their impact on individuals, co-operatives and more widely on youth engagement with development in the community. Figure 2 illustrates the process of developing these guiding ideas through the literature.

Figure 2 - Process of building guiding ideas from the literature



In this chapter I argue that co-operatives can be understood as situated learning spaces. Theories of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Rainbird et al, 2004) indicate that learning in work environments occurs via interactions with other people and participation in the workplace. This learning takes place both individually and collectively and builds knowledge and skills for the individual and the organisation which in turn impacts on the way the organisation operates. I bring these ideas together with Sen's (1999) capability approach to expand the analysis of co-operatives and assess the extent to which learning in co-operatives provides the potential to influence the agency and capabilities of individuals.

This chapter is split into three sections. The first section explores how learning in co-operatives can be understood through theories relating to situated learning. The second section uses the capability approach to show how it can be combined with situated learning to investigate whether and how youth agency and capabilities are developed through the co-operative. In the final section I set out the guiding ideas for the thesis.

3.1 Exploring situated learning in co-operatives

In this section I explore ways to understand learning in co-operatives. I firstly look at the literature on co-operative education and argue that, while some insight into how learning takes place can be gained, there is a gap in the research. Consequently I go on to reflect on a number of different theories related to situated learning and argue that situated learning provides a holistic framing of the range of learning experiences taking place for the individual, collective and the co-operative.

3.1.1 Co-operative education

Within co-operative literature the term education is commonly used. While this term normally relates to formal educational processes such as classroom teaching, education within co-operative literature encompasses a range of learning experiences (Facer et al, 2011; Fairbairn, 1999; 2003; MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2009b; 2011; Woodin, 2011). Although lacking conceptualisation and empirical research, particularly in a developing country context, literature on education in co-operatives does provide some insights as to the nature of this learning within co-operatives.

As discussed in Chapter 2, education is pivotal to the development of a co-operative (Chambo et al, n.d.; ILO, 2010; MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2009b; 2011). Much education is primarily for co-operatives themselves - their members, the staff and board - although there is also recognition of the need to educate the general public about co-operatives (ILO, 2010; MacPherson, 2003; Schwettman, 2011; Shaw, 2009b). Education is delivered by a range of different organisations in a country: co-operatives themselves, the government, through formal educational institutions such as schools and universities and also through civil society organisations (Shaw, 2009a; 2009b).

This strong emphasis on education and learning stems from the early nineteenth century when the modern co-operative movement started, and it is seen to have manifested itself in diverse ways (MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2009b; 2011; Woodin, 2011). It has included the provision of technical skills to run a co-operative (for example financial skills), knowledge about co-operative philosophy, general education to members (for example literacy), and as skills and knowledge for citizenship (ibid). There has also been recognition of the need to create a shared and individual sense of co-operator identity (Woodin, 2011). Learning is described as occurring in a variety of formal and informal ways - via the provision of libraries, newspapers, reading and discussions

groups, as well formal programmes and qualifications (MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2009b; 2011; Woodin, 2011).

Whilst contemporary academic discussions of co-operative education are sparse, they can provide some further insights. Fairbairn (1999: 10) defines the education as both “conceptual” and “technical”. Conceptual relates to the philosophy of co-operatives, and includes the definition, values and principles but also how co-operatives relate to broader economic and societal processes. Technical education relates to how the co-operative runs and the skills needed for this. Fairbairn also argues that there is a link between education and co-operative values. This is supported elsewhere. Facer et al (2011) argue both that education and learning should be in line with co-operative values and that, conversely, knowledge of values comes through learning.

The broader dimensions and impacts of education and learning are also analysed, between the co-operative and its members, and between members (building trust among them) (Fairbairn, 2003; Stefanson, 2002). This has also been explored beyond the boundaries of co-operatives, in how people can build knowledge and skills which enable and empower them to participate in broader political and social issues outside of the realms of the co-operative (MacPherson, 2003; Stefanson, 2002). In this way learning is interpreted as a form of citizenship education, particularly in reference to learning about democracy (Facer et al, 2011; Smith, 2004; Yeo, 2003).

Conversely to the literature discussed above, within the co-operative movement there is a narrower focus on technical skills through formal processes of learning and developing skills to run the co-operative (rather than broader knowledge and skills relating to citizenship) (Woodin, 2011). This is reflected in the fifth principle of co-operatives (Table 1), ‘Education, Training and Information’, which states that, ‘Co-operatives provide education, training for their members,

elected representatives, managers and employees so that they can contribute effectively to the development of their co-operatives....' (ICA, 1995). In an African context this limited focus on learning is also identified. The core providers of co-operative education are the Co-operative Colleges who exhibit a similar preoccupation with technical skills and external and formal learning (Shaw, 2009a). Furthermore their focus has been predominately on school leavers rather than the members of co-operatives though this is now beginning to change (ibid).

Some analysts have attempted to address the current challenges of defining and implementing learning in co-operatives, and within this literature internal and social experiences of learning are emphasised. MacPherson (2003) puts forward a concept of 'associative intelligence' to explain the nature of education taking place *within* a co-operative: the knowledge that is generated through members of the co-operative working together. However the concept does not provide a mechanism or approach for analysing these learning experiences and their wider impact. Whilst the concept begins to explore what is distinctive (Shaw, 2009b) the model has not been developed in any detail (a gap that this research seeks to fill) and there are no examples of it having been applied to a particular case study. Others also argue for a greater emphasis on internal and social experiences of learning. Shaw (2009b) presents a 'Typology for Co-operative Education' and, whilst it predominately focuses on formal processes of education, she also recognises a need to enhance this typology through research into the nature of the learning experiences *in* the co-operative. Facer et al's (2011: 16) conceptualisation of co-operative education refers to "three purposes for co-operative education" that includes "learning through co-operation", which relates to learning through the situated experiences of being in a co-operative.

In summary, this literature provides starting points for understanding learning in co-operatives, however, as discussed, it is limited. I aim to build on this existing knowledge and contribute to the gap in conceptualising learning in co-operatives particularly internal social experiences of learning between members. My next step is to turn to research and theories that relate to situated learning, applying the ideas to a workspace such as a co-operative. I then focus on how the effects of such learning in co-operatives can be assessed.

3.1.2 Situated learning

Drawing on Lave and Wenger (1991), I argue that the concept of situated learning reflects the varied learning experiences that take place in co-operatives, particularly the learning between members. However I also argue that, in relation to learning in co-operatives, there are limitations in Lave and Wenger's concept of situated learning including the concept of communities of practice¹⁸. As a result I combine their work with other theories which I use to develop a more appropriate conceptual framing for this research.

The concept of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991) is a social theory of learning and centres on the relationship between learning and the social situation in which it occurs. It postulates that learning occurs in a social context as a person does things. Learning is not therefore an abstract process but inherent to a person participating in things and interacting with people. It reflects Kolb's (1984) idea that a person understands something as they experience it and that they relate their learning to the social situation within which they are experiencing it. The concept captures the idea of learning as a shared experience (rather than something that takes place in one person's head), through which knowledge is acquired and produced together

¹⁸ Whilst I make reference to communities of practice the core focus of this research is situated learning. The focus is therefore on Lave and Wenger's earlier work (1991) however I do refer to communities of practice and some of Wenger's later ideas (1998, 2006) when they enhance aspects of situated learning that I am discussing.

as a group. Essentially learning takes place through social relations but is given 'structure' by the nature and type of work with which it may be associated. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that this way of learning is central to how people understand and develop the ability to do their job.

These ideas represented a shift from how learning had previously been conceptualised (Fuller, 2007; Hughes et al, 2007). Emphasis had been on the transfer of knowledge from the person with the knowledge (i.e. teacher) to the person without the knowledge (i.e. pupil), and the focus was on learning as a linear process relating to an individual and their acquisition of knowledge (ibid). By contrast, situated learning focuses on analysing the generation of learning and knowing as a group activity (Engeström, 2004) and has brought together learning with practice: *"The central issue for learning is becoming a practitioner, not learning about practice"* (Brown and Duguid 1991: 48).

This concept of situated learning reflects the discussion in the co-operative education literature of learning taking place through the act of co-operation (Facer et al, 2011; Woodin, 2011). Members learn through engaging in experiences in the co-operative. Using situated learning to explore co-operatives therefore helps unpick the complexities of social experiences of learning in a way that literature on co-operative education has as yet been unable to do.

3.1.3 Extending understanding of situated learning

Whilst the fundamental principles of Lave and Wenger's (1991) work provide a way to conceptualise learning in co-operatives, there are also some gaps in the extent to which it can capture what happens in a co-operative, which I explain later in the section. Situated learning has

also informed the literature on workplace learning (Rainbird et al, 2004)¹⁹. In using situated learning as their foundation, Rainbird et al (2004) argue that workplaces create sites for learning, but they also take a critical perspective. My discussion in this section also brings in other related literature on learning (for example Argyris and Schön, 1978; Baker et al, 2005; Brown and Duguid, 1991; 2001; Entwistle, 1997; Johnson, 2007; Johnson and Wilson, 2009; Kolb, 1984).

Learning collectively

As outlined, Lave and Wenger (1991) postulated that learning happens through participation in the workplace, through interactions, shared knowledge and experiences and this is what sustains someone's ability to do their job rather than their individual learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991). They developed the concept of communities of practice to encapsulate the idea of learning in a group and shared learning experiences (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). The word community reflects the idea of a group of people having a shared interest and common ways of communicating which enables them to carry out their work or practice (Wenger, 1998)²⁰.

To explain the experiences of learning within groups, Lave and Wenger (1991) introduced the idea of old timers and newcomers within their theory of situated learning. Knowledge is interpreted as relating to expertise: people with less experience learn from people with more experience. Old timers, through multiple processes, enable newcomers to learn about their particular trade²¹. This learning then helps a person move from participating at the periphery of the group to full

¹⁹ This is not one theory but a set of theorists putting forward their ideas on learning in the workplace (Billet, 2004; Engeström, 2004; Eraut, 2004; Evans et al, 2004; Fuller et al, 2004; Fuller and Unwin, 2004; Young, 2004). The book aims to provide case studies of learning in a range of organisations; both public and private and located in different geographical locations (Fuller et al, 2004). These ideas have been built on by Fuller (2007), Fuller and Unwin (2009; 2011; 2012) and Feistead et al (2009a; 2009b).

²⁰ The use of communities is a metaphor, people do not all have to be physically in the same place to be identified as a community of practice (Johnson, 2007).

²¹ Lave and Wenger's (1991) research focused on mainly apprenticeships and more traditional occupations such as midwifery.

participation as an experienced person. This can involve the old timer talking to the newcomer about their job and also allowing the newcomer to participate in their practice. People have to be accepted as 'legitimate' and are then allowed to participate. At times, learning for the newcomer could be restricted by another participant, as possessing knowledge puts participants in powerful positions and to pass knowledge on is to therefore pass on power.

Whilst Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning is useful for understanding situations where the learning culture is to transfer existing (and often tacit) knowledge and expertise (as in apprenticeships), it has been argued that Lave and Wenger do not address adequately the complexity of learning (Engeström, 2004; Fuller, 2007; Fuller and Unwin, 2004; Johnson, 2007). Lave and Wenger's (1991) ideas suggest there is a vertical flow of information from the expert to non-expert, from the long standing employee to the newer one. Fuller and Unwin (2004) point out that learning also flows horizontally between workers. The role of expert can change, depending on what is being learnt, and people come and go, suggesting learning cannot be confined to an expert and a learner (Fuller, 2007). In fact Wenger's (1998) later work also expanded understanding of learning in communities of practice to include horizontal flows of learning between co-workers. Wilson (2006: 517) suggests that people can "learn from" but they can also "learn with". The term "collegial" is used to describe learning between practitioners (Johnson and Wilson, 2009: 68). These ideas suggest that people can be of equal status in an organisation and still learn from one another or together.

The power relations that exist in an organisation will influence collective learning. When Lave and Wenger (1991) make mention of power, they only explore it within the boundaries of the communities of practice and the processes of participation²² (Johnson, 2007). The term

²² In fact they acknowledge that this is an under-developed part of their work (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

community and the idea of knowledge passing from old timers to newcomers give a sense of stability in learning (Engeström, 2004; Fuller, 2007). However whilst people will have shared interests, they will also have their own interests that in turn relate to broader political and social processes within the organisation, which affect the extent to which they are willing to engage in learning (Billet, 2004; Fuller, 2007; Fuller et al, 2004; Fuller and Unwin, 2004; Johnson, 2007). I return to this when I look at the agency of learners later in the section.

Central to the concept of people learning collectively is the similarity between learners, that is learners' shared interests, and shared ways of communicating which act as a foundation for their learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Johnson and Wilson (2009) point out that the similarities between people in terms of their prior experience or prior learning, values or expectations enable them to build a sense of trust and a shared narrative from which to communicate. This trust can come through having shared values and also through learning together (Wilson, 2006). The co-operative education literature (as discussed earlier) also alludes to the role of trust in enabling collective learning (Fairbairn, 2003; Stefanson, 2002).

There is also recognition of the role difference can play in learning (Baker et al, 2005; Engeström, 2004; Johnson, 2007; Johnson and Wilson, 2009). Research indicates that differences between people can both negatively affect a group, for instance emphasising power dynamics, as well as create a fertile bed for learning to take place (Baker et al, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Johnson and Wilson, 2009). The difference between people's views mean they learn new things from one another as they compare and contrast their views, knowledge and skills and thus develop new ideas (Baker et al, 2005; Engeström, 2004; Johnson, 2007; Johnson and Wilson, 2009). Johnson (2007) argues that learning spaces are in fact contested spaces, where the difference between

people underpins learning. This difference between people and the learning experiences can also be a key factor in transforming thinking and relationships (Engeström, 2004; Johnson, 2007).

These ideas have provided the foundation for the concept of 'conversational Learning' (Baker et al, 2005)²³. Baker et al (2005) argue that people learn through conversations which create a space for difference between people's ideas to be communicated and explored. Conversational learning is linked to Kolb's (1984) concept of experiential learning: Baker et al (2005) state that one way people make sense of their experience and process meaning is through conversations. However Johnson (2007: 284) points out that conversation can also act as a barrier; conversations have "boundaries" relating to the purpose of the conversation or the norms for how conversations take place which can influence who can speak and what can be said.

Agency and role of the individual

The literature argues that individuals are not passive learners; they also influence the learning in the workplace (Billet, 2004; Eraut, 2004; Fuller and Unwin, 2004). A person can choose not to be part of learning or they can choose to play an active role in learning (ibid). Fuller and Unwin (2004: 127) relate these choices to what they call "learning territories": people decide whether or not they want to learn, based on their past experiences and beliefs about learning (in home, work and classroom). This resonates with Kolb's (1984) idea that experience on its own does not create learning - there are also processes of reflecting on it and processing it, in which a person's learning territory has an influence. Individuals can influence their own learning, the learning of others and will have different experiences of learning (Fuller, 2007).

²³ Others place emphasis on the role of verbal communication in learning. Lave and Wenger (1991) refer to storytelling in creating shared knowledge and learning together. Fuller et al (2004) also place emphasis on the role of dialogue in learning.

Fuller and Unwin (2004) explore the meaning of learning for individuals, pointing out that learning is about the personal development of the individual as well as learning skills needed to do a job. Fuller and Unwin argue that learning can be enhanced if a person is involved in designing their job and their learning needs. However they caution about placing too much emphasis on individuals, in recognition that their agency will be influenced by the broader context of learning and the organisation. I discuss this aspect in more detail at the end of the section when I discuss the organisational dimension of learning.

Learning through networks

I have identified that analysis of learning can take place at an individual and a group level. However people initiate, and are part of, learning experiences that can and often do go beyond the group to other groups and organisations to find the information, knowledge and experience that they need (Brown and Duguid, 2001; Engeström, 2004; Fuller and Unwin 2004; Wenger, 1998).

The concepts of 'constellations of practice' (Wenger, 1998) and 'networks of practice' (Brown and Duguid, 2001) attempt to explain that people build their learning (and influence learning) through other organisations. Both these theories are essentially about a group being part of a network of groups that inform each other's practice – but still have the mutual interest and shared ideas and ways of communicating (ibid). Others go beyond these ideas and argue that learning takes place across boundaries (Engeström, 2004; Fuller, 2007; Fuller and Unwin, 2004) and within wider organisations and processes (Engeström, 2004). Engeström goes further (2004: 149), describing a wider "activity system" where an array of individuals, groups and organisations are present and the relationships and reactions within that system underpin the learning that takes place. It is here that Engeström (ibid) sees the potential for learning that leads to transformations in the way

a person, a group and an organisation thinks or does things (highlighting the interconnections between them). For most organisations the reality is elements of conflict as well as harmonious relations within the networks – where learning can take place through both types of relationship (Engeström, 2004; Johnson, 2007).

Identifying levels and types of learning and knowledge

Engeström's (2004) ideas on more transformative types of learning involve identifying levels of learning. These levels of learning, and the knowledge produced, are categorised by the 'depth' of the learning experience for the individual: learners absorb the information and make changes (or not) to their thinking and knowledge. Entwistle's (1997) framework is one approach to levels of learning. It describes how people approach their learning: surface, (reproduction of what is learnt), strategic (use of the knowledge for a different purpose) or deep (more critical evaluation of the information). It is important to note that learning is often more complicated than this framing suggests - for example people may engage in all three levels in any one incident of learning, or one level of learning might be the catalyst for the next level of learning in a different situation (Johnson and Wilson, 2009). Transformative learning can be interpreted as a deep approach to learning (Engeström, 2004), where there is a questioning of existing ideas and something new is introduced. It also relates to Macpherson's concept of associative intelligence, discussed in Section 3.1.1, where he argues that learning in the co-operative between members has the potential to generate new knowledge. Here he states that knowledge can be generated which changes how the co-operative is run but also influences how people live their own lives.

There is also a tangible dimension to analysing learning: the knowledge, understanding and skills that are developed. A useful step is to consider the concepts of tacit and explicit knowledge. Explicit knowledge is the more formalised and codified ways of knowing that can be more easily

communicated to others (Evans, et al 2004): for example, how a machine works or the procedures for undertaking a meeting.

Tacit knowledge²⁴ refers to embedded knowledge and skills that can be hard to identify (Johnson, 2007), which are often taken for granted (Mann, 2001), often relating to everyday experiences (ibid) and can be difficult to communicate to others (Evans et al, 2004). Evans et al (2004) argue that, whilst learning often goes beyond formal qualifications and includes tacit skills and knowledge, there is often failure to recognise these types of skills. The learner does not recognise them and they are not recognised in the workplace (ibid). As mentioned, this can be because they can be hard to identify (Johnson, 2007) but also because emphasis, particularly in a workplace, is often on the more formal qualifications (Fuller et al, 2004). This is an issue as tacit skills play a key role in a number of ways. Evans et al (2004) point out that tacit skills are central to transferring skills from one workplace to the next – as the skill to learn and participate are in themselves tacit in nature. Often if ways can be found to help people recognise their tacit skills and knowledge it can benefit the organisation and the individual (ibid). Moreover knowing how to use a theory or a piece of codified knowledge involves using tacit knowledge and a learning process to translate it and put it into action (Eraut, 2004; Evans et al, 2004).

The tacit nature of many aspects of situated learning, as with tacit knowledge, give it an “invisible character” which mean that whilst it is a core feature of the workplace it is often unrecognised (Felstead et al, 2009a: 4). This is reflected in studies of vocational learning in Africa. They have found that situated and social learning plays a central role in learning in small and informal businesses (Filipiak, 2007; Haan, 2006) but argue that this type of learning is “under-valued” and not “validated” as it is not recognised (Filipiak, 2007: 13).

²⁴ Polanyi's (1984: 4) seminal work drew attention to and explored tacit knowledge: “*we know more than we can tell*”.

The language used to describe different learning experiences can exacerbate the challenge of identifying and focusing on situated learning. Learning internal to the workplace (sometimes referred to as “on-the-job” learning (Fuller et al, 2004: 2-3)), is often described as informal or unstructured learning (Billet, 2004; Evans et al, 2004). External learning opportunities or training that takes place “off-the-job” (Fuller et al, 2004: 2-3), are seen as structured and planned. The term informal is misleading: on-the-job learning can be informal but it can also be intentional and planned (ibid). However this can lead to formal learning being prioritised and the learning internal to the organisation being seen in terms of what is “informal”, “unplanned”, “indirect” (Billet, 2004: 118). There is a need therefore to find ways to express the core significance of situated styles of learning for an organisation (ibid).

Holistic approach to learning

There is also debate as to the relative significance of different learning experiences in the workplace. As mentioned, Lave and Wenger’s work (1991) prioritises social experiences of learning and sees external and more formal processes of learning as less significant (Fuller and Unwin, 2004; Owen-Pugh, 2007). Billet (2004) concurs with this and thinks situated learning is the key to continuous learning in the workplace. A counter argument is made that it is important to recognise a range of learning experiences. There are differences between on- and off-the-job learning in terms of content and structure (Young, 2004) that make it crucial to consider both off-the-job and on-the-job processes to fully appreciate what is being learnt and how it is being learnt and the knowledge it creates (Felstead et al, 2009a; Fuller et al, 2004). The idea of an “expansive learning environment” (Fuller and Unwin, 2004: 126)²⁵ embraces multiple learning experiences, external and internal, formal and informal and collective learning processes as well as learning

²⁵ Fuller and Unwin (2004) explain that they build on Engeström’s earlier work on expansive learning (such as Engeström, 2001) in an attempt to probe further into the complexities of creating a space for expansive learning.

acquired through crossing boundaries to other organisations. Fuller and Unwin (2012) go on to argue that an organisation that promotes an expansive learning environment for their workers will increase the potential and the quality of learning. A further argument is that, to fully understand learning in the workplace, analysis needs to extend beyond learning experiences to assess how learning is influenced by the context within which it is situated (Eraut, 2004; Felstead, 2009a; Fuller et al, 2004; Johnson and Wilson, 2009).

Organisational dimension of learning

The organisation has a central influence on learning. The organisation's attitude to learning, as well as the finances the organisation has, will influence the extent to which learning takes place and the type of learning that develops (Felstead et al 2009a; Fuller et al 2004; Fuller and Unwin, 2004). Furthermore learning can develop as 'organisational learning'²⁶. This differs but is connected to individual and collective learning. Organisational learning results from the individuals in the organisation learning but it is not simply a sum of individuals' learning (Argyris and Schön, 1978). For organisational learning to develop knowledge must become embedded in the organisation (Johnson and Wilson 2009) and the learning must lead to a change in the way that the organisation does things.

Argyris and Schön (1978) categorise two types of learning which centre on the interaction of the individual's learning with what the organisation learns. This learning is based on the interplay between a person's decisions and actions on the one hand and the recognised ways of behaving, plans and strategies of the organisation on the other. People may look for a solution that lies within the norms of the organisation (single-loop learning) or they can develop solutions based on

²⁶ There is an extensive literature on organisational learning (Brown and Duguid, 1991; Dodgson, 1993). It is not within the scope of this thesis to review this literature; however some aspects can provide a useful background when analysing learning in co-operatives.

questioning these norms (double-loop learning), depending on the extent to which a person's views reflects the organisation's. Johnson and Wilson (2009) go on to argue that double-loop learning necessitates that individuals develop enough self-confidence to be inclined and able to question the foundations on which they believe and operate but it also depends on the willingness of the organisation to accept new ways of thinking (ibid). The individual's learning therefore depends on whether the organisation creates a culture conducive to learning, where learning is supported by the organisation and people are willing to share knowledge, ideas and skills with each other (Dodgson 1993; Johnson and Wilson 2009).

Considering loops of learning is helpful for thinking about collective learning in co-operatives. It prompts analysis of the interplay between the individual and the organisation in learning and the extent to which co-operative members do more of the same, with some improvements, or whether they ask fundamental questions and make changes as a result of their learning. The issue for Argyris and Schön (1978) is the 'mismatch' between expected and actual results of action, which stimulates change.

In summary whilst organisations, including co-operatives, tend to focus on the technical and formal processes of learning, situated and social learning experiences play a core role in individual, collective and organisational learning but are often unrecognised. However the discussion in this section has emphasised that a workplace encompasses different types of learning. Learning is part of everyday work as well as formal learning which can be internally organised learning and externally driven opportunities for learning (Felstead et al, 2009a). This learning is influenced by the people in the workplace, as well as the organisation and the networks and the context in which the workplace is situated. Consequently theories relating to workplace learning, such as Rainbird et al (2004), enable me to conceptualise the situated

learning that goes on in collective spaces organised around work/enterprise, such as co-operatives.

However, these theories are limited in some aspects of this research. They focus on formal workplaces of mainly private sector organisations (Argyris and Schön, 1978; Felstead, 2009a) or make a division between public and private sector (Rainbird et al, 2004) which excludes the co-operative form (which as discussed in Chapter 2 has a mixture of economic and social goals). Furthermore in an African context, co-operatives (particularly youth co-operatives, as I will discuss in Chapter 5) operate with less formalised structures and even without a formal workplace. Consequently I use the term workspace rather than workplace to differentiate between the type of work environments the literature refers to and the work environments created by co-operatives in this research²⁷. Furthermore whilst situated learning enables analysis of what is learnt and how, it does not provide a means to analyse how learning influences agency and capabilities, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, is a central concern of this research. I therefore focus on the capability approach in the next section and argue that it can add to the analysis by looking at the impact of learning for individuals within and beyond the boundaries of the co-operative.

3.2 Expanding analysis of learning in co-operatives: the capability approach

This section discusses how the capability approach can be used as a way to analyse the role of learning for development processes, in particular to assess the role of learning for enhancing capabilities and enabling people to make valued changes to their lives. The section, which builds on the outline of the capability approach in Chapter 2, begins by defining the capability approach further, particularly the aspects of capabilities, functionings and achieved functionings. I go on to

²⁷ I discuss the use of the term 'space' again in Section 3.3.

look at education (and learning) as a capability, the influences on converting capabilities to achieved functionings and the role of groups in developing capabilities. I will end by looking at how the capability approach can be used for analysis of empirical data.

3.2.1 Using the capability approach to understand the impact of learning on development

As discussed in Chapter 2, the capability approach offers a dynamic understanding of development (or well-being) interpreting development as that which concerns what a person is and what they could be. It is therefore insightful to focus on and analyse the freedom individuals have to change their lives in ways they value, what changes people make and how they make those decisions (Sen, 1999; 2009). Capabilities refer to what a person can be, can achieve and they are made up of functionings, which are the different aspects of how a person lives, whether they eat, whether they go to school, and their self-confidence (Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 1999). Sen distinguishes capabilities, the unrealised potential forms of functionings from the achieved functionings, what a person does (Sen, 1999). The difference between achieved functionings and capabilities is "*the difference between potential and outcome*" (Walker, 2006: 165), which is based on the resources, agency and freedoms people have (Kabeer, 1999).

The capability approach represents a plural approach to well-being and identifies a range of dimensions in a person's life (Robeyns, 2005); basic capabilities include aspects of a person's life such as food and education (those which relate to survival and escaping poverty), while more complex capabilities relate to issues such as participation in community and society (ibid). These complex capabilities relate to a person making deep-rooted changes in their life, making strategic choices about life which in turn have a deeper effect and can be seen as processes of empowerment (Kabeer, 1999).

As discussed in Chapter 2 I am interested in the role of learning in the development of agency and capabilities and, as discussed in this chapter in Section 3.1.2, I am particularly interested in participation in situated and social processes of learning in a workspace. However, Sen's emphasis in the capability approach is on processes of formal education, focusing on basic education (literacy and acquisition of knowledge) attained in schools (Unterhalter, 2003; Walker, 2006). Education in the capability approach is not clearly defined and fails to include wider experiences of education, particularly more tacit types of knowledge and different ways and locations that learning processes occur (Walker, 2006). Furthermore there is a tendency to associate education with increasing freedoms when in fact it can create barriers to freedom – for example access to school or experiences at school (Unterhalter, 2003).

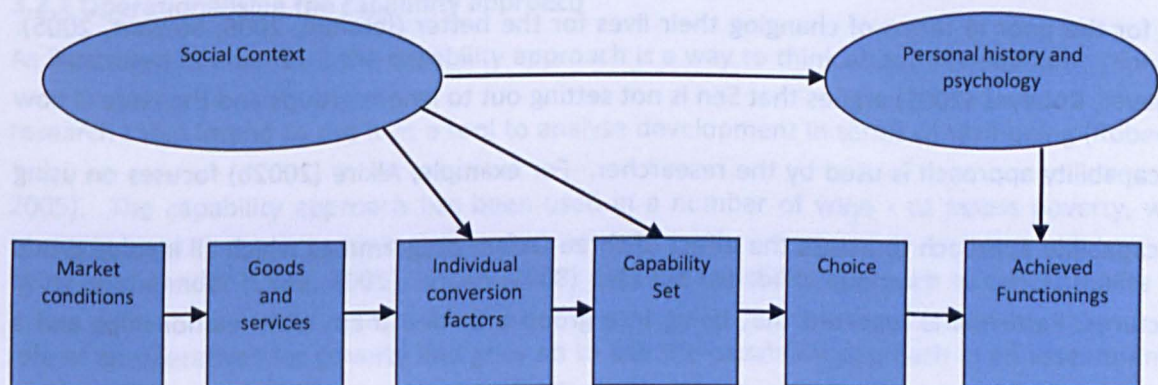
Despite this narrow interpretation, education is also recognised as central to well-being and the development of capabilities (Sen, 1992; Unterhalter, 2003; Walker 2006). Sen (1992) recognises education as a capability in its own right and also its catalytic role in the support and development of other capabilities. For example, it can enhance economic capabilities through increasing the potential for a person to find a job (ibid) and can enable people to participate in political and social processes in the community and society (Gasper and Van Staveren, 2003; Walker, 2006).

Walker's (2006) study of students in schools in South Africa aims to develop an understanding of the role of education in building capabilities. Although this study focuses on formal education it provides information on the areas youth (in an African country) value and the type of capabilities they can develop through learning (albeit in a formal school setting). The capabilities are classified as autonomy, knowledge, social relations, respect and recognition, aspiration, voice, bodily integrity, bodily health, emotional integrity and emotions (Walker, 2006: 179). Youth associate these capabilities with increased ability to find a job and make decisions, increased

motivation for life, increased willingness and confidence to participate and voice opinion. Walker's study also explains how education (and learning) can affect a young person, relating to formal and explicit knowledge as well as personal and tacit knowledge and development - although she does not delve into how these capabilities were developed.

Inherent to the capability approach is that each person's definition of well-being and their ability to achieve it is different – people may have the same resources but use them in different ways because they choose to or because they are restricted in how they can use them (Kabeer, 1999). As discussed in Chapter 2 this is due to their agency and individual make-up but it is also because everybody is affected by the social and political relations and structures in which they live, which in turn affect their freedoms (Dreze and Sen, 2002; Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 1999; 2009). Robeyns' work (2005) adds to this by introducing the concept of conversion factors. These are factors that influence the process of using resources to expand capabilities and achieve functionings. Robeyns' model (see Figure 3) emphasises that the individual - their personal characteristics (i.e. level of education), their resources, how they choose to use their agency plus the broader social context - will influence the process of converting capabilities to achieved functionings.

Figure 3 - Representation of a person's capability set and their social and personal context



Adapted from Robeyns (2005: 98)

In summary the capability approach can be used in the context of co-operatives to assess the role of learning in building capabilities and achieving functionings in areas of life that youth value. It can further assess the influences of youth agency and the broader social context on these processes. In turn the extended conceptualisation of situated learning in the last section suggests that education in the capability approach would be enriched by looking at learning more holistically and recognising tacit and social experiences of learning that a person engages in through everyday experiences. Examining learning in this way can help to explain how individuals develop their capabilities and achieve valued functionings, including their agency and ability to take action for development outside as well as inside the co-operative. I now turn to look briefly at the role of groups in the development of capabilities which is a core debate with the capability approach literature and is of relevance to this research as co-operatives are group structures.

Groups and capabilities

There is some debate as to whether capabilities can be collective as well as individual. As this research is set in the context of groups it is important to discuss the collective as well as the individual dimensions of capabilities. Sen's work on the capability approach is said to focus on the individual at the expense of the group: he does not discuss how being in a group affects the building of an individual's capabilities and as such can be seen not to recognise the role groups play for the poor in terms of changing their lives for the better (Ibrahim, 2006; Stewart, 2005). However, Robeyns (2005) argues that Sen is not setting out to ignore groups and the issue is how the capability approach is used by the researcher. For example, Alkire (2002b) focuses on using the capability approach to assess the effect of three Oxfam programmes which all involve group structures. Participants reported that being in a group provided them with relationships and a sense of solidarity and support for one another when problems occur, and an opportunity to discuss and share problems which helped with their decision making.

Stewart (2005) elucidates more on the role of groups and argues that groups are central to the development of capabilities and therefore the capability approach. She explains this by putting forward the notion that being in a group can: 1) “influence well-being”, through the positive effects on agency that being in a group can bring; 2) “directly build capabilities”, through tackling market issues and claims issues through collective bargaining power; 3) influence the value that people place on things and the things that they choose (Stewart 2005: 190). Ibrahim (2006) agrees that groups can build collective capabilities but goes further to say that they require the agency of the individuals as well as the structure of the collective. The sum of the individual agencies can be seen to create the synergy of the collective agency. She goes on to define a collective capability as one where the whole group benefits, arguing that collective agency and collective capabilities can lead to change at a local level (reflecting the social change that Sen says can only happen at a global level). This reflects Fukuda-Parr’s (2003) ideas that social change is often a result of group action.

My primary use of the capability approach will be to assess the role of learning on individual capabilities, however I will also reflect on the role of the group (co-operative) in enhancing both individual and collective learning.

3.2.2 Operationalising the capability approach

As illustrated in Chapter 2 the capability approach is a way to think about development. For this research I also intend to use it as a tool to analyse development in terms of well-being (Robeyns, 2005). The capability approach has been used in a number of ways - to assess poverty, well-being, and gender (Clark, 2005). Vicari (2008) uses the capability approach to conceptualise the role of co-operatives for poverty and goes on to use the capability approach in an assessment of

co-operatives in Brazil (Burchi and Vicari, 2009)²⁸. The argument is made that the capability approach can reflect co-operatives' potential for increasing members' participation in the social, political and community aspects of life (ibid).

However, there is debate on how to operationalise the capability approach (Alkire, 2002a; 2005; Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Gasper, 2002; Nussbaum, 1993). Sen will not define capabilities or state which is more important to the well-being of a person (Sen, 2004). As such he is often criticised for not having a list of capabilities and attempts have been made to fill this gap (Nussbaum, 2000). Sen (1993; 2004) defends his position by saying that he does not think having a list is appropriate as the point of the capability approach is that it recognises difference in people and their situations and as such the capability approach should be used and situated in the context of the analysis for which it is being used.

Others offer insight into how to manage the issue of lists in the capability approach. Clark (2005) makes the point that asking different people about their individual conceptions of capabilities outlines that there is commonality between what people value. Alkire (2002a) thinks a list can be useful for policy and also as a basis for empirical assessments and when it is needed it should be developed with the participants whose lives are being evaluated and reflect the context of the research. She therefore argues against a unilateral approach and places emphasis on the person using the capability approach. Alkire (2002a; 2002b; 2005) makes the point that while there are gaps relating to the capability approach, this relates to the complexity of the issues that the capability approach deals with. In terms of this research, these debates emphasise that assessments about capabilities and achievements should be made from the perspective of the

²⁸ In their study they assess if capabilities built in the co-operative can be transferred outside it, namely to the household. They found that in the area of decision making and finances members could transfer capabilities. They also found that these processes were influenced by the personal characteristics of people such as age, gender, level of education and social status.

youth participants, finding out about what they value and whether membership of a co-operative impacts on these areas.

In summary the capability approach conceptually ties in with how co-operatives and development are viewed in this research. As discussed in Chapter 2: 1) co-operatives are examples of individuals using their agency to establish a collective business to improve their lives; 2) co-operatives have economic as well as social impacts on members and their development. The capability approach's focus on people having agency and the plural view of well-being therefore resonates with the co-operative form. The capability approach provides a foundation from which values, agency, capabilities and functionings can be used to assess the extent to which learning in co-operatives impacts on development. The next section shows how the capability approach can be brought together with situated learning through the development of guiding ideas for the thesis.

3.3 Guiding ideas for the thesis

In this final section of the chapter I present the guiding ideas for this thesis. These ideas form the foundation for the analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and build towards the conceptual framing for this research (Chapter 8). They summarise and build on the discussions in the preceding sections of this chapter. I begin the section looking particularly at the use of the concept of 'space' and go on to present the concept of co-operatives as a learning space. I go on to explain how analysis of the learning space will be expanded and contextualised. Central to this is bringing situated learning and capabilities together to assess whether learning for development takes place in a co-operative. It also relates to recognising the range of learning experiences taking place in the workspace and the influences on the learning space.

The concept of spaces has been used in different ways to identify and analyse both theoretical ideas as well as real life situations. I introduced the term workspace in Section 3.1.2 to capture the nature of the work environment created by co-operatives in the context of this research. The concept of a space enables identification of an already created space like a classroom (a physical space) or it can be used to draw a boundary around something to help understand it – focusing on an area for analysis (a more abstract use of the concept) (Johnson and Wilson, 2006). The use of the concept of space also provides a foundation for analysis²⁹. It prompts investigation and questions of what is going on in the space, why the space was created, who is there, what influences the space, and what the history of the space is and the people within it. These in turn are affected by external entities and processes (Cornwall, 2002). In the context of this research the use of the concept of a space frames what is taking place in the co-operative for youth – from which analysis can be conducted. A co-operative is a real as well as an abstract space – youth in co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda meet, interact, run a business and learn together (real) and this research is drawing a metaphorical boundary around a co-operative to conceptualise and understand it (abstract).

I conceptualise the engagement between youth and co-operatives as a 'co-operative learning space'³⁰. This follows on from my arguments³⁰ in Chapters 2 and 3 on the role of learning in building agency and capabilities and the central nature of learning (particularly situated learning) in a workspace. In a co-operative people come together to engage in the process of working together - this could be to establish a business, share ownership of something or pool resources (as discussed in Chapter 2) and the collective nature of the space means there are social

²⁹ The concept of space is used across a range of disciplines; geography, development studies and political sciences and across a range of literature; democracy, power, politics and citizenship (Gaventa, 2006).

³⁰ Johnson and Wilson (2009: 41) use the concept of an "action learning space" to describe learning that occurs in the "moment" through people coming together and the social interactions (and learning) that this generates.

interactions and participation in work activities taking place which initiate processes of learning. Initially members come together to create the space and then as it is established they might then invite others to join the space and others may ask to join. It can therefore be seen as both a 'created' (or claimed) space and an 'invited' space (Cornwall, 2004).

The analysis of the learning space will be expanded in several ways. Firstly, in line with Felstead et al (2009a) and Fuller and Unwin (2004; 2012), this space conceptualises learning as relating to a range of learning experiences in and outside of the workspace and including the learning that comes through networks. Secondly an expanded analysis of this learning space will be undertaken by combining theories relating to situated learning with the capability approach. This enables analysis of what is being learnt and how it is learnt and the effects of this learning on agency and capabilities. Ultimately an assessment can then be made of the extent to which youth learn for development through co-operatives.

The idea of learning for development reflects the discussions in Chapter 2 and the debate on the role of learning in development (Eyben, 2006; Johnson and Wilson, 2006; 2009; Pasteur, 2006;). Previously the concept has been used to explore the role of learning in practices of development specifically relating to development practitioners and organisations (Pasteur, 2006; Johnson and Wilson, 2009). In this research it will be used to frame the same idea (that learning has the potential to improve processes of development) - but will explore how learning can influence development of an individual's agency and capabilities.

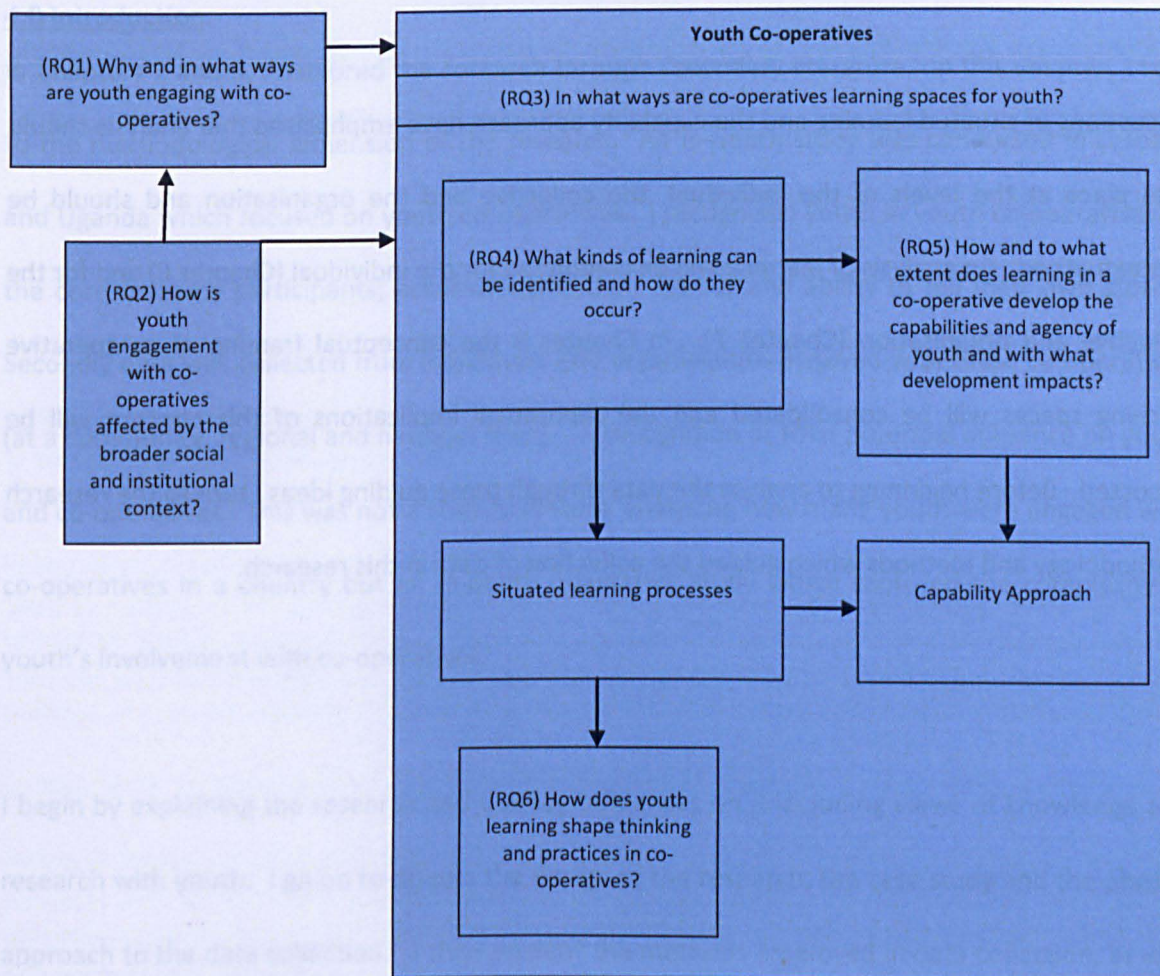
Finally the analysis will also look at the influences on the learning space. The broader context, of youth and co-operatives, and how it influences capabilities, co-operative and youth, were recurring themes in Chapter 2. In this chapter, the personal situation of the individual and the

social structure in which they are situated influence learning and the development of capabilities and achievement of valued functionings. Ultimately what is needed is a contextualised analysis of learning (Felstead et al, 2009a; Fuller et al, 2004) which appreciates that individuals learn in different ways and that different workspaces create different types of learning (Fuller and Unwin, 2011).

A recurrent theme in relation to context in this chapter has been the power inherent in social relations and relationships in the organisation, and the influence that this can have on learning. Power can be implicit and as such can be hard to identify. Gaventa (2006: 29) provides a conceptualisation (based on VeneKlasen's and Miller's [2002] ideas) of power in a group or organisation: "visible power", for example, the rules of an organisation, the positions that people hold; "hidden power", for example, the machinations of different individuals who are trying to influence decisions or activities; "invisible power", for example, the position of women in society. This will be a useful categorisation to analyse what kinds of power exist in co-operatives and how they affect the co-operative organisation and its culture and therefore the learning that is taking place.

Figure 4 provides an illustration of the co-operative learning space and the different areas of the expanded analysis and how it relates to the research questions. It will guide analysis throughout the thesis.

Figure 4 - Research questions and the expanded and contextualised analysis of the co-operative learning space



3.4 Conclusion

Responding to the review of the literature in Chapter 2, this chapter has explored and developed guiding ideas for the thesis. I have developed the idea of a co-operative learning space to support my analysis of the engagement of youth and co-operatives and an expanded analysis of learning which encompasses a range of learning experiences (both external and internal to the workspace), and the wider impacts of learning. This analysis will be contextualised by assessing what influences learning in the co-operative. Underpinning these guiding ideas is the significance of learning in processes of development and co-operation. This reflects and builds on existing knowledge from the literature relating to this study – development, co-operatives, youth and

learning – and aims to contribute to the limitations in this literature in terms of assessing co-operatives and learning in co-operatives and processes of development.

Discussions of situated learning and the capability approach have emphasised that analysis should take place at the levels of the individual, the collective and the organisation and should be contextualised. An analysis of learning will be conducted for the individual (Chapter 6) and for the collective and organisation (Chapter 7). In Chapter 8 the conceptual framing of co-operative learning spaces will be consolidated and the theoretical implications of this concept will be discussed. Before beginning to analyse the data through these guiding ideas I turn to the research methodology and methods which guided the collection of data in this research.

4.0 Introduction

In Chapters 2 and 3, I explored the research through secondary literature. In this chapter, I turn to the methodological dimension of the research. An in-depth study was conducted in Lesotho and Uganda which focused on youth co-operatives. I recognised youth in youth co-operatives as the core research participants; acknowledging their agency and ability to tell their own stories. Secondly data was collected from individuals and organisations involved with these co-operatives (at a community, regional and national level) - in recognition of their potential influence on youth and co-operatives. This was not a statistical study analysing how many youth were engaged with co-operatives in a country but an in-depth qualitative study which captured the complexity of youth's involvement with co-operatives.

I begin by explaining the research and the key influences on it including views of knowledge and research with youth. I go on to discuss the design of the research, the case study and the phased approach to the data collection. I then present the methods employed in data collection, as well how the data was analysed. I end this chapter by looking at the challenges faced in this study and the strategies used to manage them.

4.1 Research Approach

This section explains the core ideas and influences underpinning the approach to the research.

4.1.1 Views of knowledge and research

The study is underpinned by constructionism (as an approach to knowledge) and interpretivism (as an approach to the implementation of the research) (Bryman, 2008). It is based on the premise that knowledge is created by people, through their interactions with each other and the

world and that there are multiple interpretations of reality rather than one truth (Bryman, 2008; Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Silverman, 2001; Stainton-Rogers, 2006). This research recognises that knowledge is subjective and is about people's construction of meanings – both individually and as a group (ibid). Consequently the research aimed to interpret people's understandings by focusing on their thoughts, behaviour and knowledge in the context where knowledge is generated as this influences how it is understood (Blackmore and Ison, 2007). As argued by Reason and Rowan (cited in Reason and Bradbury, 2001: xxviii):

"If we want to know about people, we have to encourage them to be who they are and to resist attempts to make them – or ourselves – into something we are not, but, which is more easily observable, or countable, or manipulable".

This research therefore focused on youth's construction of knowledge and interpretation of their lives but considered this in relation to the knowledge and ideas of stakeholders from the broader context in which youth and co-operatives exist.

In line with this view of knowledge, qualitative methods formed the core of the research approach. Such methods are often used to study social phenomena primarily focusing on the people involved (Bryman, 2008; Mayoux, 2006; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003; Stake, 1995). They focus on finding out what people think and do and allow the researcher to collect information in the context it was created (Bryman, 2008; Carter and Little, 2007; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003; Stake, 1995). Qualitative methods therefore presented a way to focus on youth in co-operatives and to explore their experiences. These methods create a deeper level of meaning which can reflect and explore the complexities of a situation (Stake, 1995). They emphasise words and text rather than numbers or statistics (Bryman, 2008; Carter and Little, 2007). The approach was therefore to find ways to elicit the ideas and perspectives of youth and discuss key issues with people involved in the research.

4.1.2 The influence of action research

Action research has been interpreted in different ways (McNiff and Whitehead, 2006; Reason and Bradbury, 2001). It can describe a practitioner researching the practice they are involved in (McNiff and Whitehead, 2006). Bryman (2008) sees it more as a process through which the researcher and the participant work together to conduct research. It is also linked to bringing practice and theory together (Reason and Bradbury, 2001). Whilst I did not work for the organisation(s) being researched, the ideas associated with action research have resonance with this research and have had an influence on how the empirical study has been conducted.

Firstly, action research aligned with the purpose and outcomes of the thesis. The research aimed to explore youth's engagement with co-operatives in an African context to inform the policy and practice for those working in this area (Co-operative College and Open University, 2008). Consequently publications have been produced aiming to share the findings with an audience of mainly practitioners. This was reflected in a publication I wrote for the College for their series 'co-operatives for development' (Hartley, 2011), also more informal web-based publications including a blog³¹ and short pieces for the College's website³². I have also shared information through presentations and conferences targeting practitioners³³. These discussed the findings from this research and were aimed at providing information to organisations working with youth and co-operatives to help them inform their practice.

³¹ <http://salhartley.blogspot.co.uk/>

³² For example, <http://www.co-op.ac.uk/2010/08/co-operative-values-and-principles-at-uganda-co-operative-college/>

³³ For example presentations to Restless Development Uganda (June, 2010), an NGO working with youth. Also a presentation at the 'Working with co-operatives' conference organised by the Co-operative College (December, 2010) which aimed to increase the knowledge of a range of development organisations about the revival of co-operatives and potential areas of collaboration.

Secondly, my own background as a practitioner working with youth in Africa reflects aspects of action research. It meant I approached the research in the space between academic research and practice (McNiff and Whitehead, 2006) which has influenced how I have approached how research with youth can be effectively conducted (I return to this in the next section) and a commitment to finding ways to share information (as discussed previously). Furthermore, engaging with the research has also involved learning experiences for me about youth that will affect my own practices.

Thirdly the association with the Co-operative College influenced the approach to the research in several ways. Their prior work on youth co-operatives in countries in Africa led to the initial decision that Lesotho and Uganda both represented potential locations for the fieldwork. The association with the College also opened up access to the research sites and influenced how people perceived me. The global work that the College carry out created legitimacy for the research and opened doors when requesting time for data collection and advice. However the link also created a challenge at times. Some officials within the sector saw me as representative of the College and were keen to espouse the benefits of co-operation and were less comfortable discussing some of the negative aspects of their experiences of co-operatives. This necessitated probing further during research methods, such as asking additional questions in interviews. This probing created the potential for me to critically engage with these positive responses and understand in more detail the wider views of the participants.

4.1.3 Research as a two-way process with youth

The aim was to make the research a two-way process, where research was with people rather than on people (Heron and Reason, 2001). This involves working with people to generate data through a collaborative research process (Woodhouse, 2007) which improves the research

(Thomas and Mohan, 2007) as well as the experience for the participant (Woodhouse, 2007). This is effective for research with youth. Conventional research with children and youth can tend to focus on adult views of their experiences which overlook key aspects of knowledge (van Blerk, 2006). Furthermore, the notion of power is significant (Woodhouse, 2007) and particularly so for research with youth (Punch, 2002; Young and Barrett, 2000). It can manifest itself in youth participants responding to the researcher in a way that they think they should rather than saying or behaving in their 'normal' manner (Delamont, 2004). The aim was therefore to build relationships with youth and make the research interesting and relevant for them (Punch, 2002).

Youth participated in parts of this research (as "co-researchers") taking an "active role" in the process (van Blerk 2006: 53). I developed participatory research methods such as a self-directed photograph project and youth-led design and use of focus group discussions, enabling youth to decide what information they wanted to share with the researcher. Whilst all of this did present some challenges in terms of rigour (I return to this later in Section 4.6), it enabled new data to be collected while creating an interesting and empowering experience for the participants (Mayoux, 2006).

4.1.4 Recognising and making the researcher part of the research process

As well as the involvement of the youth in the research, I also followed Taylor (2002) in viewing the researcher as an integral part of the research, playing an active role in gathering and analysing data and acknowledging how my own ideas and experiences influenced the research process (Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Taylor, 2002). Above all else it motivated me to use my experiences and skills to find ways to make the research useful for youth. As a result I implemented methods that made me part of the study, in particular I facilitated training sessions for the youth in the co-operatives and from this integrated position collected data. Figure 5 is a photograph of a training

session I facilitated at Kigayaza Youth Co-operative in Uganda. The photograph illustrates my parallel role as a facilitator and researcher and therefore the integrated position this provided.

Figure 5 - Photograph of business plan training with Kigayaza Youth Co-operative³⁴



I reflected on some of the ideas of ‘participant observation’³⁵ to guide this approach. This is a recognised part of such a research process - observing and interviewing at the same time, (Bryman, 2008; Delamont, 2004; van Donge, 2006) as well as interacting with the situation being researched (Yin 2009). It provides new data which relates to the view of the participant: an “insider’s viewpoint” (Yin 2009: 112). Of course the approach has the risk of the researcher becoming biased as they become part of the research and the data becoming subjective (Bryman, 2008; Delamont, 2004; van Donge, 2006). I managed this through reflection (both individually and with others) and documenting my observations and experiences. I discuss this in more detail in Section 4.6.

³⁴ Photograph taken during fieldwork by Anthony Twalibangi (Research Assistant) (Uganda, 2010).

³⁵ Participant observation is associated with ethnography (Bryman, 2008; Delamont, 2004; van Donge, 2006). However whilst aspects of my approach and methods reflected participant observation my research was not ethnographic.

4.1.5 Case study approach

A case study approach was adopted as the “framework for investigation” (Thomas 2007: 301), within which multiple methods (see Section 4.4) could be used (Eisenhardt, 1989). It was based on being able to look at multiple cases and encompassing different levels of analysis (Yin, 2009). As Section 4.1 has highlighted, the emphasis in this research is on understanding and exploring the nature of the engagement between youth and co-operatives and a case study approach provided a good foundation for this. Amongst the limited studies relating to youth’s engagement with co-operatives, a case study approach has also been adopted by Smith et al (2005) and placed emphasis on the participants’ voices. This research extended the use of this approach to create detail and context relating to investigations of youth and co-operatives. It was therefore an in-depth study of a contemporary social experience which aimed to answer ‘how?’ and ‘why?’ research questions (Stake, 1995; Thomas, 2007; Yin, 2009) and demanded a broader contextualisation of the cases (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009).

In the first sections of this chapter I have looked at the approaches to the study which provided the foundation for the research design, to which I turn next.

4.2 Research Design

Research was conducted at two levels. Firstly with the youth members of five youth co-operatives and secondly with stakeholders involved with these youth co-operatives at the community, regional and national levels. The aim was to generate a holistic understanding of youth co-operatives through the opinions and experiences of the youth in the co-operatives and the people and organisations involved in supporting and influencing the development of these co-operatives. The research was also designed to allow for ideas and data generated during the course of the study to be reflected upon and fed back into the research, creating a situation

where all kinds of findings can emerge without pre-conditioned boundaries (van Donge, 2006). This was a response to gaps in knowledge on youth's engagement with co-operatives (as discussed in Chapter 2) and the resulting limited understanding of how to empirically investigate and theorise the research. It also led to a phased approach to the research during data collection which allowed for a reflective process to be built into the research where new ideas and findings could be fed back.

This section discusses the key aspects of the research design including the decisions relating to the structure of the case studies, particularly relating to the research sites and the timing of the studies.

4.2.1 Case study design

As outlined in Chapter 2, there are very few countries in Africa focusing on engaging youth with co-operatives but in Lesotho and Uganda there has been growing interest and action aimed at such engagement. Further research and the scoping study (which I discuss later) provided more information which corroborated the Co-operative College's suggestion that these countries represented a rich field for data collection. In both countries youth are being encouraged to become members of co-operatives. The approach in each country, however, differs. In Uganda, the focus has been predominately with youth in communities whereas in Lesotho there are also efforts to make co-operatives part of the school system. There are other differences. In Uganda the focus on youth has been led by the co-operative movement, funded by an international donor, while in Lesotho it is being led by the government department responsible for co-operatives and funded through that department. These differences presented the opportunity to examine different approaches and contextual factors, and their implications for youth engagement and learning. I provide a fuller discussion on this in Chapter 5.

A decision was made to conduct in-depth studies of selected youth co-operatives, where detailed and 'thick' descriptions could be generated which provided data which could answer the research questions (Thomas, 2007). Based on this approach and the resources available, five co-operatives were selected for in-depth studies. Co-operatives which focused on youth were selected. Within this category a purposive approach to selection of cases was adopted where selection criteria were established to guide the choice of which co-operatives to include in the study. A decision was made to implement more research activities in Uganda as there were a greater number of youth co-operatives. Subsequently three co-operatives were selected in Uganda and two co-operatives in Lesotho.

Individual co-operatives were selected based on the information gathered in the initial scoping study (I discuss this later in the section). Table 2 contains the key considerations for this research, such as the gender composition of members as well as logistical issues.

Table 2 - Basic criteria for selecting a co-operative as a case study

Criteria for Co-operatives	Explanation
Youth-focused	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● They needed to be purposively engaging youth with co-operative activities ensuring youth were available to be in the research
A range of youth represented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● They needed to represent a 'range' of youth – in terms of age, marital status, education levels, employment status and levels of income.
Balanced gender representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● There needed to be representation of males and females in the co-operative
Range of socio and economic backgrounds represented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● They needed to represent not only 'elites' in the community but different economic, social and educational backgrounds
Established and operating as a co-operative for a minimum of two years meeting minimum 'characteristics' of a co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Two years provided an adequate level of experiences that related to the research questions ● They did not need to be registered - experience from the scoping trip indicated that many of the youth co-operatives were not registered – but they needed to operate as co-operatives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ They needed to have elected a board and have paying members ○ They needed to be regularly doing business/engaged in activities

Criteria for Co-operatives	Explanation
Accessible geographically	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Due to cost and time boundaries, they needed to be within one hour (in a vehicle) of a district town centre
Some level of English amongst some of the members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This enabled me to understand the situation more deeply than translation alone would allow, and gave me a feel for the responses, even though some of the research methods were conducted in the local language
Willingness to take part in the research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Co-operative members needed to be interested and willing to give up their time to be part of the research

Consideration was also given to the key features of co-operatives and the variations between them. The aim was to select co-operatives that allowed analysis of commonality as well as what was specific and nuanced to different cases (Stake, 1995). This would then allow analysis of how different approaches to engaging youth with co-operatives and different variables between co-operatives influenced aspects of the research. Table 3 shows the core variables that were considered.

Table 3 - Core features and variables of youth co-operatives

Features	Variables
Nature of the engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established as youth co-operatives or members have decided to focus on youth as part of their existing activities
Types of members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Made up of only youth or have a mixture of youth and adults Have either school-going youth or youth who have finished school or both
Location of the co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rural or urban School or in a community
Sector and business focus of the co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involved in different sectors for example agriculture and savings and credit
Size of the co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Variation as wide as from 12 members to as many as 1000
Level of activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How often members meet and how much business they are doing. A basic classification of very active, active and dormant was adopted³⁶

³⁶ This was established in Uganda by the Youth Economic Empowerment through Co-operatives Project (YEEO) when they were evaluating the progress of youth co-operatives (IntU Coordinator ILO (former Regional Coordinator for YEEO), 2010). I then used the same approach in Lesotho.

Data was also collected from stakeholders within the immediate community where the co-operative was based and the related regional and national levels. Stakeholder selection was based on information collected during the scoping study and initial research with the youth co-operatives. The scoping study indicated that there were a number of organisations connected to the youth co-operatives who influenced their development and the lives of the youth in the co-operatives. This was mainly co-operative organisations (non-government and government) and also included NGOs, donors and other government ministries. Initial research with the five youth co-operatives selected to be case studies provided more detailed information on the key stakeholders. I discuss this in more detail in the next section (4.3.2).

4.2.2 Phased approach to the research

There were three distinct phases for the data collection with periods for reflection in between them. Table 4 gives an overview of the three phases.

Table 4 - Phases of the empirical research

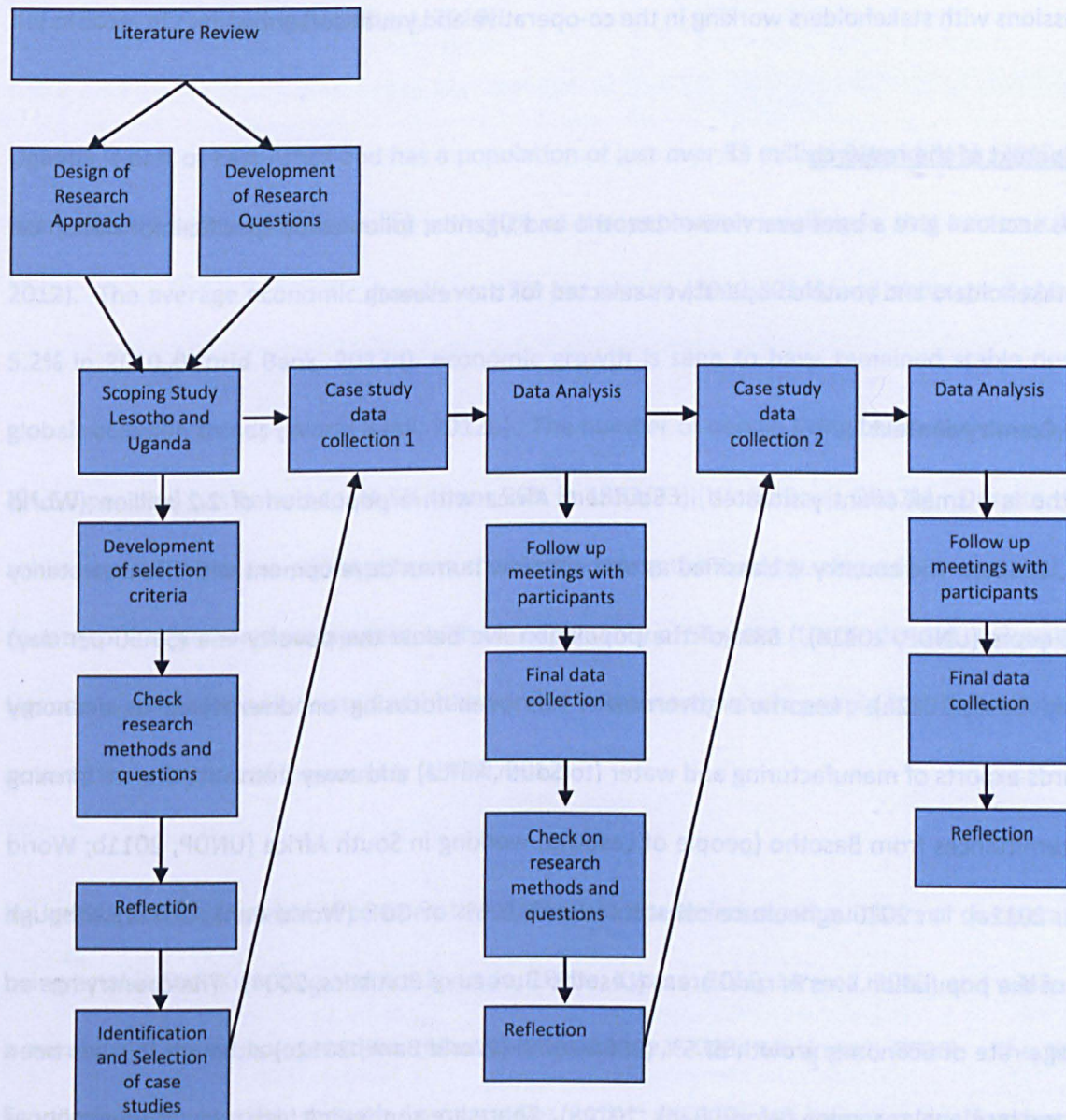
Timing	Phase	Core Activity
December 2009	Phase 1 (3 weeks)	A scoping study in Lesotho and Uganda: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploratory research of potential youth co-operatives for the in-depth case studies • Development of selection criteria • Collection of secondary data • Evaluation of planned methods
April – July 2010	Phase 2 (3 months)	Main fieldwork Uganda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research with three youth co-operatives • Research with key stakeholders
October – November 2010	Phase 3 (2 months)	Main fieldwork Lesotho <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research with two youth co-operatives • Research with key stakeholders

A scoping study was needed because of the lack of empirical studies and information on youth and co-operatives. It was used to explore the nature and extent of youth engagement with co-operatives. I met youth from a range of youth co-operatives and the stakeholders involved with supporting these co-operatives. This exploratory case study (Thomas, 2007) provided critical

information to make decisions about and prepare for the main fieldwork, as well as to reflect on the research questions and the appropriateness of the research methods. It also proved invaluable in building initial relationships and trust which then significantly contributed to making a success of the main fieldwork phases as well as obtaining a sense of potential logistical challenges of the planned fieldwork such as transport.

At the start of the fieldwork a plan for research was developed with each of the five co-operatives. This involved implementing a range of research methods with the youth in a particular co-operative over a six to eight week period. I made repeat visits to the research site – generally two visits per week for a half- to full-day period. The research was designed in this way to ensure that it did not become a burden to the research participants. The repeat visits also helped build my relationships with the youth. Leaving and then returning to the research sites created a feeling of familiarity with the researcher and the research. This meant that the participants became used to me coming and going, and subsequently became more relaxed in my company and more open to questions. Figure 6 represents these phases interlinked with the other aspects of the research process.

Figure 6 - Process of developing and implementing the research



Reflexivity was a key part of the research process and helped build reliability into the data (Delamont, 2004). Periods of reflection were intentionally built into the study - reflecting on the data and assessing it in terms of the research questions, as well as assessing the effectiveness of the research methods and my interpretations of data (particularly reflecting on my role and influence on the research as discussed earlier). This reflection was enhanced through working

with research assistants in Uganda, supervisory meetings while on fieldwork and informal discussions with stakeholders working in the co-operative and youth sectors.

4.3 Context of the research

In this section I give a brief overview of Lesotho and Uganda, followed by specific information on the stakeholders and youth co-operatives selected for the research.

4.3.1 Country context

Lesotho is a small country situated in Southern Africa with a population of 2.2 million (World Bank, 2012a). The country is classified as one with low human development with life expectancy of 48 years (UNDP, 2011a). 58% of the population live below the poverty line (\$1.50 per day) (World Bank, 2012a). Lesotho's government has been focusing on diversifying its economy towards exports of manufacturing and water (to South Africa) and away from subsistence farming and remittances from Basotho (people of Lesotho) working in South Africa (UNDP, 2011b; World Bank, 2012a). In 2010 agriculture constituted only 8.6% of GDP (World Bank, 2012c) although 83% of the population lives in rural areas (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics, 2004). The country has an average rate of economic growth of 5% (2004-2008) (World Bank, 2012c) although this has been affected by global recession (World Bank, 2012a). There are continuing high rates of inequality as evidenced through education, life expectancy and income data (UNDP, 2011b; World Bank, 2012a).

Co-operatives are seen by the government as a way to stimulate business activity in a range of sectors and take on some of the challenges faced by the country (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2000; 2004). As part of increasing activity in the co-operative sector, there is a substantial emphasis by the government on engaging with youth - (Intl Commissioner for Co-

operatives, 2010). There are now 20 registered youth co-operatives and an additional 20 to 60 in the process of registering (IntsLDept, 2010).

Uganda is part of East Africa and has a population of just over 33 million (World Bank, 2012d). It has a mainly agricultural economy with 70% of the population working in that sector (UNDP, 2012). The average economic growth was 7% per annum (2010-2014), and although dipping to 5.2% in 2010 (World Bank, 2012d), economic growth is seen to have remained stable despite global recession trends (World Bank, 2012b). The number of people living below the poverty line (\$1.50 per day) has halved to 24.5% (from 56% in 1992/93) (World Bank, 2012b). Despite these achievements there are still significant challenges facing the country. Uganda is classified as a country of low human development, with life expectancy of 54 years (UNDP, 2011a). Inequality in Uganda is particularly associated with the conflict in the north where people face higher levels of poverty than the rest of the country (UNDP, 2012).

In Uganda there is a revival of co-operatives taking place with increased numbers of co-operatives being established (Kwapong and Korugyendo, 2010a; Kyazze, 2010; Mrema, 2008) and within this a number of youth co-operatives (Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Musinguzi, 2006). The Youth Economic Empowerment through Co-operatives Project (YEECO) has been running for over ten years and has established 61 youth co-operatives throughout the country (Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Musinguzi, 2006). It is coordinated by the Uganda Co-operative Alliance (UCA) the Apex³⁷ body for co-operatives in Uganda.

Further information on Lesotho and Uganda can be found in Appendix 2 and in Appendix 3 there is more specific information about the co-operative sector in each country.

³⁷ Apex is the common term used to describe the umbrella organisation for the co-operative movement in a country.

4.3.2 Selected stakeholders involved with youth co-operatives

Stakeholders were selected based on their links to youth co-operatives. This included stakeholders at the national level, as well as regional and community stakeholders who were determined by the location of the youth co-operatives (see Table 5). The majority of these stakeholders were part of the co-operative networks and the others were from government ministries, NGOs, donors and the communities linked to the youth co-operatives. There were two main variations between co-operative stakeholders in Lesotho and Uganda. The majority of stakeholders in Lesotho were from the government department responsible for co-operatives and in Uganda they were from the Apex - the respective lead organisation on youth and co-operatives in each country. Furthermore there was a regional emphasis in Uganda and a national one in Lesotho due to the location and spread of co-operative organisations. I refer to these stakeholders as 'key stakeholders'. Table 5 details the different key stakeholders selected for the research:

Table 5 - Key stakeholders involved with youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda

	Lesotho	Uganda
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Department for Co-operatives, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing - Apex for Co-operatives – Co-op Lesotho - Co-operative Union - Youth Co-operatives Apex - Co-operative College - Other government sectors - Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation - Donors/Partners – IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) - Members of inactive youth co-operatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Apex for Co-operatives – UCA - Department for Co-operatives, Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry - Co-operative College - Other government sectors - Ministry Gender, Labour and Social Affairs (Youth), Microfinance facility - Donors/Partners – CCA, ILO Youth Entrepreneurship Fund, Youth organisations
Regional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional Co-operative Officer Leribe, Maseru and Mohale's Hoek 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional offices UCA Busoga Region - Regional NAADS (National Agricultural Advisory Development Service) - Other co-operatives – SACCOS, Co-operative Unions (Area Co-operative Enterprises)

	Lesotho	Uganda
		- Group of youth in Busoga region not part of a co-operative
Community	- Mohale's Hoek High School	- Community leaders and other co-operatives - Kangulimira, Bukanga and Buwenge

4.3.3 Selected youth co-operatives

Decisions on which co-operatives to select were based on the selection criteria in Table 2 and consideration was also given to the different variables between co-operatives in Table 3.

In Lesotho the two co-operatives selected met the section criteria (Table 2). After an initial assessment of the geography of likely co-operatives I decided to base myself in the capital Maseru. This helped with transport issues and meant that I could attend and observe two key events (I discuss these later). Table 6 gives an overview of the co-operatives selected.

Table 6 - Overview of the co-operatives selected in Lesotho

Name	Type of co-operative	Date set up	No. of members	Core Sector	Core activities	Location ³⁸	Members
Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative	- Primary ³⁹ - Established as a youth co-operative - Community based	2007	12	Tourism	Tours and selling crafts	- Rural - 30 minutes	- 7 female and 5 male - 18 to 35 years old but several members 40 to 50
Rise and Shine Co-operative	- Primary - Established as a youth co-operative - School-based	2004	41	Savings and credit and other businesses	Providing facilities for members to save and access credit	-Urban - In the regional centre	-35 female and 6 male - 17 to 21 years old

³⁸ I have indicated the distance from the regional town - this helps illustrate the differences in the extent to which they are rural

³⁹ See Section 2.2.2 for a discussion of the nature of primary co-operatives in Africa

Both co-operatives were part of the government's initiative to engage youth with co-operatives and therefore youth-focused with a majority of youth as members. A key consideration when selecting cases in Lesotho was to include a school-based co-operative. One school-based and one community-based were therefore selected. In Lesotho, youth co-operatives vary in terms of location, business and size⁴⁰ and co-operatives were selected to reflect different aspects of these characteristics. Table 7 provides an overview of the different characteristics of the co-operatives.

Table 7 - Overview of the variations between selected co-operatives in Lesotho

	Subeng	Rise and Shine
Key features	Variables	
Nature of engagement	Primary co-operative community based	Primary co-operative school-based
Break down of members	Mainly youth and some adults	Youth
Location of the co-operative	Rural	Urban
Sector and business focus of the co-operative	Tourism	SACCO
Size of the co-operative	12	41
Level of activity	Active	Very Active

In Uganda three co-operatives which focus on youth and that met the selection criteria in Table 2 were selected. A decision was made to select co-operatives from the same area - the Busoga Region in Eastern Uganda. This allowed a base to be created in the regional centre from which all three co-operatives could be accessed concurrently. This made transport easier, created flexibility in planning visits to the co-operatives and meant relationships could be built with the regional co-operative organisations. Table 8 gives an overview of the three co-operatives selected.

⁴⁰ Youth co-operatives are significantly smaller in Lesotho than in Uganda.

Table 8 - Overview of the co-operatives selected in Uganda

Name	Type of co-operative	Date set up	No. of members	Core Sector	Core activities	Location ⁴¹	Members
Kigayaza Youth Co-operative	- Primary - Established as a youth co-operative - Community based	2004	98	Agriculture	Collective marketing agricultural produce	- Rural - 45 minutes from Jinja	- 73 males and 25 females - 18 to 35 years old
Joy Fod Savings and Credit Co-operative (SACCO)	- Primary - Established as a youth co-operative - Community based	2004	1364	SACCO	Providing facilities for members to save and access credit	- Rural - 20 minutes from Jinja	- 545 males and 819 females - 18 to 35 years old but some older members
Twekembe Farmers Rural Producers Organisation – Youth Group	- Primary - Youth group developed within the existing co-operative - Community based	2002	450 with 62 in the youth group	Agriculture	Collectively marketing agricultural produce	- Rural - 120 minutes from Jinja	-30 of 62 in the youth group are female - Youth group 18 to 35 years but rest of members are adults

Consideration was given to the variables outlined in Table 3. Two of the co-operatives were established as part of the UCA's YEECO programme which meant that they were established as youth co-operatives. The third selected was not part of the YEECO programme but had set up a youth group, so had a mixture of adult and youth members. All of the co-operatives were rurally based as there are very few urban youth co-operatives in Uganda, although consideration was given to the fact that they represented different types of rural location – with one based just off a main road and the other two more remote. Two agricultural co-operatives and one savings and credit co-operative were selected, reflecting the core types of co-operatives in Uganda. Table 9 provides an overview of the different characteristics of the co-operatives.

⁴¹ I have indicated the distance from the nearest regional town - this helps illustrate the differences in the extent to which they are rural

Table 9 - Overview of the variations between the selected co-operatives in Uganda

	Kigayaza	JoyFod	Twekembe
Key features	Variables		
Nature of engagement	Primary co-operative community based	Primary co-operative community based	Primary co-operative community based
Breakdown of members	Youth	Youth and a few adults	Adults and a youth group
Location of the co-operative	Rural – remote	Rural – close to the main road	Rural - remote
Sector and business focus of the co-operative	Agricultural	SACCO	Agricultural
Size of the co-operative	98	1364	450 (62 in the youth group)
Level of activity	Very Active	Very active	Active

I now turn to the research methods.

4.4 Research Methods

In this section I discuss the multiple research methods that were selected for the data collection and the data sources. Using multiple methods compensates for the strengths and weaknesses in different methods (Young and Barrett, 2000). Combining research methods also improves triangulation as it allows information to be gathered from a number of different participants which provides a holistic picture of each case (Bryman, 2008; Eisenhardt, 1989; Thomas and Mohan, 2007). Throughout all of the research methods, purposive sampling was used to select people based on their relevance to the research (Woodhouse, 2007). Table 10 represents an overview of the methods conducted.

Table 10 - Overview of the research methods implemented in Lesotho and Uganda⁴²

Method	Lesotho		Uganda	
	Youth co-operatives	Key stakeholders	Youth co-operatives	Key stakeholders
Individual interviews	7	32	18	23
Life histories – additional individual interviews (not counted above) and a photograph project	2	NA	3	NA
Group interviews	4	NA	8	NA
Focus group discussions	2	-	12	2
Observations	2	5	8	1
Training sessions	2	NA	3	NA

Before discussing these methods I turn to the lines of enquiry that guided the data collection.

4.4.1 Guiding the research methods

Different tools were developed that formed the foundation for the lines of enquiry. Data grids for different research participants were developed (Appendix 5). They represented the different lines of enquiry relevant to particular participants and were based on the research questions and the guiding ideas. They were used as the starting point for each of the methods. However the overall approach was to remain open to ideas coming from the participants and for the data not to be completely bound by the research – enabling discovery of what was surprising as well as what was expected (Stake, 1995). Part of this was allowing questions and discussions to develop in the process of the data collection and using the data grids as a guide (Pryke et al, 2004; van Donge, 2006). This also enabled me to learn how to phrase questions and discussions more effectively (van Donge, 2006).

⁴² For a full description and overview of who was interviewed see Appendix 4

For more detailed data collection on learning, a system of 'learning audits' was developed – focusing on youth - what they learnt, how they learnt it and what effects this produced. During the research it became clear that a youth's experiences of learning involved a combination of learning experiences. It was therefore useful to ask participants to work through when they first learnt about a particular skill or area of knowledge and then what refined and developed it. The concept of a learning audit was developed which essentially 'tracked' the development of knowledge and skills. It was explained to participants and a grid was used to record the data – this enabled the researcher and the participants to visualise discussions (Appendix 6). It was adapted and used for the individual and for the group both in interviews and in focus group discussions. It later proved useful when presenting the data (see Chapters 6 and 7).

4.4.2 Data Collection

In this section I discuss each of the research methods used for data collection. Where appropriate I discuss what took place for both levels of the research (youth co-operatives and research with key stakeholders) and also differences between the two countries.

Semi-structured Interviews

Interviews were semi-structured but aimed to give participants the opportunity to discuss other issues (Bryman, 2008). They were used for data collection with the youth in the co-operatives, as well as the key stakeholders.

Interviews with youth in the co-operatives

- A group interview was used to introduce the research and form a plan with each co-operative. This helped ensure that a wide cross section of (if not all) the members were aware of the research and had the opportunity to take part.

- Two youth, where possible one female and one male, were interviewed and where possible one was a general member of the co-operative and one was from the Board.
 - Two interviews were conducted with each of these youth. The first was an introductory interview, where basic information was gathered about the youth and their involvement with the co-operative. The second focused on exploring learning experiences through the learning audits.
- Where necessary, additional interviews were conducted to try and ensure there was gender representation in the participants interviewed, as well as a range of ages represented⁴³.

Interviews with key stakeholders

Interviews were conducted with stakeholders at a community, regional and national level. Generally one interview was conducted and focused on discussing broader issues relating to youth and co-operatives: the, revival of co-operatives, changes to legislation, support and challenges co-operatives face, views of youth and history and driving forces for youth co-operatives. The lines of enquiry and data grids were different for the stakeholders depending on who they were and their connection to youth co-operatives.

Additional interviews in Lesotho with members of other youth co-operatives

In Lesotho many of the youth co-operatives that were first established are not currently active. They were formed when the members were at school and when members graduated they moved to different geographical areas. Consequently the number of meetings and activities the co-operative conducted reduced and in some cases they ceased to do business. I could not therefore include them as case studies as it was not possible to conduct all of the methods such as the focus group discussions. However, as the experiences represented an important aspect of the history

⁴³ See Section 4.7 for further discussion on this

and longevity of youth co-operatives I decided to interview members of three of these youth co-operatives. Consequently I have used this as contextual data for Lesotho (Chapter 5) and also included it in the analysis of individual learning experiences (Chapter 6) but not in the analysis of collective learning (Chapter 7).

Life histories

Life histories help create a rich and detailed narrative of the life and experiences of the selected participants (Bryman, 2008). A life history of one youth from each co-operative was conducted. This was compiled through several interviews (following the same line of enquiries for the semi-structured interviews but in more detail) and a photography project.

The self-directed photography project provided the opportunity to use visual methods in the form of photographs which can be appealing to youth and can provide new insights into how they think (Dodman, 2003; van Blerk, 2006; Young and Barrett, 2000). Each youth was given a disposable camera for a week and asked to take photographs of what their co-operative meant to them - the instruction was deliberately left open. A short session was given on how to use the camera and take photographs. The photograph project engaged the interest of youth and enabled them to say what was important to them beyond the questions they were asked in the interview. The images on their own lacked meaning; it was the discussions of the photographs that created data (Dodman, 2003) – the images acting as an impetus for discussion (Dodman, 2003; Young and Barrett, 2000). This project also provided them with time to reflect on their co-operative experiences without being constrained by time boundaries created by other methods (ibid). The data from the photograph project acted as a source of triangulation for data provided through other methods but it also provided distinct and new data. It gave a sense of what youth did by

way of co-operative activities when I was not present - particularly the type and extent of activities (Young and Barrett, 2000).

One key challenge with the photograph project was that just a few people could take part – due to the financial constraints of buying the cameras and the time constraints on implementing the life histories. Therefore care was needed in interpretation of the data that may not be from the perspectives of other youth in the group who were not involved. However, in several cases youth took photographs relating to collective experiences of members as well as individual experiences.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

FGDs are recognised as being appropriate for children and youth as they create a 'friendly' environment in which participants feel more at ease and willing to participate (Young and Barrett, 2000). *How* participants interact generates important data, as much as *what* is discussed (Bryman, 2008; Laws et al, 2003). Figure 7 are photographs of FGDs in Uganda. They illustrate the interactive nature of the FGDs where discussion, drawing, games and debate were used.

Figure 7 - Photographs of FGDs with youth co-operatives⁴⁴



⁴⁴ Photographs taken during fieldwork (Uganda, 2010).

Youth reported that they found the FGDs interesting and perceived them as training sessions as well as research (FGDsLUYouth, 2010). They reported that they enjoyed discussing and learning with the other members and that the FGD enabled them to think about their co-operative from new perspectives, for example considering the position of female members and how to better manage this in future. The FGDs therefore helped make the research more of a two-way process - youth felt they benefitted from being part of the research and also were able to input into the research findings.

The FGDs also helped draw out the views of a wider number of youth in the co-operative. This was particularly important in terms of collating data that was representative in terms of gender and also age⁴⁵. However FGDs often had 15 to 20 people taking part and sometimes as many as 40 people observing or joining in around the periphery, because of the public location of the FGD and people being keen to attend. This number was significantly larger than the six to twelve people I was aiming for (based on practice promulgated by Laws et al, 2003; Morgan, 1988). Other challenges came from the group data being less detailed than anticipated, especially in terms of experiences of learning - for example, it was challenging to find out how many of the members had really learnt about a particular skill in the FGD context. There was also a dimension of what Bryman (2008) refers to as 'group effects' where a participant's response will be influenced by what they think their peers will think of their answers.

FGDs in Uganda

A total of 14 FGDs were conducted in Uganda, 12 with the youth co-operatives and two with key stakeholders. They focused on significant issues for the research including defining co-operatives, learning experiences in co-operatives, defining youth and the challenges that they face and the

⁴⁵ See Section 4.7 for more information on this

impact of being in a co-operative. An additional FGD was also held to feed back the data collected and check it represented what youth had said in response to interviews. FGDs were also held with students at the Co-operative College in Uganda and with a group of youth⁴⁶ who were not engaged with co-operatives. This provided an opportunity to talk about issues relating to youth and co-operatives with those who were not members of a co-operative.

FGDs in Lesotho

Due to time and logistical issues in Lesotho only two FGDs were held, one with each of the co-operatives. However the smaller size of co-operatives in Lesotho meant the FGDs provided data relating to a larger proportion of the total members than in Uganda. Furthermore the FGDs were much smaller in Lesotho (five to ten members) and it was therefore possible to cover a number of issues in each FGD. However the youth in Lesotho did not acquire the same benefit of the increased number of FGDs that the Uganda youth received, which is significant as these were key to making the research a two-way process.

Observations

Observations were useful as they were not constrained or directed by me as the researcher looking for specific information. From this position new perspectives are created which provide understandings of setting, culture and other important issues (Bryman, 2008). For the youth co-operatives, observations were made of informal and formal activities. Formal activities included board meetings, training sessions, business activities and meetings between members. Repeat visits to the research sites meant informal activities could be observed such as youth working, as well as interacting with each other and other community members. This reflected Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) ideas of 'hanging around': visiting youth's homes and places of work, such

⁴⁶ These youth were identified with the help of a NGO working with youth in the area of the research. A notice was displayed inviting youth to join this FGD and the sampling was therefore relatively random.

as their farms, as well having informal conversations. My approach was to keep my eyes and ears open when visiting the communities, collecting data on an ongoing basis (van Donge, 2006). These informal approaches were particularly useful for triangulating the data (I return to this in Section 4.6). I was also able to observe a number of activities at a national level. The types of activities varied as it depended on what was taking place during the fieldwork in each country. It mainly involved training sessions for youth co-operators and co-operative stakeholders' meetings (see Appendix 4).

Training sessions

In Uganda, training sessions included business planning, situational analysis and co-operative values. These activities often happened alongside FGDs. In Lesotho I was asked to be part of the team facilitating sessions at the Youth Co-operative Forum in 2009 and 2010⁴⁷ – this involved working with a group of 15 youth co-operators guiding them through sessions on business planning as well as developing and understanding co-operative values. This approach enabled me to focus on how groups of youth think and work (Delamont, 2004); how they interact, how they understand each other and how they perceive the world of their co-operative. This was particularly useful in understanding experiences of learning. Asking participants about their learning, particularly social experiences of learning, is challenging (Blackmore, 2002; Wenger, 1998; 2006) and being able to observe youth learning and interacting improved understanding of these processes.

⁴⁷ The Youth Co-operative Forum was organised by the Department for Co-operatives in Lesotho in conjunction with the Co-operative College UK. Over 150 youth co-operators attended the five day training, mainly from Lesotho but also from South Africa, Swaziland, Uganda and the UK.

4.4.3 Secondary data collection

The fieldwork period was used to collect secondary literature, including grey literature, studies and data not easily available outside of the country. This literature mainly came from the government department responsible for co-operatives and the co-operative movement organisations, and provided useful information and perspectives on the history of the co-operative movements as well as on the current status of co-operatives. Some secondary data was collected from youth co-operatives such as annual reports, accounts and registers of members.

4.4.4 Ethical considerations

In general the data generated from the research was not of a sensitive nature. However, it was about people's lives and their thoughts and ideas and ethical approval was therefore sought and given through the Open University. On the ground, whilst the study involved youth, the majority of the participants were young adults and were able to provide their own consent for their part in the research process. However in some cases, particularly in Lesotho, participants were 16 to 18 years old - consent was then sought from the teachers at the school where they were based. The issue of consent was discussed with the Department for Co-operatives in Lesotho and they recommended this approach.

All of the participants were asked at the start of each research method if they gave their consent for the information that they provided to be used, and whether they wished to remain anonymous and whether they gave their consent for their photograph to be taken. In the majority of cases participants were happy to be identified in the research. In fact the youth participants were particularly keen for their actual names to be used. Where participants requested to be anonymous or I judged the data to be of a sensitive nature I replaced

participants' names with the term 'anonymous' plus a description of their position where relevant
- see Appendix 1 for more details.

4.5 Data Analysis

Qualitative studies are often difficult to analyse and there can be a challenge in creating conclusions that have broader significance (Bryman, 2008). To manage this, content analysis was used and was based on the construction of themes. These themes came through the literature and research questions as well as being generated during the data collection. They were therefore both inductive and deductive - emerging from the data, reflecting the open approach to the research discussed in Section 4.2, as well as being informed by theory (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Bryman, 2008; Stainton-Rogers, 2006). Secondly an iterative and ongoing process to data analysis was adopted (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Bryman, 2008), going between the raw data, the themes, the collated data and the written analysis. The approach during the analysis was to look for data that reinforced other pieces of data, looking for repeated areas of meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However the aim was also to look for contradictions (Brannen, 2004) which proved useful for finding important further areas of investigation. A software package (Nvivo) was also used to help organise and code the data.

As discussed one of the underlying motivations for this research was to create knowledge and ideas that could be used by people working with youth and co-operatives. Whilst it is not possible to make statistical generalisations from case studies, it is possible to make analytical and theoretical generalisations (Thomas, 2007; van Donge, 2006; Yin, 2009). These generalisations are based on ideas repeating themselves across the data and common themes emerging from different participants and case studies (ibid). The reliability of this comes from how the data was

analysed as described above and also how rigour was built into the data collection which is the area I turn to next.

4.6 Rigour and reliability of the data

As discussed throughout this chapter there are issues with qualitative methods relating to their subjective nature, particularly the influence of the researchers' and particular participants' ideas which can skew the data and affect its reliability (Bryman, 2008; Woodhouse, 2007). To navigate these issues, data collection must be managed effectively and other evidence obtained from multiple sources as a triangulation check (Thomas and Mohan, 2007). Consequently multiple methods, multiple research participants and multiple types of data were used to manage rigour (Bryman, 2008; Thomas and Mohan, 2007). This allowed findings from one method to be checked with another method, for example interview findings with FGD findings. Data triangulation was also complemented by the use of secondary sources, arising from grey literature and other people's studies. This was made a part of the process of the research rather than something that was only carried out during the analysis. As the data was collected, it was tested against early findings, providing cycles of triangulation (Woodhouse, 2007).

Other key approaches to rigour included building reflective processes into the research process. Following implementation of each method, time was taken to reflect on the process, assessing the information provided by the participant relative to other data collected, their approach and mood during the interview and my own interpretations of the data, and asking whether the case studies were being thoroughly investigated and if I needed to go back and challenge them (Thomas, 2007). As discussed earlier, this was done individually and collectively. Also being able to build relationships with research participants over repeat meetings and visits helped with reliability of data. Over time this led to more open conversations: as people became familiar with

me and the purpose of the research they became more willing to be honest, which resulted in more reliable data.

Finally also of relevance were the extensive records kept of every aspect of the data collection and data analysis including my own reflections, in line with advice on good practice in this area (Thomas, 2007; Thomas and Mohan, 2007). Such extensive recordkeeping is particularly important for participatory observation (Delamont, 2004; van Donge, 2006) and also the observations from the more informal methods associated with 'hanging around' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

4.7 Challenges and learning points

A significant amount of the research with youth was conducted in local languages particularly in Uganda. To manage this situation I enlisted two young Research Assistants (one male and one female) who proved to be an asset for the research in several ways. Being youth, they were able to provide useful feedback on the research methods, help establish relationships with the youth in the co-operatives and explain cultural nuances and issues that created further insights. My plan was to use the same approach in Lesotho but as the majority of the research was conducted in English I decided it was not necessary. In hindsight this missed the opportunity of having a young person from Lesotho that could relate to the research participants and help put them more quickly at ease.

Whilst I found using a software package a useful approach to data organisation and coding, I found that it had its disadvantages. The data became sets of codes rather than the continuous narrative from an interview or a FGD. Bryman (2008) warns that the nature of coding means the original context can be lost at times; this was exacerbated by the use of a software package. As a

result I went back to the original data records several times to capture the context and the meaning.

I encountered difficulty in terms of representation of the research participants. This was particularly the case in Uganda. While there were female members in the co-operative, the group interviews and FGDs in the research were mainly attended by males and they were often older youth and more educated. Females seemed to have less time to attend the meetings and interviews and when they did attend they were often quiet. As a response some additional participatory techniques were used in FGDs to draw them out and a female Research Assistant recruited in Uganda. I also decided to do some additional targeted interviews to try and capture as the voices of females. Even after these additional efforts there is a gender bias in the data for Uganda, for example all of the life history participants were male, however I do have data from females collected through the other research methods, although it is less detailed and the data for Uganda therefore still holds a weighting of older and more educated male perspectives.

Another challenge with the representation of youth participants arose with younger youth (below 25 years old⁴⁸) and those members with lower educational levels. In both countries more of the board members volunteered to take part in the research than the general members and they tended to be older, male youth with higher education levels. This was particularly the case in Uganda. My aim (as discussed in Section 4.4.2) was to select two youth for interviews (aside from the life history participant) and one should be a board member and one a general member. Due to the high level of board members wishing to participate in the research this necessitated doing more interviews than I planned to ensure people who were interested took part and ensure that I fulfilled my aims with regards to board members and general members.

⁴⁸ 'Younger youth' and 'older youth' were classifications I created during fieldwork. It distinguishes between youth under 25 years (younger youth) and those over 25 years (older youth).

There was also a bias in the representation of youth co-operatives. As discussed in Section 4.2.1 an aspect of the selection criteria was the 'level of activity' the co-operative was engaged in (Table 3) and a classification of 'very active', 'active' and 'dormant' was adopted. I included both very active and active co-operatives in the case studies however it was not feasible to include dormant co-operatives. The members of dormant co-operatives were difficult to locate and more importantly the members were not engaged in any activities and therefore had limited experiences of learning and capabilities change. Therefore whilst understanding the experiences of these types of co-operatives could have provided data on other issues such as the sustainability of co-operatives and the challenges they face it would not have provided information on the core areas of interest for the research.

A final area of bias in the study relates to the selection of stakeholders. In Lesotho I conducted research with a greater number of national level stakeholders than in Uganda. In Lesotho I was based in Maseru where many of these national stakeholders were located which made them more accessible, whereas in Uganda I was based in the regional centre and therefore collected data with the regional representatives of different stakeholders. My location therefore influenced the selection of stakeholders alongside the information provided by the scoping trip and initial research with the youth co-operatives (as discussed in Section 4.2.1). In retrospect identification and selection of key stakeholders could have been enhanced through using participatory mapping techniques with the youth co-operatives (Blackmore and Ison, 2007).

Photographs taken during the field work proved to be an important source of data. This included the photographs I took to capture key incidences, such as youth co-operators learning, and the photographs the participants took in their photograph project. This visual data proved important

for data analysis and as a tool for communicating key aspects of the data and analysis in conferences and in this thesis.

There were many logistical challenges involved in implementing the research. Transport, the weather and unexpected events led to research activities being postponed on a constant basis. This necessitated a well-organised but flexible approach to the research. But it also meant it was not possible to implement the same number of activities in the Lesotho case study as had been implemented in Uganda. The research sites in Lesotho were less accessible than in Uganda due to transport issues, meaning that I conducted fewer FGDs and fewer repeat visits to the same sites. To some extent this did not matter as the research participants were more familiar with the research and myself due to the two Youth Co-operative Forums we had attended together (discussed in the Observations section). However in terms of comparing data it would have been desirable to have the same activities implemented in each case and in the same way.

4.8 Conclusion

Whilst the lack of previous empirical studies and theoretical ideas relating to youth and co-operatives created a challenge for this research, it has also created opportunities and space for new knowledge to be generated in new ways. The lack of studies led to the development of an empirical approach which generated a variety of data (both verbal and written), which provided different insights and ways of communicating the findings. Furthermore this empirical approach, through participatory methods, created a situation where voices of youth could be brought to the forefront and created. A qualitative study of this nature with a desire to focus on youth's voice could be liable to present 'one' story - the story of the youth in the co-operatives. This would have been valuable but it would have ignored the networks within which the co-operative is situated in and the influences on the co-operative. This made the research with key the

stakeholders crucial for situating the engagement of youth with co-operatives in the wider system and acted as a form of triangulation of the data provided by the youth.

The next four chapters analyse the data to probe in detail the learning space created by youth's engagement with co-operatives. In Chapter 5 I mainly use data collected from key stakeholders (through interviews, observations and secondary data), supplemented with aspects of the data collected from the youth co-operatives. In Chapters 6 and 7 I mainly use data collected from the youth co-operatives (through all the methods discussed in Section 4.4.2) particularly the data collected via the learning audits. I discuss the data used for each chapter in more detail at the start of each chapter.

In the next chapter I focus on the context within which youth and co-operatives are situated and how this influences the nature of the engagement between youth and co-operatives, as well as looking at the specific co-operatives selected for this research.

5.0 Introduction

This chapter describes and explains the context of youth's engagement with co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda. I identify and focus on the key factors which shape youth's engagement with co-operatives. This includes: 1) the broader contextual issues within which youth are situated, particularly the high unemployment rates; 2) the more proximate contextual issues of the revival of co-operatives and youth's demand for livelihood opportunities; 3) the specific contexts of youth co-operatives. In doing so it addresses the research questions 'Why and in what ways are youth engaging with co-operatives?' (RQ 1)) and 'How is youth engagement with co-operatives affected by the broader social and institutional context?' (RQ 2). The discussion in this chapter provides an important foundation for the analysis of learning and capabilities in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

I argue that the lack of jobs in countries in Africa result in youth looking for ways to make an income and afford the basic necessities in life, such as food, school fees and health issues for them and their families. This, coupled with the resurgence of co-operatives, particularly policies to include youth, create the impetus for youth to join co-operatives. The discussion in this chapter brings together the two research questions mentioned above, the guiding ideas (see Chapter 3), and includes themes that have emerged from the data analysis. The chapter uses data collected from the key stakeholders⁴⁹, including national and regional co-operative organisations (both co-operative departments in government and co-operative movement), other government ministries, donors and some community-based stakeholders as well as the five selected youth co-operatives⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ For an overview of the key stakeholders see Table 5.

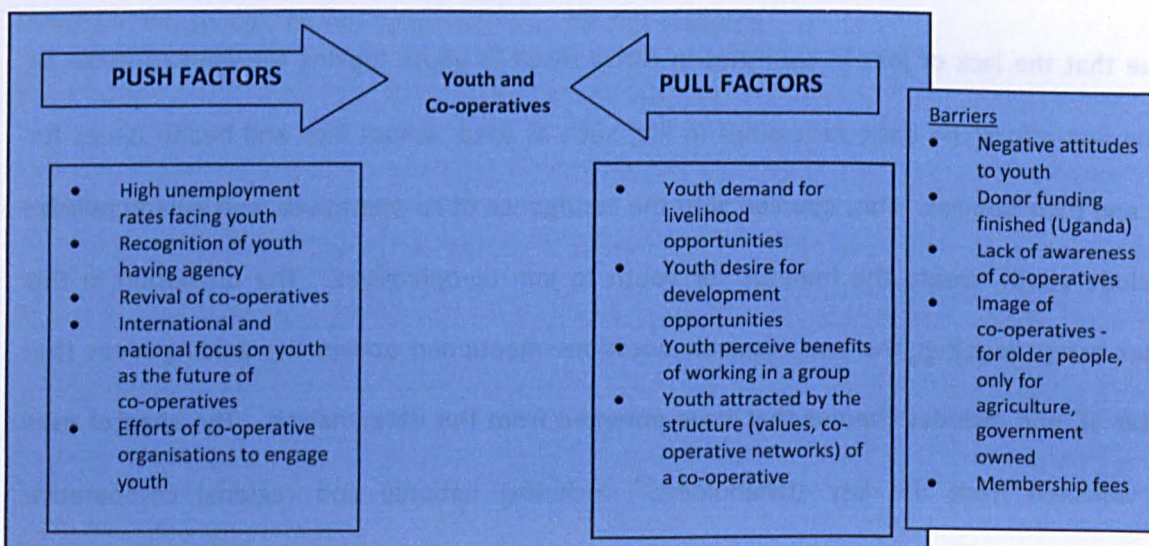
⁵⁰ For a full list of research participants see Appendix 4.

The chapter begins with an analysis of the contextual factors that are shaping the engagement of youth and co-operatives. I then focus on the different types of youth engagement with co-operatives and provide an overview of the five co-operatives selected for the research.

5.1 Contextual factors shaping youth's engagement with co-operatives

In this section I discuss the challenges facing youth in Lesotho and Uganda, the revival of co-operatives and youth's need for livelihood opportunities. I argue that alongside the institutional push towards youth's engagement with co-operatives there has been a demand from youth to join co-operatives. I also explain some of the barriers to the engagement. This contextual arena is illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8 - Push and pull analysis of contextual factors influencing youth's engagement with co-operatives



5.1.1 Challenging times for youth

Youth represent a large proportion of the population in Lesotho and Uganda. In Lesotho youth, defined as aged 15 to 35 years old (Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation, 1999)

represent 40% of the population (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics, 2004). In Uganda, youth are defined as aged 12 to 30 years old (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2001). No population data was available for that precise age range at the time of writing, however 21% of the population are 18 to 30 years old (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2011) and those under 18 years old constitute 57.3% of the population (UNICEF, 2011). Ministries responsible for youth⁵¹ in both countries recognise the potential opportunities and challenges that large youth populations have for national development. This is evident in national youth policies⁵² where the emphasis is on recognising the challenges youth face and aiming to provide increased access to education, employment and enterprise development and participation in decision making processes at local and national levels.

However, the data in this research reveals that the situation facing youth does not always reflect the content of the government policy papers. In Uganda, youth are often ignored in government efforts, particularly at a local level (IntU Coordinator Restless Development, 2010; IntsUYouth, 2010). This is often attributed to negative attitudes towards youth from older people in society (IntsUYouth, 2010). Indeed, the Lesotho youth policy refers to a “generation gap” between youth and adults which leads to youth struggling to find a place and to make their voice heard (Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation, 1999: 7).

Views of youth are both positive and negative. For example, youth are seen to have positive characteristics, like having energy, new ideas and an understanding of the modern world, but also as lazy, uncommitted and likely to become involved in drugs, gambling and alcohol (SHLUInts,

⁵¹ In Lesotho this is the Ministry Gender, Youth, Sport and Recreation and in Uganda this is the Ministry of Labour, Gender and Social Affairs.

⁵² ‘The National Youth Policy: A Vision for Youth in 21st Century’(Uganda) (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2001) and ‘The National Youth Policy for Lesotho’ (Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation, 1999). Even though these youth policies are over 10 years old they were the most recent policies at the time of writing.

2010). Youth themselves also have both positive and negative views of other youth (FGDsLUYouth, 2010). For example in a FGD in Uganda the participants were asked to draw a picture of a youth and write their typical characteristics, the list included:

“Wants short term gains; Bad behaviour; High desire to discover; Mobile and always looking for greener pastures; A lot of expectations; Energetic; Optimistic and hopeful; ‘Kliseker’(want to be seen); Want fun and luxuries” (FGDUJF, 2010).

Poverty and unemployment in both countries are cited as the key challenge for youth by stakeholders (SHLUInts, 2010) and by youth themselves (FGDsLUYouth, 2010). Unemployment is often seen as a trigger for many of the other challenges. For example, it leads to girls seeking alternative ways to generate school fees and in doing so engage in risky relationships with older men (IntU Coordinator ILO, 2010; FGDsLUYouth, 2010), while a Head Teacher in Lesotho observed that being an orphan also presented problems in paying school fees, leading to a cycle of what she called “downward development” (IntL Head Teacher Mohale’s Hoek High School, 2010). Table 11 presents the challenges voiced by youth in focus groups in Lesotho and Uganda. I categorise these in the second column:

Table 11 - Challenges faced by youth (FGDsLUYouth, 2010)

Challenges	Categories
Lack of jobs	Livelihoods and income
Poverty	
Can do small jobs but have no concept of saving that money and planning for it	
Lack of money for school fees - leads to school drop outs	
Lack of fixed assets - such as land	
Views of youth not listened to - youth are not allowed to participate or stand in a group with adults	Participation
Lack of support - both in finances and in terms of direction	Support
Unplanned pregnancies	Sexual health (can also relate to risky behaviour)
HIV/AIDS - causes school drop outs, death and low production	
Rape/defilement of girls - this often happens as girls are looking for basic necessities	Abuse (also relates to Income and livelihoods)
Illiteracy	Access to information and learning

Challenges	Categories
Lack of information	
Lack of planning – youth have no vision for the future	
Drug and alcohol addiction and gambling	Risky behaviour

There are significant differences between youth in both countries that are informed by contexts of gender, where they live and their socio-economic background, all of which influence youth's access to education and health, aspirations in life, how they view themselves and how others view them (IntsLUYouth, 2010). For example girls in rural areas in Lesotho were stated to often have better access to education compared to their brothers who tend to be the ones looking after the roaming livestock herds (IntsLYouth, 2010; SHIntsL, 2010). In Uganda girls are seen to have a 'rougher deal' than boys, especially in rural areas, where boys' education will be prioritised over girls' (IntU Coordinator ILO, 2010; IntU Coordinator Restless Development, 2010).

Whilst youth are defined in policy papers according to their age, in reality the data repeatedly shows that they are defined according to whether they are married, if they have children, their financial independence and by their characteristics and attitudes, for example whether they are 'serious about life' (FGDsLUYouth, 2010). A staff member from a youth NGO in Uganda (2010) explains:

"The simplicity of using age definitions is good but how to get youth to know if they are a youth is different. Community defines them based on experiences and who they are rather than their age. Government and NGOs tend to use the age definitions. Rural youth define themselves according to community definitions whereas urban youth are aware of the age definitions. 'Muvubuka' meaning 'Youth', word becomes 'musajja', meaning 'man' when you get married, your marital status changes the word. Same for a lady. They may look like a youth but among them are adults – who maybe see themselves as a youth. Then a girl can be 12 and married and she would be considered an adult even though she is a child" (IntU Coordinator Restless Development, 2010)

Participants also reported that there are differences between youth of different ages – someone at 18 years old is different from a youth of 25 or 30 years old (IntsLUYouth, 2010). A FGD in Uganda (FGDUJF, 2010) discussed the differences between different aged youth. One youth

makes the point that *“Young people are changing throughout their life, they are going through transitions.”* Another explains this point by describing the differences between himself (a youth of 22 years old) and another youth of 29 years:

“Mohammed is at another level to me, more mature, more of a developed mind and has different priorities – is driven by different things...a more mature person as he has responsibilities like family and does not go for fun. I am at school focused on studying, with little resources, living with family and thinking about the future”. (FGDUJF youth co-operator, 2010)

Thus although youth are often defined and spoken of as a homogenous group in Lesotho and Uganda, they are differentiated by a number of factors (reflecting the discussion in Chapter 2).

These realities provide insight into the detail of a youth's life and how perceptions of youth are formed, which in turn will influence the engagement of youth with co-operatives.

5.1.2 Institutional context - Revival of co-operatives

Historically there have been periods of decline and growth but in the last ten years the number of co-operatives has grown (SHLUInts, 2010). The revival has been driven by the promotion of co-operatives by the co-operative sector, as well as co-operatives forming part of other development programmes particularly on the part of government⁵³. There is also a demand from people in communities who establish or join co-operatives to make an income. A Regional Co-operative Officer in Maseru noted:

“Members try to solve problems relating to poverty and unemployment and hunger. These issues are more prevalent these days, there is a shortage of money and people want to get jobs through self-employment, they want to make and sell their own products, also do savings and credit and pay school fees.” (IntL Co-operative Officer Maseru, 2010)

⁵³ In Lesotho the dam project (a partnership between the governments in Lesotho and South Africa) led to 50 new co-operatives being established (IntL Co-operative Officer, 2010). In Uganda the National Development Plan (2010/11-2014/15) places emphasis on the role of co-operatives in forestry, housing and savings and credit. The co-operative sector is seen as a supportive sub-sector of the economy (Government of Uganda, 2010).

I argue that this revival has not only created the space for youth co-operatives to emerge but also shaped their development.

Firstly an aim of the revival has been to open up co-operative membership. Historically youth membership of co-operatives had been limited but there is increasing recognition among co-operative organisations that youth are the future of the co-operative movement and co-operatives can provide youth with a livelihood and so efforts are being made to encourage youth to join co-operatives (IntL Commissioner for Co-operatives, 2010; IntU General Secretary UCA, 2010). With regards to gender the countries differ. In Uganda co-operatives have tended to be for men (IntsUC, 2010). In Lesotho Co-operative Officers describe how co-operatives have tended to be constituted by women, explaining that economic migration of men into South Africa means that women hold an important role in generating livelihoods which in other countries in the region would normally be taken up by men (IntsLDept 2010). In Lesotho they are now encouraging men to become co-operators and in Uganda they want to encourage women (ibid).

A second aspect of the revival in Lesotho and Uganda are changes to the way co-operatives are defined and developed. This is linked to what the General Secretary of the UCA refers to as a “new approach to co-operatives”, making a distinction between ‘old co-operatives’ that were based on donor funds and government supported and ‘new ones’ that focus on self-help and self-reliance and co-operative values (Msemakweli n.d., 2010: 1). In Lesotho co-operative stakeholders also refer to older and newer co-operatives (IntsLC, 2010). This focus on new forms of co-operatives means co-operative values are used to support co-operative development, including for youth co-operatives: values form a component of training for youth co-operatives (IntsLUC, 2010) and are part of the policy change for co-operatives (Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2008; Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operative and Marketing, 2009). The new

approach also involves diversification into new areas of business (IntsUUCA, 2010; IntsLDept, 2010), and while traditionally co-operatives have been pre-dominantly agricultural they are now part of other sectors like handicrafts and savings and credit (ibid). This sectoral shift appeals to youth, particularly in Lesotho, who reported that doing business in these new sectors appeals to them (IntsLYouth, 2010).

The opening up of the membership of co-operatives to youth has resulted in a number of activities and processes which support such engagement, primarily set up by co-operative organisations in Lesotho and Uganda but also affected by actions of the wider co-operative movement. As discussed in Chapter 2 the international co-operative movement has agreed to promote youth engagement. In 2011 the theme of the UN International Day of Co-operatives was youth (ICA, 2011). The ICA Africa Regional Assembly agreed that youth engagement should be a target and has led to the Assembly to invite a youth to sit on the ICA Regional Board (Obl ICA Africa Regional Assembly Meeting, 2010). The President of the Regional Office for the ICA Africa stated, *"Young co-operators will ensure our succession as a movement"* (ibid). This move has helped to create momentum in countries like Lesotho and Uganda, promoting opportunities for sharing ideas and experiences in how to engage youth co-operatives as well as stimulating action. Such global influence has then been fuelled bi-laterally (between countries). For example in Lesotho, one of the catalysts for youth co-operatives came from a study trip to Malaysia by co-operative officers where they visited some youth co-operatives followed by similar trips to Swaziland and South Africa (IntsLDept, 2010).

As discussed in Chapter 4 the move to incorporate youth is being led by the UCA in Uganda and the Department for Co-operatives within the Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing in Lesotho. The UCA is stressing that youth are essential to the future of co-operatives

and that co-operatives can help youth cope with the poverty-related challenges typically facing them (IntU General Secretary UCA, 2010). The YEECO Project (as discussed in Section 4.3.1) has been running for over ten years and has established 61 youth co-operatives throughout the country (Mtonga-Mukumbuta, 2008; Musinguzi, 2006). Support and training has been provided to establish these co-operatives and develop them in the long term (ibid). While the idea to focus on youth came from the UCA it was made possible through funding from SCC (IntU former YEECO Coordinator, 2010). This funding has now finished and the current aim is to mainstream this activity in other UCA programmes (IntUUCA, 2010).

In Lesotho there is an emphasis in the Department of Co-operatives on making youth aware of co-operatives and training them on how to set up co-operatives. They believe co-operatives can provide experiences and skills for members as well as having the potential for increasing the income of youth (Intl Commissioner for Co-operatives, 2010). As discussed in Section 4.3.1 there are now 20 registered youth co-operatives and up to another 20 to 60 in the process of registering (IntlDept, 2010). The Department obtains funding from the government which has enabled the co-operatives to be less dependent on external or project support for their focus on youth as compared to Uganda. Youth are considered pivotal to the development of the co-operative sector, bringing new skills and ideas to the movement:

“The advantage of getting youth engaged is that they bring continuity and new ideas to help co-operatives move forward with a fresh mind” (Assistant Minister, Honourable Khotso Matla, for Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing, speaking at the opening of Youth Co-operatives Forum, Lesotho, 2009) (ObL Youth Co-operative Forum, 2009)

The organisational efforts in both countries are significant and without them it is unlikely that youth would have established co-operatives (FGDsLUYouth, 2010). A former Regional Coordinator for YEECO points out the majority of youth do not see co-operatives as relevant to

them unless they have been sensitised to them and their benefits (IntU Coordinator ILO (former Regional YEECO Coordinator), 2010).

Despite this, views on youth engagement differ. One co-operator in Lesotho argues that the focus on youth is at the expense of the movement and youth should join existing co-operatives rather than money being spent on training and engaging them separately (IntL anonymous co-operator, 2010). In Uganda there is an opposing argument, but with a similar conclusion (IntsU Regional Officers UCA, 2010), that mainstreaming youth engagement will be a challenge. They say that whilst existing Regional UCA Offices see youth engagement as important, they have other priorities and consequently do not have the resources to assume the responsibilities of the YEECO programme (ibid).

In summary, there is an institutional push towards engaging youth with co-operatives. The revival has opened up membership to youth and the co-operative support organisations - the UCA (Uganda) and the Department for Co-operatives (Lesotho), particularly the leaders in these organisations - have had a significant influence on the efforts to engage youth with co-operatives. However the extent to which these activities can be sustained depends on the willingness of co-operative officers and existing co-operatives to engage with youth. There is also a key debate on the most effective way to engage youth with co-operatives: mainstreaming them in existing co-operatives or setting up specific youth co-operatives. Moreover, in Uganda the level of youth engagement activities is exacerbated by the funding arrangements for YEECO: this programme has depended on donor funds which have now finished, threatening the extent to which the UCA can maintain its focus on youth.

5.1.3 Contextual influences on youth agency

In this section I analyse the data in relation to aspects of youth's agency linked to livelihoods and co-operatives and the influences on their decisions and actions in this area. To illustrate these issues and ground this section I begin with a story told by Mohammed, a member of JoyFod SACCO, through his self-directed photograph project⁵⁴.

Mohammed decided to use the photograph project to describe the options that face youth and the decisions they make about livelihoods (IntUJF Mohammed, 2010). He took a series of photographs of sugar cane being harvested and processed by youth:

Figure 9 - Mohammed's photographs of youth harvesting sugar cane⁵⁵



⁵⁴ This method was explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2. To re-cap the data relates to the photograph image and more importantly the participant's reasons for taking the photograph and their explanation of the image. I reflect on both of these when I refer to self-directed photographs in the thesis.

⁵⁵ Photographs taken by Mohammed (JF) (Uganda, 2010).

Mohammed described youth making a decision to miss school and harvest sugar cane as it allowed them to make money (IntUJF Mohammed, 2010). Mohammed used this to illustrate youth being interested in “short term gains”⁵⁶. He described how youth decided to use their resources - time and money - to make income in the short term rather than investing resources in businesses or in school to make more money in the long run. Mohammed described how he used to engage in this kind of activity but then decided to invest in his farm and other businesses. He believes youth need to be sensitised to these different choices and their consequences, to enable them to make decisions about their livelihoods. Mohammed’s data emphasised the financial needs of youth, the types of decisions they face and the different ways that they use their agency, which in turn underpins the choices they make concerning livelihood opportunities such as joining co-operatives. I explore these issues in more detail in this section.

The high unemployment levels in Lesotho and Uganda mean youth have little chance of obtaining a formal sector job and they therefore look for other options. Throughout the data, youth’s main concern is to find a job or establish an income as a way to address everyday problems and the primary reason given by youth for joining a co-operative is to make an income (IntsLUYouth, 2010). They believe income will allow them to change their lives by creating access to education for them and their families, improving their housing and accessing health care (ibid). Youth report that there are not many opportunities in terms of income generation open to them - this was particularly the case in rural areas - and when presented with the option of being part of a co-operative they are therefore ready to try it (ibid). However there are also barriers to their decision to join a co-operative as youth reported that it was difficult to find the money for the membership fees which are a condition of joining (ibid). Also, the perception that co-operatives are for adults and not for youth was typical (ibid).

⁵⁶ This term is used frequently when describing youth in Uganda (SHIntsU, 2010).

There was recognition that, as a group, youth are better placed to build financial resources and access other opportunities than if they stand alone (IntsLUYouth, 2010). The former YEECO Coordinator explains that youth are challenged by lack of access to land and financial resources and co-operatives represent a way to pool and build their resources (IntU former YEECO Coordinator UCA, 2010). Youth report that they are attracted to the way the co-operative group structure is arranged (IntsLUYouth, 2010). In particular, they are attracted to co-operative values and the effects that the values have on the way leaders are elected, to the fact that co-operatives are registered and part of a legal framework that guides them, and to the way they work collectively both as a business and a social group (ibid).

In summary it is the combination of a number of contextual factors that drive youth's engagement with co-operatives. The high unemployment rates mean youth are looking for ways to make an income. Consequently when the co-operative support organisations present youth with the opportunity of joining a co-operative youth are motivated and make the decision to join. I now turn to look in more detail at how youth engage with co-operatives.

5.2 Overview of youth's engagement with co-operatives

In this section I present and discuss a typology of youth's engagement with co-operatives, describe common types of youth co-operatives and provide an overview of the youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda.

5.2.1 Typology of youth's engagement with co-operatives

This research focuses on youth as members of co-operatives (in line with the core approaches in Lesotho and Uganda) but there are a number of ways in which youth can engage with co-operatives which are also relevant to the research. I have developed a typology of engagement to

illustrate these different interactions and provide the wider picture of youth and co-operatives.

Table 12 provides an overview of ways youth engage with co-operatives:

Table 12 - Typology of youth's engagement with co-operatives

Type of engagement	Description
Engagement as a member	Youth are members of co-operatives
Engagement through study	Youth learn about co-operatives at school or further education establishments
Engagement as a consumer	Youth are consumers of co-operative services or products

Engagement as a member: Youth become members of a co-operative. As a group they have the opportunities to save and obtain credit, sell produce, market products, create products and jointly own land or other capital. Through their membership they engage in a range of activities such as meetings, decision making, training opportunities and leadership positions.

Engagement through study: Engagement also comes through learning about co-operatives via the curriculum either in schools or further education institutions. The approach is currently being implemented in schools, for example in the UK (Mills and Wilson, 2008) and in Co-operative Colleges in different countries including Lesotho and Uganda (IntL Acting Principal Co-operative College, 2010; IntU Acting Principal Co-operative College, 2010). There is a desire to adopt this approach in schools in the long term within the region, including Lesotho and Uganda (ObsL ICA Africa Regional Assembly Meeting, 2010).

Engagement as a consumer: Finally youth also engage with co-operatives through becoming a consumer of their products and services. For example school-based co-operatives may sell their products or services to other students, and youth in the community may buy products or services from the co-operative.

As mentioned engagement as a member is the core approach in Lesotho and Uganda, although there are dimensions of engagement as a consumer (as youth do consume the services provided by youth co-operatives) and engagement through study (in the school-based co-operatives in Lesotho). In the next section I explore the types of youth co-operatives (engagement as a member) that exist in Lesotho and Uganda.

5.2.2 Types of youth co-operatives

The two types of youth co-operatives which have developed in Lesotho and Uganda are outlined in Table 13:

Table 13 - Types of youth co-operatives

Types youth co-operatives	Sub-types	Description
Youth-only co-operatives	Youth-only co-operatives in schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members are students at the school. • The core focus of the co-operative is the needs of youth.
	Youth-only co-operatives in communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members are youths • The core focus of the co-operative is the needs of youth.
Co-operatives with a mixture of youth and adult members		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members are a mixture of youth and adults • Recognition of youth needs • Sometimes formation of a youth group

In youth-only co-operatives, all or the majority of the members are classed as youth (IntU former YEECO Coordinator UCA, 2010; IntsDeptL, 2010). The first of these was established in Lesotho in 2003 (IntsDeptL, 2010) and in Uganda in 2000 (IntU former YEECO Coordinator UCA, 2010). They focus on the needs of youth and their development by providing them with the opportunity to build livelihoods and the opportunity to participate in decision making, voting, and training and leadership positions (IntsLUYouth, 2010). The members of these co-operatives tend to have received training tailored for youth and tend to see themselves as unique and different from

other non-youth co-operatives (ibid). They can be based in community or in a school. In Uganda there are only community co-operatives but in Lesotho both forms are found. In the community co-operatives, youth are mostly aged 18 to 35 years. The school-based members tend to be younger, around 15 to 20 years old, and they are often supported by a teacher at the school.

The co-operatives that have a mixture of youth and adult members, often with a separate youth group within a larger co-operative, are found in both Lesotho and Uganda. However they are only recognised as youth co-operatives if they have a particular focus on youth issues (IntsLDept, 2010; IntsUUCA, 2010). In these mixed co-operatives, youth will often be in the minority and, whilst there will be an explicit focus on the needs and development of youth, it is often less emphasised than in youth-only co-operatives - for example youth will have less access to leadership positions (IntsUTYouth, 2010).

I have created Table 14 to provide an overview of all the youth focused co-operatives in each country at the time of the research. This outlines the scope and nature of the youth co-operative sector in each country.

Table 14 - Overview of youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda

Facts/Common Features	Lesotho	Uganda
Number of co-operatives	20 registered	61 registered ⁵⁷
Pre-registration co-operatives	20 to 60	Not known
Types	Mainly youth only and based in schools and communities	Mainly youth only and based only in communities
Common type	There is a range but the majority are multipurpose ⁵⁸ or focused on the service industry	Agricultural and Savings and Credit
Number of members	Typically 10 to 15 members	Typically 50+ members

⁵⁷ This does not include all of the mixed co-operatives which relates to how youth co-operatives are recognised and registered – a point I return to in Section 5.3

⁵⁸ Multipurpose co-operatives engage in a number of different businesses.

Facts/Common Features	Lesotho	Uganda
Average age of members	20 to 25 (youth co-operatives in communities) 15 to 20 (youth co-operatives based in schools)	25 to 30
Gender	Balance of male and female.	Often co-operatives have a significant majority of male members especially in the agricultural co-operatives.
Management and governance	They generally do not employ staff members and the elected board run the operations of the co-operative	Mainly they do not employ staff members and the elected board run the operations of the co-operative. However in SACCOs they do tend to employ staff
Key support organisation	Department for Co-operatives	UCA
Location	Mostly Urban – with a significant number in the capital Maseru	Mostly rural
Regular Support	Annual youth co-operatives conference Ongoing support through district-based co-operative offices A revolving loan fund is planned	Support for the YEECO was provided by the UCA headquarters. However the YEECO has now wound up. Since then there has been some finance in form of small grants via Co-op Africa (which is part of the ILO).

In the next section I turn to the five youth-focused co-operatives selected for the case studies.

5.3 Specific contexts of the five selected youth co-operatives

This section builds on the data presented in Chapter 4, and provides more detail on each of the co-operatives.

5.3.1 Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative (Lesotho)

Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative is a registered community based youth co-operative. The members started their activities in 2006 and are based on the road outside Hasimone village in Leribe District, North East Lesotho, a rural area. Focusing on tourism and providing guided tours of dinosaur footprints, members also produce handicrafts to sell, such as moulds of the dinosaur footprints, jewellery and artwork. The co-operative provides the opportunity for members to take part in a group business (tours) and to market their individual crafts collectively. Subeng do

not have staff, and the Board (comprising elected members as Chair, Vice-Chair, Treasurer, Secretary and three general members) co-ordinates and conducts activities. The members report that they hold weekly meetings to discuss any co-operative issues and that they have an annual general meeting (AGM) each year. The co-operative has a rondavel (in this case a small one-room structure made of stone with grass thatching) which provides a central point for people visiting the site and where members can also display their handicrafts and hold their meetings.

The co-operative now has 12 members, mainly youth (a mixture of ages from 18 to 35 years old), but, as Figure 10 shows, some are older people (40+ years).

Figure 10 - Photograph of the members of Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative - mixture of youth and older members⁵⁹



Subeng is viewed as an 'active' co-operative (IntL Regional Co-operative Officer Leribe, 2010). Some members are very active but there is a problem in motivating other members. Whilst they do a number of activities, it is often a core of five to eight members that carry out these activities with the Chair playing a consistent role. Members are mainly unemployed and have no likelihood of permanent work. They therefore have the time to be at the site, which they visit on a daily basis, seeing it as 'what they do' and as their 'job' (GIntLSD, 2010).

⁵⁹ Photograph taken during fieldwork (Lesotho, 2010).

Members share the money from the tours and receive money individually for selling their particular crafts. However any money they make from the tours they save and reinvest in the co-operative. The members explain *“We are babysitting a business, it is there for all time and hoping it will grow...we can then grow too and benefit through increased sales.”* (GIntLSD, 2010). Members have therefore invested their profits in building the rondavel and the travel costs for attending training in Maseru. Members make some personal income (about £4 per week), through selling their handicrafts through the co-operative and report that this does contribute to their basic needs. However, this is not enough for members to afford to buy shares⁶⁰, which means that the co-operative lacks capital. Subeng’s photograph project provides further insight on the lack of capital. The first photograph in Figure 11 is of the members of Subeng cleaning water off the dinosaur footprints and the second photograph is the prints when not covered in water. Members report that the prints become covered when the river floods and they believe that this will damage them in the long term (GIntLSD, 2010). The members want to build a fence around the footprints but do not have and cannot access the finances to do that and without them they think the future of their co-operative is threatened.

Figure 11 - Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative’s Photographs of the dinosaur footprints⁶¹



⁶⁰ As discussed in Chapter 2 members of co-operatives buy shares in the co-operative which raises capital for the co-operative and members receive dividends on the shares they have bought.

⁶¹ Photograph taken by members of Subeng (Lesotho, 2010)

The co-operative is supported by the Regional Co-operative Officer in Leribe and the Ministry for Tourism who provide training and advice. Members also train each other. For example the Chair, who is an artist, tries to train other members in art-based crafts. However, he says that this is challenging and members lack interest (IntLSD Petraus, 2010).

5.3.2 Rise and Shine Co-operative (Lesotho)

Rise and Shine Co-operative is a school-based youth co-operative. At the time of writing it is in the process of registering with the Department for Co-operatives but started activities in 2004. The 41 members are students (aged 17 to 21 years). The co-operative is based at Mohale's Hoek High School and is part of the extra-curricular programme offered to students. Mohale's Hoek is a District in South Western Lesotho and the school is in the District Centre, an urban area. Rise and Shine's main activity is the provision of savings and credit to members. Members open the SACCO during allocated lunch hours (one to two times weekly). Meetings are held weekly to discuss co-operative issues but they have not held an AGM. They do not have staff: the Board (comprising of Chair, Vice Chair, Treasurer, Secretary and four general members) co-ordinates and conducts activities.

Members report different benefits. Annual profits have been shared once but, as with Subeng, members are re-investing income into the co-operative to help it grow. Members are able to access some finance via the co-operative. This is important as a significant number of them are orphans and often need to loan money to help with cash flow problems - mainly to pay school fees or to buy school uniforms. The support teacher at the school says that the co-operative changes the behaviour of pupils, making them more focused on school and with more concern for other pupils (IntL Teacher Mohale's Hoek High School, 2010). Members explain:

"The co-operative keeps members busy doing work, even in the school holidays. When they are doing co-operative activities it can stop them doing bad things like drug abuse." (GIntLRS, 2010).

This is a 'very active' co-operative (Intl Co-operative Regional Officer Mohale's Hoek, 2010). The members are motivated and the co-operative does multiple activities and has diversified into a number of other activities to help ensure their survival. Members found that they needed to raise more money to meet the demand for loans and knew that there was a limit to what their members could save or the extent to which they could buy shares. The co-operative therefore started to provide savings and credit facilities to teachers at the school and they plan to establish a poultry project.

Rise and Shine is supported by a teacher at the school as well as the Regional Co-operative Officer and some local NGOs, all of whom provide training. Internal training sessions are also organised for members as shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12 - Rise and Shine's photograph of members training each other⁶²



This photograph was taken as part of Rise and Shine's self-directed photograph project. Members explained that learning takes place internally and that they train each other on personal development skills as well as the business of the co-operative. Members wanted to show the importance they attach to the training opportunities they experience via the co-operative and that they lead the training themselves (GIntLRS, 2010).

⁶² Photograph taken by members of Rise and Shine (Lesotho, 2010).

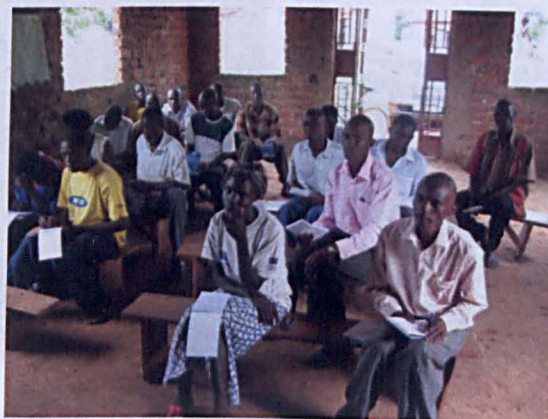
5.3.3 Kigayaza Youth Co-operative (Uganda)

Kigayaza Youth Co-operative is a community-based youth co-operative. It was established in 2004 as part of the YEECO programme and registered in 2010 as a co-operative. It is based in Kigayaza Village in Kayunga District, in the Central Region of Uganda. It is a farmers co-operative and the members' main activities include selling agricultural produce together, mainly maize, which enables them to obtain a better price for it. The members also have shared businesses including pig rearing and growing trees. Kigayaza holds monthly meetings as well as ad hoc meetings for training and they have had one AGM. The co-operative does not have an office and meets from the Chair's house or in the local church (see Figure 13 below which shows a photograph of members meeting in the local church). There are no staff and the Board (comprising the Chair, Vice Chair, Projects Manager, Publicity Officer, Secretary and four general members) co-ordinates and conducts activities.

Kigayaza has 98 members who are all farmers, ranging in age from 18 to 35 years but mainly aged between 25 and 30 years. All have access to their land; some own it and others rent it. Members report that they are able to increase their income through the co-operative through group marketing and through acquiring information, both of which enable them to increase their yields. Members concentrate on sharing information with each other, through training meetings and visiting each other's farms and sharing knowledge. The members have also received a series of training meetings provided by the UCA and from the Ministry of Agriculture. They have appreciated and been motivated by the YEECO project and are concerned about what will happen now that it has finished. Money made from group businesses is shared and members also obtain individual returns relative to the proportion of produce they put into the collective marketing project. There has been no financial return on the group projects yet but members have shared the offspring from the pig rearing.

Kigayaza has been judged as a 'very active' co-operative (IntU Coordinator ILO (former YEECO Regional Coordinator UCA), 2010). There is strong leadership and members are mostly motivated. There is a problem motivating some members which the data indicates could relate to some members benefitting more than other members in terms of access to training and increasing income (IntUK youth co-operator, 2010). The co-operative conducts a number of activities which it would like to expand but it is limited by lack of capital which in turn relates to members' abilities to buy shares and their ability as a co-operative to borrow money. Consequently they are applying for funding from several donors. The co-operative also finds it difficult to recruit female members. Figure 13 shows a co-operative meeting where there are two female members present out of 18 in total.

Figure 13 - Photograph of members of Kigayaza Co-operative - two female members and 16 male members⁶³



This was typical of the meetings at Kigayaza despite 25% of members being female (ObsU, Kigayaza Member Register, 2010). Members explain:

"We have been trying hard to recruit women, we want them to be in the co-operative but it is difficult. Mostly girls want to stay in town and don't want to be in a rural setting. They feel they can get jobs there. Female members tend to leave as they are 'married off'

⁶³ Photograph taken during the fieldwork (Uganda, 2010).

and move to new areas. Girls also have an inferiority complex. Sometimes women feel that if the husband is in the co-operative there is no point for them to join as well as the family is already benefitting through the co-operative. Many parents also forbid their daughters to join.” (GIIntUK Board Members (both female and male), 2010)

5.3.4 JoyFod SACCO (Uganda)

JoyFod SACCO is a community based savings and credit co-operative focusing on youth. It started activities in 1996 and registered as a co-operative in 2004. It is based in Buwenge sub-county in Eastern Uganda, in a small cluster of shops just off the main road in a rural area. As Figure 14 shows JoyFod has an office where its staff is based and where members come to make deposits and borrow money.

Figure 14 - Photograph of the office of JoyFod - the only co-operative in the study with a formal office⁶⁴



The co-operative has four paid staff and a Board (comprising of a Chair, Vice-Chair, General Secretary, Treasurer and three general members) which oversees their operations. The main service is providing its 1364 members, the majority of whom are aged 18 to 35 years, with access to financial services. The staff take deposits from members and give interest on these savings and also offer loans to members. Members pay membership fees and some have bought shares for

⁶⁴ Photograph taken during fieldwork (Uganda, 2010).

which JoyFod pays an annual dividend. The co-operative also accesses finance from the Ugandan government which it then lends to its members and it has applied for funding from other donors. The members are generally local farmers who need to access extra money to manage their cash flow issues. People in rural areas find it difficult to access the formal banking sector. Members report that they prefer to use JoyFod as it is based in the community which means that there are no or limited costs in accessing its services and they find it easier to approach SACCO staff as they know them (GIntUJF, 2010). JoyFod also specialises in lending money to youth who can struggle to obtain loans. The Manager explains JoyFod's approach to lending money:

"Youth do not have collateral or security. We use peer pressure for repayment for collateral and do both individual and group loans. We look at both sides the social and the economic aspects - working to provide training first. We see youth as our strength; see young people as providing services to the community. We believe that all young people should be treated equally. " (GIntUJF Staff, 2010)

JoyFod is classified as a 'very active' co-operative in terms of the number of activities it does and the commitment of members (IntU Coordinator ILO (former YEECO Regional Coordinator UCA), 2010). It holds AGMs and other meetings with members for training and communication. The board meets each month with the SACCO Manager and oversees the running of the co-operative. The co-operative also has sufficient levels of savings and loan disbursements and does a number of activities to support members, such as training. As the photographs in Figure 14 indicate, the co-operative has developed to the extent where it can afford staff and an office.

The co-operative accesses training from the UCA as well as organisations set up to support microfinance providers, both government and non-government. It also has a demonstration farm where members can learn about different farming techniques. There is significant interest in SACCOs by the Ugandan government (IntU Manager Microfinance Facility, 2010) which means that there is increased support and funding for co-operatives like JoyFod.

5.3.5 Twekembe Rural Producers Organisation (RPO) Youth Group (Uganda)

Twekembe Rural Producers Organisation is a community-based co-operative with a mixture of members - both adults and youth. It was established and registered in 2002, and members later decided to focus on youth and set up a youth group. The co-operative is based in Bukanga sub-county which is a very rural area – far away from the nearest town of Iganga in Eastern Uganda (a 1 hour drive from Iganga on a non-tarred road). It is a farmers co-operative but also provides savings and credit to members. Members farm individually and grow crops such as coffee, maize, rice, millet and groundnuts and also keep livestock. The members bring their produce together, store it, transport it, enabling them to market and sell it in bulk and demand a better price for their crops and livestock, than if they sold them individually.

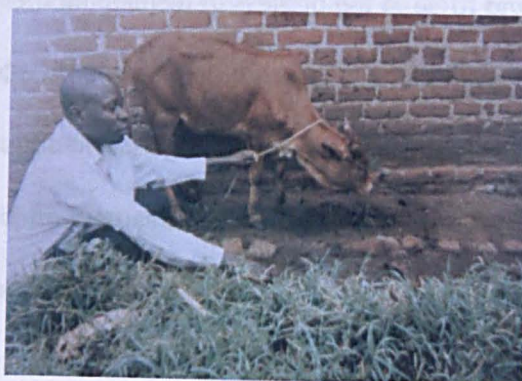
The co-operative is seen as 'active' (IntU Coordinator ILO (former YEECO Regional Coordinator UCA), 2010). In recent years its activities have been limited but members report recent improvement. Savings and credit services were established to enable the co-operative to assist fellow farmers who needed additional money for farm inputs and when crops fail. The Chair of Twekembe RPO believes that the establishment of the youth group has also led to a number of new activities and explains:

"It is good to have youth on board, they have good ideas and are stronger and faster so can contribute. They can also learn from experienced members. They are the future ones of the co-operative." (IntU Chair Twekembe RPO Uganda, 2010)

The co-operative has 300 members - a mixture of ages, with both genders represented. However, men are the majority and, as with Kigayaza co-operative, it struggles to recruit female members. The youth group has 62 members, the majority aged 18 to 35 years. It holds meetings when planning new projects or activities. Members also visit one another's farms and meet informally and report that the main benefit is the relationships they can build with other farmers who are also members of the co-operative which enables them to share information with each other.

The idea of mutual support is depicted in Figure 15 which are photographs taken by David a member of Tweekembe youth group, as part of his self-directed photograph project he chose to underline the support members give to each other and other members of the community (IntUT David, 2010). Figure 15 comprises photographs of a female member (first photograph) and a male community member (second photograph) who have been lent money to establish small businesses by the co-operative.

Figure 15 - David's photographs of people who have been lent money by the co-operative⁶⁵



Tweekembe is supported by the UCA regional office and also by the Area Co-operative Enterprise (ACE) for the area, which is a secondary co-operative representing and supporting a number of co-operatives. Tweekembe accesses a limited amount of training from the UCA and the ACE.

5.4 Key contextual features and issues for youth co-operatives

This section reviews the five co-operatives and draws out some key contextual features and issues faced by youth co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda more generally. These issues and features influence processes of learning and the development of capabilities and agency which I discuss in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

⁶⁵ Photographs taken by David (T) (Uganda, 2010).

Youth co-operatives have been formed in a range of sectors but for Lesotho the common ones are multipurpose and service providers (e.g. tourism, catering and consultancy) and for Uganda the common co-operatives are agricultural and SACCOs. Alongside this the services youth co-operatives offer to members differ. Some are running shared business activities and others are facilitating individual businesses or a combination of both. The arrangements are often unique to the particular co-operative, influenced by the needs and situation of their members and the location of the co-operative. The co-operatives range in size and level of activity. However, in general, youth co-operatives are small in terms of number of members and business operations; they tend to be in the process of developing their business rather than an established operation. The exception is SACCOs (including youth SACCOs) which are often more established and larger (this was particularly the case in Uganda). This is due to demand for their services as well as the additional interest and support in this type of co-operative. The youth co-operatives in Lesotho are significantly smaller than those in Uganda.

Youth members can be rural, urban, male, female, educated, less educated and have varying degrees of income. They generally range in age from 15 to 35 years old, however there are also some older adult members at times both in mixed co-operatives and youth-only co-operatives⁶⁶. In Uganda members tend to be rurally based and the majority male, with older males in leadership positions. In Lesotho there are more equal numbers of females and males, members of all ages and they live in both urban and rural areas. The 'intensity' of their membership can also vary – members may visit their co-operative each day, weekly or every few months – to some extent it depends what else is going on in a youth's life: other jobs/businesses, whether they are at school, and how dependent they are on the co-operative for income. Table 15 highlights the multiple impacts the youth co-operatives in this research had on their members.

⁶⁶ This is mainly due to younger members becoming adult members overtime.

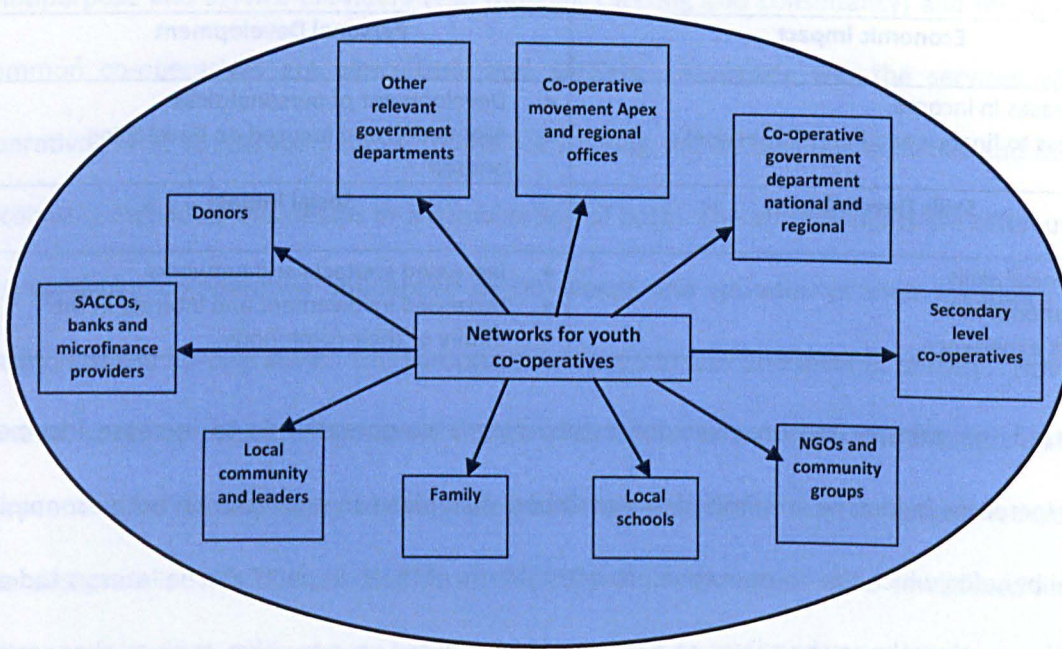
Table 15 - Overview of the impacts of co-operative membership on youth (FGDsLUYouth, 2010)

Economic Impact	Personal Development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increases in income • Access to finance and financial services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of personal skills • Motivation and focused on developing oneself
Skills Development	Social Impact
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical skills • Vocational skills • Work experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased contacts and networks • Increased involvement and interest in the affairs of their community

As discussed the primary reason given for establishing a co-operative is to increase income. However increases in income are limited and members also place an emphasis on both economic and social benefits which the co-operative provides. Many of these impacts can be interpreted as changes the youth make to their lives as a result of being in the co-operative, such as changes in capabilities, as reported by youth and which will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 8. As Table 15 shows, an important acknowledged benefit of being a member of a co-operative is developing skills and acquiring knowledge. This learning comes through the access to training opportunities provided by the organisations in the co-operative networks. It also comes through sharing experiences and ideas with other members more akin to the situated learning experiences that I discussed in Chapter 3 and which are the main focus of Chapters 6 and 7.

All the youth co-operatives in this research reported (GIntsLUYouth, 2010) being part of a network through which they access training, information, support, finance and other opportunities. Figure 16 provides an overview of the network of influences and support referenced across the data.

Figure 16 - Networks for youth co-operatives (Glntslu, 2010)



Youth most often referred to co-operative organisations in the movement, and the Apex and government department who play a key role in the provision of training and support (Glntslu, 2010). However the youth co-operatives also reported having relationships with other community-based groups and NGOs in their vicinity as well as a variety of government departments. Locally based individuals and organisations can also support and hinder the progress of co-operatives. Co-operatives also seek to build relationships to increase access to finance.

Legally, youth co-operatives are registered as general co-operatives as there is no separate category for them. Records and knowledge of youth co-operatives are not held in the official registry of co-operatives and so can at times be an estimate rather than a consolidated record. There are also a number of youth co-operatives that are in pre-registration. Consequently there are more youth co-operatives than the statistics (Table 14) indicate. Co-operatives that focus on

youth but are not recognised as doing so also miss out on opportunities for support from the co-operative networks provided specifically for youth co-operatives (IntsUTYouth, 2010).

A core challenge that all the youth co-operatives face is access to finance. They need finance to invest in their co-operative and support its growth. The expressed causes of lack of finance are multiple: firstly co-operatives have problems in collecting membership fees as members have limited income; secondly they struggle to find markets for their products and services; thirdly it can be difficult to access credit as they have limited capital to act as collateral. All of these factors are affected by the co-operative having a majority of youth members: youth are at a stage in their lives where they are still building their livelihoods and have not yet accumulated any wealth or capital goods. In many cases this leads to youth co-operatives looking for funding from donors.

5.5 Conclusion

The first section of this chapter analysed why youth are engaged with co-operatives (responding to RQ 1). It focused on discussing how the broader context of youth and the proximate contexts of the revival of co-operatives and youth's demand for livelihoods shape youth engagement with co-operatives (responding to RQ 6). What the data has revealed is that youth engagement with co-operatives is underpinned by an institutional push from organisations in the co-operative networks (as part of a revival of co-operatives) as well as an agency-related pull by youth themselves. This situation is underpinned by the broader context of youth relating to the high unemployment rates in both countries and the limited livelihood opportunities available to youth and the challenges that this creates for youth in terms of access to food, health and education.

I found that youth engagement with co-operatives occurs in different ways, engagement through study, engagement as consumers and engagement as members (responding to RQ 1). The central

platform for this in Lesotho and Uganda is through membership of a co-operative. Engaging youth through membership of a co-operative, particularly when they are in school is seen as an innovative approach within the co-operative movements in countries in Africa (ObsL ICA Africa Regional Assembly Meeting, 2010). This type of engagement also provides youth the opportunity to use their agency (both individual and group) to respond to their own needs and to build a livelihood.

The discussions of the five co-operatives illustrate the specific contexts within which youth co-operatives operate:

- The multiple impacts that these co-operatives have on members, including the development of skills and acquisition of knowledge.
- The diversity of the youth co-operatives in terms of the different people who join them, where they are based, how active they are, the types of business they carry out and the services that they provide to members and the potential effects this can have.
- The key issues that they face in access to finance and registration.

The discussion of contextual issues in this chapter helps situate the analysis of the rest of the thesis. I now turn to analyse youth co-operatives in detail through the lens of learning and capabilities, reflecting the guiding ideas that were set out in Chapter 3.

6.0 Introduction

In the next three chapters I explore the research findings, presenting and analysing my data within the framework of the guiding ideas of the co-operative learning space and an expanded and contextualised analysis of learning in co-operatives (developed in Chapter 3). These chapters help build a picture of the ways co-operatives create learning spaces for youth (RQ 3) and work towards a conceptual framework for learning in co-operatives, which I outline in Chapter 8.

In this chapter, I focus on the individual experiences of youth in the selected co-operatives and look at what youth learn through being in a co-operative, how they learn it and the effects of this learning on the life of a youth. I analyse data collected from the co-operatives selected for the study in both Lesotho and Uganda particularly data collected via the learning audits (discussed in Section 4.4.1). I begin by focusing on the research question 'What kinds of learning can be identified and how do they occur?' (RQ 4) I identify skills and personal development for youth and ask what learning experiences led to their development. My findings indicate that through the co-operative, youth personally develop; they also acquire technical skills relating to the business of the co-operative, and gain conceptual knowledge relating to co-operatives. This involves a number of learning experiences, including externally initiated ones deriving from the networks within which the co-operative participates. However, I also argue that situated learning experiences, where youth learn through what they experience and through the relationships that they can build with other members of the co-operative, play the central role.

Analysis of learning is then expanded to answer the research question 'How and to what extent does learning in a co-operative develop the capabilities and agency of a youth and with what development impacts?' (RQ 5). The effects of youth's learning experiences in the co-operative are

explored – by focusing on whether they can transfer skills outside of the co-operative and use them to make changes to other aspects of their lives. I argue that the co-operative learning space provides valued opportunities for learning, but learning also builds achieved functionings relating to building a livelihood, peer networks, improving relationships in their homes and community engagement. Finally through the analysis of capabilities change and learning I illustrate that the learning space does not provide a uniform experience for each youth and depends on a number of personal factors such as a person's level of education, gender and age.

The chapter has three sections following the presentation of the learning audits. I start by analysing youth's skills and personal development, then I assess how youth learn and in the last section I analyse the development of youth's capabilities and achieved functionings.

6.1 Data overview of individual learning experiences

I begin with a short overview on how data on learning experiences was collected.

6.1.1 How data was collected

Learning audits (discussed in detail in Section 4.4.1) tracked what youth have learnt through the co-operative, how they have learnt it and what effects it has had. They were done on an individual basis in interviews and from the focus group discussions (FGDs). Data was then triangulated through implementing multiple methods with the same participant and FGDs provided data on learning which reflected the wider experiences of youth in a co-operative. Where appropriate data from my observations of learning incidents and general activities in the co-operative, as well as analysis from photographs (my own and from the participants), is also used to reinforce the analysis.

I start by presenting overviews of all of the audits from Lesotho and Uganda and subsequently draw on these to present and discuss findings throughout the chapter. To enhance this analysis I aim to present examples of individuals' learning experiences from both Lesotho and Uganda when discussing a particular issue and then comment on its prevalence across the data set as a whole, while drawing out particular differences between the two countries.

6.1.2 Overview of the learning experiences of youth engaged in co-operatives

The following section provides an overview of the data collected through learning audits in both countries. Table 16 relates to Lesotho and Table 17 to Uganda. I have set out the tables in summary form but keeping as closely as I can to the exact phrasing coming from the participants. This gives an important sense of the perspective of the individuals involved. My analysis that follows refers to the detailed data behind these summaries.

Table 16 relates to the nine individual audits⁶⁷ conducted in Lesotho augmented by data from FGDs where learning audits were conducted with groups of youth.

⁶⁷ As discussed in Chapter 4 the original design for the case studies was to conduct research with two co-operatives in Lesotho. However during the fieldwork (as discussed in Section 4.4.2) I identified a number of youth co-operatives that were some of the first to be established but which are now mainly inactive. I could not include them in the case studies as it was not possible to collect data from them as a group (they do not therefore feature in Chapter 7). However I decided to interview one youth from three of these co-operatives as the data collected provided useful historical perspectives as well as experiences of individual learning.

Table 16 - Summary of the learning audits conducted in Lesotho

PARTICIPANT(S)	WHAT DID YOU LEARN?	HOW DID YOU LEARN IT?	WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE?
Rise and Shine Co-operative - school-based peri-urban youth co-operative, 41 members aged 17 to 21 years old			
Puleng, 18 years old, female, Secretary	Communication skills with customers	Co-operative Officer from Department for Co-operatives, other members	Wants to set up her own co-operative when she leaves school and this will help her
	Bookkeeping	Through doing co-operative activities, accounting studies at school and doing small businesses at home	Wants to set up her own business when she leaves school and this will help her
	Keeping minutes	Practice in her position as secretary	Improves her ability to do her job as Secretary
	Motivated and focused on life	Co-operative keeps her busy, talking to other members	Not engaged in bad behaviour. Changes her future and makes it positive
	Confidence	Doing co-operative activities especially the public ones	Now does things on her own
	Leadership	Position in co-operative	School prefect
	Communication	Interacting with other members	At school and with her family
	Managing a co-operative	Youth Co-operative Forum ⁶⁸	
	Care for the community	Doing co-operative activities, discussions with members, from her teacher	Has sympathy for community members
Bokang, 18 years old, male, Chair	Management of money - importance of savings and how to budget	Discussions with members	Manage personal money and help family with their spending. Will also help when go away to study
	Handling clients	School, Youth Co-operative Forum and practice in the co-operative	Will help in career plans (wants to be an accountant)
	Confidence and self-esteem	Being in the co-operative	Has friends at school - gets peer advice/counselling. Will help when studying in a new country
	Planning ahead and future focused	Being in the co-operative	Business ventures. Deciding what to focus on in life and what activities to do and avoiding negative life styles
	Can make better decisions	Being in the co-operative	Parents appreciate ideas. Allowed to participate in decision making at home particularly around financial planning
Likhabno, 18 years old, female, General member	How to run a business	Doing co-operative activities	
	Confidence	Doing co-operative activities – especially meetings where she gave her views	Combined with new communication skills - been able to make friends
	Bookkeeping	School, practice in the co-operative	
	Communication	Meetings in the co-operative	Can talk to anyone – in school and in the community. Has more friends.
	Savings	Doing co-operative activities and doing personal saving	
	Care for the community	Doing co-operative activities	Donating clothes to needy people in the community. Asking parents/others to do the same
FGDs (9 members)	Self-confidence	Practice – talking to new people, networking with business people for fundraising, in co-operative	Teach people in the school about co-operatives More willing to answer questions in class

⁶⁸ As discussed in Chapter 4 this Youth Co-operative Forum was organised by the Department for Co-operatives in Lesotho in conjunction with the Co-operative College UK in 2009 and 2010. Over 150 youth co-operators attended, mainly from Lesotho but also from South Africa, Swaziland, Uganda and the UK.

PARTICIPANT(S)	WHAT DID YOU LEARN?	HOW DID YOU LEARN IT?	WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE?
		meetings, Youth Co-operative Forum. It is ongoing development	More willing to help other students
	Financial recordkeeping	School, local youth centre did some training, sometimes internal training on this – members training other members. Through doing savings and credit activities at the co-operative	Small businesses at home – like selling fruit and vegetables
	Working with customers	School. Internal training in the co-operative. From doing small businesses at home. Doing co-operative activities	Small businesses at home. In future planning to run own businesses and set up own SACCO. Also use these skills in the co-operative.
	Teambuilding	Experience in the co-operative. Sports at school. Youth Co-operative Forums	Sports and at home with other family members
	Networking	Experience in the co-operative, especially working with other social groups and also fundraising local businesses for the youth forum	Fundraising for their own needs
	Willing to help others	Being in the co-operative, this is our aim to do this and we do activities for this	Think of others in the school and in the community
Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative - a community based rural co-operative, 12 members aged 18 to 35 years old			
Petraus, 29 years old, male, Chair	Co-operative values	Youth Co-operative Forum	Need to know them to then practise them
	Managing a co-operative	Youth Co-operative Forum, doing co-operative activities	
	Working with people – trust, sharing ideas, negotiation and communication	Being in the co-operative, observing other members doing it, through mistakes	Improves relationships at home and in the community
	Building a rondavel	Being a member	Can build one at home
	Open-minded	Being a member	Relationships in the co-operative, at home and in the community
	Marketing products	Own experience, practice	Use for personal businesses
	Bookkeeping	Regional Co-operative Officer	Improve the quality of the books in the co-operative
	Being responsible	Being in co-operative gives future motivation	Improved relationships at home. Family now has a positive opinion of him
	Consultative decision making	Youth forums and doing co-operative activities	Consults his wife on decisions at home
Ranford, 22 years old, male, General member	Running a business - pricing and marketing	Through doing co-operative activities	Make attractive products at a reasonable price which then sell
	How to make goods attractive and producing what customers want	Discussions with members	As above
	Co-operative values	Youth Co-operative Forum	Learnt the need to be co-operative, be a leader, do self-help
Agnes, 24 years old, female, Vice-Secretary	How to co-operate and work with others	Being in the co-operative and operating in a certain way	Co-operative harmonious
	Co-operative values	Youth Co-operative Forum, co-operative show on the radio, talking to other members	
	Confidence	Youth Co-operative Forum and being in the co-operative	Can talk to people in the community and at the Youth Co-operative Forum
	English	Youth Co-operative Forums	Can take visitors on tours
	Mobilisation (how to train others on co-operatives)	Through teaching new members	Teaching about co-operatives in the community
	Business planning	Youth Co-operative Forums	

PARTICIPANT(S)	WHAT DID YOU LEARN?	HOW DID YOU LEARN IT?	WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE?
FGD (8 members)	Co-operation	Being in the co-operative	Improves how co-operative runs
	Co-operative values	Youth Co-operative Forum	
	English	Conducting the business of the co-operative – mainly the tours	Improves ability to do tours
3 Maseru based youth co-operatives all urban started as school-based co-operatives; average size 15 members and aged 18 to 30 years old			
Pheko, 30 years old, male, Chair, Easy Go Travel	How to draft a constitution	Processes in the co-operative	In his career as a lawyer
	Accounting	Members with knowledge on this, meetings and discussions in the co-operative	Monitor activities across his business
	Knowledge on tourism	Being in the co-operative	
	Learnt new ways to survive – other livelihood options	Members (as they are from different backgrounds)	Broadens his life and gives him options
	Confidence and public speaking	Leadership position in the co-operative	Helps his operating in court and at university. Also in terms of communicating with the rural community to which he is linked. In any meetings he attends
	Listening skills and communication	Meetings in the co-operative, leadership position	
Leadership	Youth Co-operative Forum, President of the Youth Apex and Chair	Leadership position at sports teams and university activities	
Khombelwayo, 27 years old, male, Chair, Bocha-Ke-Palesa	Business Management and Enterprise Skills	Department's workshops, at school, doing co-operative activities, practice	Set up his own business
	Confidence and self-esteem	Doing co-operative activities	
	New ideas and ways of thinking	Exposure to new people and new experiences – through tours and the Youth Co-operative Forum	Opened his horizons personally and for his business
Rethabile, 23 years old, female, General member, Poverty Fighters	Bookkeeping	Department, members with experience in that area	Personal finances
	Confidence and self-esteem	Being in the co-operative and the kudos it gave her at school	Willing to speak up day to day. Will help when she gets a job.
	Poultry keeping	From a community members	Not using it
	Time management	Being in the co-operative and being fined for being late	In day to day life
	How to work with people of different character – conflict management	Through experiencing disputes in the co-operative, watching them and being part of them	In her job as a social worker

There were eight individual audits conducted in Uganda⁶⁹ augmented by data from FGDs with each of the co-operatives where learning audits were conducted with groups of youth. Table 17 provides a summary of the data collected for Uganda.

⁶⁹ Three individual learning audits were completed for Kigayaza and Twkembe however for JoyFod I had difficulty in identifying an individual, particularly a female who was available and accessible for the two interviews needed to complete the learning audits. Females were present in the FGDs for JoyFod.

Table 17 - Summary of the learning audits conducted in Uganda

PARTICIPANT(S)	WHAT DID YOU LEARN?	HOW DID YOU LEARN IT?	WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE?
Kigayaza Youth Co-operative - community based rural farmers co-operative, 98 members, 18 to 35 years old			
Geoffrey, 29 years old, male, Chair	Leadership – links to confidence and public speaking	YEECO training, practice, looking at notes from external training, trip to Lesotho Youth Co-operative Forum	Leadership position in NAADS
	Recordkeeping	YEECO training, showed their records to YEECO staff and got feedback	Personal health records, personal financial records and records for the business
	Enterprise selection	YEECO training	
	Open-minded	Co-operating with other members	Improve personal business
	Personal planning	Personal discussions YEECO staff	
	Co-operative definitions and values	YEECO training, practice	Train for UCA. Helped a disabled group in the community to establish a co-operative
	Modern farming techniques	YEECO training, other members more experienced	Changed farming direction and improved incomes
Godfrey, 29 years old, male, Secretary	General farming knowledge	Other members more experienced	Changed farming direction, improved yields and improved incomes
	Enterprise selection	YEECO training	
	Saw farming as a job	YEECO training, personal discussions YEECO staff, practice	Focused on farming and made a success of it
	Recordkeeping	YEECO training, looked at other members records	Uses it in business
	Savings culture	Practice	To grow business
	Confidence – links this to leadership	Experiences in the co-operative, leadership position, relationships with other members	Positions in society – electoral commission and looking to stand as a youth MP
Mobilising	YEECO training, practice	Supporting community groups to become co-operatives.	
Juliet, 18 years old, female, General member	Confidence	Being a co-operative member	
	Farming knowledge	Other members – more experienced	Improve farm
	Personal discipline	Other members	Focused on developing her life
FGDs (19 members)	Leadership	UCA and the experience of being a leader	In job as a teacher and in the family home
	Minute Taking	In meetings at the co-operative	Allows personal follow up on actions, as well as follow up in the co-operative
	Interpersonal Skills	Training from UCA	Use this in business, particularly the provision of customer care
	Recordkeeping	UCA training	Evaluate profit and loss in co-operative and own farm
	Mobilisation	Experience in the co-operative	In meetings in the community
	Sharing ideas	In co-operative	Establish ventures that have already been tried by friends and who also have remedies for the challenges
	Training skills	Attendance of workshops	Sensitisation of community members
	Knowledge transfer	When telling members who missed meetings what was discussed	Contributes to better yields
	Task Management and Planning for business	UCA and other organisations training	Avoid middle men and over exploitation
	Maintaining personnel hygiene	Talking to members in the co-operative	Changes to toilet at home
	Confidence	Position in the co-operative	Can communicate and stand firm in groups in the community
JoyFod SACCO - a SACCO, 1364 members, 18 to 35 years old			
Mohammed, 29 years old, male, General member	Collaborative decision making	Loan appraisal process at JoyFod	Changed decision making at home
	Mobilisation	JoyFod Training	Works with other community groups. Trying to establish a co-operative in the community.

PARTICIPANT(S)	WHAT DID YOU LEARN?	HOW DID YOU LEARN IT?	WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE?
	Planning for business	JoyFod Training	Plans which project to invest in
	Loaning money	JoyFod Training and government training	Loaned money which means can now operate businesses effectively
	Savings	JoyFod Training	Keep money for when it is needed and use money to invest in things like education
	Managing income	JoyFod Training and government training	Have a business for a daily income and then other businesses for long term incomes
	Recordkeeping	Formal schooling, JoyFod helped draft records with him	Know-how much profit and loss he is making
	Self-confidence and self-esteem	Being a member of JoyFod and being able to secure loans	Can take part in public speaking and communicate with range of people
	Interpersonal skills	Communicating JoyFod staff	
	Motivated	Visiting other members and seeing their success	Committed to making a success of life
Charles, 22 years old, male, general member	Saving	JoyFod Training	Helps him manage his business and manage financial emergencies
	Confidence	Having money gives him confidence as well as having a successful business, JoyFod activities	Helps him make decisions for his business and his family
	Working with others – consulting them	Being a member of JoyFod. Participating in the PhD research activities (FGDs)	Consults other members when making decisions and feels that this improves the decision making
FGD (12 members)	Saving	JoyFod and practice	Used the money to finish schooling and set up other businesses
	Being responsible	Having leadership positions at JoyFod	People in the community consult them as they see them as responsible
	Group work	Experience of being in a group	Mobilised people in the community to save together. In other training sessions.
	Enterprise selection	JoyFod	
	Managing resources	Practice of running a business	
	Recordkeeping	Practice of being a JoyFod member	In their businesses
	Planning for the future	Seeing SACCO develop and being a member	In their businesses
	Leadership	JoyFod training	Positions in the community
	Learning from others	JoyFod and then practice of forming other groups	Set up other farming projects
	Self-confidence	Attending JoyFod meetings	Positions in the community and engage in local politics
<u>Twekembe Youth Group - community based rural farmers co-operative, 62 members in the Youth group ages 18-35 years old</u>			
David, 18 years old, male, General member	Farming knowledge	Visiting fellow members farms, discussing things with them	Improved his farming and therefore his yields
	How to work in a group – how to build trust within a group	Being in the co-operative	Trust built among the group and they help each other through providing financial support when members cannot access this elsewhere
Hakim, 22 years old, male, Secretary	Business planning	Twekembe Co-operative and the Twekembe youth group	Keep crops when price is low and keep them until the price is better
	Confidence and public speaking	Experience of PhD research	Confident to speak in all situations
	Farming methods	UCA Trip to see other farms, Twekembe Co-operative members, youth group training	Increased incomes from improved farming
Amina, 18 years old, female, General member	Farming knowledge	Other members	Improved farming and increased responsibility for activities at home
FGDs (17 members)	Ability to make bricks	Other members	5 members have been able to use these skills to construct their own home
	Farming knowledge	Visits to other members farms, training local co-operative union	Improved farming and therefore income

PARTICIPANT(S)	WHAT DID YOU LEARN?	HOW DID YOU LEARN IT?	WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE?
	Loans	Training Tweekembe Co-operative	Getting loans as individuals and in groups
	Confidence and public speaking	Being in the co-operative	Speak to range of people and confident about putting their opinion forward
	Trust	Being in the co-operative – experience of successful group activities like bulking	Willing to help each other when they need
	Savings	Training from local SACCO	Keeping money in the bank
	Deforestation	UCA training and local co-operative union	Not now making charcoal and have a nursery bed for trees – if cut one then plant one
	Respect for each other and between youth and elder members	Being in the co-operative	Youth now teach adults as well as adults teaching youth
	Teachable – want to learn things and able to learn things	Code of conduct in trainings	Motivated to go to training opportunities. Able to learn new things
	Hardworking	UCA and practice of having a loan	Pay back loans
	Personal discipline – dress, hygiene, time management and communication with others	Being in the co-operative	Smartly dressed for meetings and trainings and on time
	Writing	Being part of the PhD research	
	Planning for business	Local co-operative union	Know profit and loss
	Gender balance	Interaction in the group	
	Benefit of attending meetings	Local co-operative union	Will attend meetings when they are called
	Enterprise selection	From other members	

6.2 Skills and personal development

I now explore the skills and personal development youth acquire through the co-operative learning space. For this purpose, I am using King and Palmer's (2010) definition of "skills development", which relates to developing capacities to do a job and engage in work (King and Palmer, 2010: 1336). I define personal development as the development of the identity and ideas of an individual through which they become more self-aware, self-confident and able to interact with others. This builds on Eraut's (2004: 202) work on personal knowledge which he defines as the ideas and abilities people *"bring to situations that enable them to think, interact and perform."*

The data shows that being a member of a co-operative can result in a mixture of skills and personal development for an individual. For example, Bokang from Rise and Shine, when asked what he has learnt through being in the co-operative (Table 16, Lesotho) lists management of money, handling clients, confidence and self-esteem, planning and decision making. Meanwhile,

Juliet from Kigayaza (Table 17, Uganda) refers to developing confidence, new methods of farming as well as personal discipline from being in the co-operative. These examples indicate the simultaneous development of the business and vocational⁷⁰ skills needed to run the co-operative as well as aspects of personal development of the individual, such as confidence. Crucially both areas were formally recognised and understood by those involved. Indeed it was reflected in all the responses of participants' learning audits.

Skills and personal development represent both explicit and tacit areas of knowledge. The business and vocational skills relate to running the co-operative and typically include bookkeeping, communicating with clients and marketing. These are often classified as more explicit and relating to the business of the co-operative. In all cases, youth report acquiring personal development such as confidence and time keeping, as well as interpersonal skills. These are more tacit skills which often relate to how a person thinks and feels and can be harder to identify and measure. However explicit skills can also have a tacit dimension, for example, being honest is also an aspect of being a successful bookkeeper (ObsLSD, 2010). I argue therefore that there can be tacit and explicit aspects to different skills and areas of knowledge, a point to which I return later in this section.

The data in Table 18 has been compiled from data gathered by all the research methods. It represents the skills and personal development most often referred to by the youth participants - those at the top of the list having been referred to the most. The aim is to provide a sense of the prevalence of different skills across the data and not to create quantitative statistics (this would

⁷⁰ Vocational knowledge and skills can be defined in different ways. King and Palmer (2010: 135) relate it to the development of craftspeople. I am using it more generally to refer to skills that relate to a specific trade or area of work such as farming.

not have been possible based on how the data has been collected; for instance there was no stipulation on the number of skills an individual could discuss).

Table 18 - Common skills and personal development in youth co-operatives

Lesotho	Total instances cited	Type of skill/development	Uganda	Total instances cited	Type of skill/development
Confidence	8	Personal	Farming knowledge	6	Vocational
Interpersonal skills	6	Personal and Business	Confidence	6	Personal
How to work in a group	5	Personal and Business and Co-operative	Responsibility and focused on development	7	Personal and Co-operative
Bookkeeping	5	Business	Saving	6	Personal and Business
Leadership	4	Personal and Business	Enterprise selection	5	Business
Open-mindedness	3	Personal	Recordkeeping	5	Business
Co-operative values	4	Co-operative	Interpersonal skills	4	Personal and Business
Marketing products	3	Business	Co-operative values	4	Co-operative
Managing clients	3	Business	Leadership	4	Personal and Business
Responsibility and focused on development	3	Personal and Co-operative	How to work in a group	4	Personal and Business and Co-operative
Care for those less fortunate	3	Personal and Co-operative	Training skills	3	Personal and Business
Saving	2	Personal and business	Managing income for business	4	Business

The skills and personal development gained in the co-operatives can be classified into four areas: business, vocational, personal development and co-operatives. Table 18 outlines that in both countries youth developed different *business (and vocational)* skills and knowledge related to their areas of business. For example farming knowledge was the most cited skill in Uganda with the three co-operatives being farmers co-operatives or having members who were farmers. In Lesotho there was an emphasis on managing clients and bookkeeping, which related to the businesses that the co-operatives were doing, such as the provision of savings and credit. Yet,

personal development that related to interactions with other members of the co-operative as well as families and communities was common to both countries and all types of co-operatives. It included: outlook on life, how members think and relate to others, interpersonal skills (such as communications skills). Other common areas of personal development that were cited included being responsible and focused on development, which youth explained as being committed to their own development, making a success of their life and avoiding negative life styles. The most common area of personal development was increased confidence, for example having the self-belief to take part in activities and speak out in a group. The classification of *co-operative* relates specifically to the co-operative model and the development of knowledge and skills of understanding and running a co-operative: how to make decisions democratically and a feeling of care for those less fortunate. These relate to the definition, values and principles of co-operatives⁷¹. Again this was a common area for both countries.

These four classifications might suggest that skills and knowledge development were exclusive to any one of business, personal or co-operative areas of knowledge and skills. However Table 18 shows that many skills relate to a combination of different areas of skills and development. For example participants noted that confidence and the ability to work with others and ability to communicate enabled them to be effective leaders in the co-operative. Another significant finding is that the skills and personal development transcended the working life of a youth; youth reported using skills such as money management to help coordinate their household income (for example Table 16, Bokang, RS, Lesotho).

Fairbairn's (1999) work on co-operative education and the knowledge co-operatives develop in members (discussed in Chapter 3) can help conceptualise the findings in Table 18 further. Youth's

⁷¹ See Table 1

development of business and vocational skills relate to Fairbairn's (1999) technical knowledge, and their acquisition of knowledge on co-operative values relate to the conceptual knowledge. However Fairbairn's categories do not identify personal development, which the data has shown is as common as business or vocational skills. Although he alludes to knowledge on co-operatives being related to how to work in a group, the more individualised personal development, emphasised in Table 18, is not discussed.

Technical and conceptual knowledge and skills also often reflect the external learning curriculums which co-operatives can access. For example in Uganda, the UCA emphasised recordkeeping and enterprise selection and this is a common area of skills development in the data for Uganda (UCA, n.d.). In Lesotho business planning and co-operative values were core themes at the annual Youth Co-operative Forums. These are found across the learning for Lesotho, which suggests that within the co-operative networks there is an emphasis on the business skills needed to run a co-operative, whereas the potential co-operatives have for the personal development of individuals can be missed in the formal learning of these curricula and forums.

The individual learning audits show the similarities and difference in the learning for individual members in a co-operative. The personal situation (such as where they live, their experiences and their age) of a member can help explain why this is the case. In Rise and Shine (Table 16, Lesotho) the skills and personal development that the participants go through is similar - they are learning in the same areas and to a similar extent. The members of this co-operative are all students at the same school, have similar levels of education and are also of similar age. Table 16 shows a different situation for Subeng. Here the Chair of the co-operative has a high level of learning as compared to the other members. Differently from Rise and Shine, the members in Subeng are of different ages and different education levels. In Subeng, the Chair graduated from secondary

school and the other two members did not complete this level of education. Differentiations in age and effects on learning are also reflected in the data from the learning audits for Kigayaza (Table 17, Uganda) and observations during the FGDs and training sessions also suggested that educational levels had an effect. There is a suggestion from Kigayaza that members who are more educated are able to 'absorb' information to a greater extent and therefore learn more (IntUK Geoffrey, 2010). This concurs with Adams (2008: 18) who also found that low educational levels can create challenges for the "upgrading of skills and capacity"⁷². This emphasises that education levels, age and background can influence what youth learn.

The Subeng data highlights that a member who holds a leadership position has more access to more learning opportunities (as compared to members not in leadership positions) and cites a greater level of skills and personal development. Similar data can be reported for half of the co-operatives in the data set (Table 16 Subeng and Maseru Co-operatives, Lesotho and Table 17 Kigayaza, Uganda). Overall, youth in leadership positions access external learning opportunities and the general members do not. Leaders are also engaging in more activities within the co-operative, such as attending and leading meetings, which gives them more opportunities to participate in learning experiences (ObsLU of co-operative activities for all co-operatives, 2010).

Gender also provides another influence on learning. In Uganda, female members experience a lower level of skills and personal development than their male counterparts. For example, in Kigayaza (Table 17, Uganda), the two male participants express a wider range of skills and personal development as compared to the female member. While Juliet is a general member and not in a leadership position as are the two male participants, and she is considerably younger and less experienced than them (which is likely to have affected the extent to which she can learn, as

⁷² Adams' (2008) work discusses learning in the informal sector in countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

discussed earlier), her gender is also a contributing factor. She is less likely to be elected for a leadership position because she is a woman and she will be less likely to attend co-operative activities as she has jobs to do at home. This is evidenced in the low number of female leaders in the co-operatives in this study and also in the low numbers of females who attended the co-operative activities I observed and the research activities I implemented. The data for Lesotho indicates a different situation, where females were in leadership positions across the co-operatives and there was much less difference between what male and female youth expressed that they were learning. The status of gender (discussed in Chapter 5) can therefore affect the extent to which young women can learn in the co-operative.

In summary while there are differences between the skills and knowledge members acquire through the co-operative there are common areas of technical skills and knowledge (business and vocational), knowledge and skills relating to the nature of co-operatives and also personal development. The latter is often neglected in the co-operative education literature. I now turn to look at the ways youth learn in the co-operative.

6.3 Learning experiences

In this section I analyse the ways in which youth learn through the co-operative learning space. My interpretation of learning experiences is broad, including both formal and informal learning experiences, initiated outside of the co-operative and as well as internally through situated and social experiences of learning.

The data shows that youth learn through a combination of learning experiences. For example, the learning audit for Petraus at Subeng (Table 16, Lesotho) relates his skills development to learning through the Youth Co-operative Forum, doing co-operative activities, being a member of the co-operative, through the Regional Co-operative Officer and through experience of marketing

products. In another example, this time from Uganda, Charles from JoyFod (Table 17) refers to being a member of JoyFod, taking part in JoyFod's training activities and participating in the research activities for this PhD study, as helping him develop different skills. As these examples show, there are mixtures of learning experiences for one individual that, while not uniform across different youth, in all cases develop skills.

The data shows that a youth acquires a particular skill through a range of learning experiences rather than a skill being developed from one learning incident. I argue further that there is ongoing development of a particular skill or area of development involving a number of learning experiences. Whilst participants tend to respond to questions on how they learnt about something by providing the initial way they learnt about it, when asked how the skill was further developed or refined they refer to a number of learning experiences (as discussed in Section 4.4.1 when I discussed learning audits). Youth experience and benefit from both 'on-the-job' learning, through their experiences in the workspace as well as 'off-the-job' learning such as external training opportunities (Fuller et al, 2004: 2-3). In fact these two types of learning which are often separated theoretically (Fuller, 2007) are in fact intertwined in the learning youth experience through the co-operative. It is therefore crucial to identify and explore both. This argument reflects Fuller and Unwin's (2004: 126) conceptualisation of an "expansive learning environment": a situation where a person has access to a variety of learning experiences versus a restrictive learning environment where they have limited opportunities.

To explore the nature of these learning experiences further I have summarised the types of learning from across the data in Table 19. The data in Table 19 has been compiled from data gathered by all the research methods. As with skills and personal development (Table 18) I have indicated the frequency across the data, and as with Table 18 the aim is to create a sense of

prevalence of different learning experiences and not to create quantitative statistics. Table 19 provides evidence of the different learning experiences that are part of co-operatives as a space of learning and they also emphasise the central role of situated learning experiences. I will now explore the different types of learning experiences by analysing the key findings from the data.

Table 19 - Common Learning experiences in youth co-operatives

Summary of learning experiences				
Description	General theme (if applicable)	Categories	Total instances cited Lesotho	Total instances cited Uganda
Through school subjects		Learning experiences that are external to the co-operative	7	1
Experience of the PhD research				6
Co-operative show on the radio	Media		1	
Forming small businesses at home			2	
Forming other groups				1
Reading notes/books				1
		Total instances	10	9
Workshops – held centrally or sometimes regionally. Organised by Apex/Co-operative government department	Support other co-operative organisations - training	Learning via networks mainly related to the co-operative	12	18
Trips and tours – to other co-operatives. Organised by Apex/Co-operative government department	Support other co-operative organisations - training		2	2
General support other co-operatives (3 cited as discussion based)	Support other co-operative organisations - general		3	8
Training from other government departments	Support other organisations - training			3
Training from local NGOs	Support other organisations - training		3	
		Total instances	20	31
Being in a leadership position	Participating and experiencing in the co-operative	Situated learning experiences	5	5
Attending meetings	Participating and experiencing in the co-operative		5	2
Practice of doing co-operative activities – idea of learning through doing something again and again, making mistakes	Participating and experiencing in the co-operative		22	16
Being in the co-operative – links to the values of the co-operative and being in a group	Participating and experiencing in the co-operative		16	22
Workshops in the co-operative	Participating and experiencing in the co-operative		2	9
From other members (in 6 instances members cited learning from members with more experience and in 6 instances members referred to learning through conversation)	From other members		10	9
Visiting and observing other members businesses and activities	From other members		2	5
Members of the bigger co-operative (only for Tweekembe)	From other members			2
			Total instances	62

6.3.1 External learning experiences

The external learning experiences are initiated by organisations outside of the co-operatives but connected to it. They are generally formal processes which are intentionally initiated by organisations. These organisations are most commonly organisations in the co-operative network⁷³ (both government and the movement), but can also be organisations linked to the co-operative in other ways, for example they may be an NGO with an interest in youth issues. Within the co-operative network, co-operative education is identified as a core priority and umbrella organisations have a legal responsibility to provide it (see national co-operative policies for Lesotho and Uganda, Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2008; Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operative and Marketing, 2009). In Lesotho the participants most commonly refer to the Youth Co-operative Forum, organised by the Department for Co-operatives, contributing to their skills development. The participants from Uganda similarly refer to learning experiences initiated by the UCA, mainly workshops. The data also indicates that learning from external processes also refers to discussions with staff from these organisations (IntUK Geoffrey, 2010), which emphasises that external learning experiences can also have a social learning dimension.

Table 19 provides more information on the external learning experiences that youth access which are not related to the co-operative. For example, in Uganda, Mohammed from JoyFod (Table 17) referred to learning at school helping him develop the skill of recordkeeping and Agnes from Subeng (Table 16, Lesotho) referred to learning about co-operatives via a radio show. The role of school experiences in developing skills was also highlighted in the data for Rise and Shine members (Table 16, Lesotho).

⁷³ See Section 2.2.2 for a description of the different organisations which are part of the co-operative network.

As I mentioned in the previous section, how a youth learns can affect *what* they learn. Business and vocational skills tend to be the focus of the external learning opportunities and thus influence what is learnt. The data shows this is connected to the conceptions of 'co-operative education' held by the co-operative networks at national and international levels. It is also connected to the way learning is arranged - there is often emphasis on workshop style training - with training curricula designed by experts and then delivered to members (IntsLDept, 2010; IntsUUCA, 2010, 2010).

Members see the external learning opportunities as the 'legitimate' training. In contrast, as the following extracts show, youth value the learning that they achieve through interactions with other members but they do not see it as 'training'.

"The main benefit is sharing experiences with other members. I also got a cow from the group and I will give the calf she had back to the co-operative. I have gained more knowledge on cattle keeping, pig rearing, poultry and this has helped me earn a living. I have not got any services from the co-operative like training for instance." (IntUT David, 2010)

"(Are there any barriers to learning in the co-op?) Yes we do not have access to trainings. (Do you have internal training sessions?) No. (So when do you learn from each other?) In meetings and discussions." (IntLSD Agnes, 2010)

From these statements there is a perception of the importance of the external training but a parallel less-acknowledged reference to the learning and outcomes that are achieved despite the lack of this formal external training. The literature has also shown that this preoccupation with external learning experiences and lack of appreciation for situated learning is common when people in the workplace are asked about how they learn (Blackmore, 2007; Fuller, 2007).

Access to external learning experiences can be limited for some co-operatives and some members. In fact Table 19 indicates that external learning experiences only play a role for a third of all the learning experiences in Lesotho and just under half for Uganda - the small number of

members who obtain access to external training are often the elected leaders of the co-operative. This is significant as the data also reveals that new knowledge often comes through the external learning experiences that a youth accesses through their co-operative membership. For example, from the data for Uganda (Table 17), participants refer to obtaining information on modern methods of farming from formal training by external people and organisations. Godfrey from Kigayaza (elected Treasurer) refers to developing skills in recordkeeping, enterprise selection and coming to believe that farming is a worthwhile livelihood from the UCA. Considering the challenges to accessing external training indicated above, indicates that barriers to learning exist within the co-operative and, at a wider level within the co-operative networks. I return to this in Chapter 7.

As I mentioned earlier external and internally situated learning experiences are often separated in the literature. I discussed how Fuller and Unwin's (2004) conceptualisation of an expansive learning environment attempts to address this. The data in this study shows that there is a mixture of learning experiences - external, internal, informal and formal and that they are often interlinked. For example, youth report learning through discussions with other co-operative members during the free time at the Youth Co-operative Forum in Lesotho (IntLRS Puleng, 2010). It is also typical for new knowledge acquired through formal training to be cascaded throughout the co-operative to all members both through formal internal training but mainly through discussions between members (IntsUK, 2010) - making the new knowledge part of situated learning experiences.

I conceptualise these interconnections as 'learning pathways'. This phrase is sometimes used in connection with adult learning (McGivney, 2003) or in connection to post school vocational education (Harris et al, 2006). In these cases there is often an emphasis on combining different

learning experiences, including formal and informal learning experiences and the pathways accommodating different learning needs and the experiences of individual learners (Welsh Government, 2010). Here I am using the concept to develop the argument that, from my research analysis, skills, knowledge acquisition and personal development result from a range of learning experiences that intersect and build and develop knowledge in the individual and the collective. It is important to recognise the interconnections between different learning experiences as well as recognise the potential of an expansive learning environment to appreciate fully how learning takes place.

Macpherson's (2003: 15) concept of associative intelligence (outlined in Chapter 3) argues that recognising the 'interconnectedness' of education in the co-operative is the key to conceptualising it for the modern era. The data and preceding discussion concur with aspects of this concept. He describes learning experiences as external and internal and emphasises the knowledge that results from people working together. However, whilst Macpherson (2003) places emphasis on the associative and situated nature of learning and the effects that they can have, he does not go into detail into how they occur. As discussed in Chapter 3 situated learning is often ignored in the practice of co-operative education and there is limited explanation of it in the co-operative education literature. This has prompted me to explore and analyse these situated learning experiences further - elucidating how these experiences take place and what influences them.

6.3.2 Situated learning experiences

Table 19 provides evidence that situated learning experiences are at the core of co-operatives as a learning space for youth. This is illustrated in the following extract:

"(What do you think is the main way learning takes place?) From each other, from other members. I have learnt communication skills in this way, learnt how to communicate with

clients and other members. (How?) Interacting has helped communicating at home and school.” (IntLRS Puleng, 2010)

Consider Likhlabno from Rise and Shine (Lesotho, Table 17) who has no access to external learning experiences, however she has a similar level of skills and personal development to the other members from Rise and Shine who develop their learning externally. All of her six areas of learning are internal learning experiences initiated through her participation in the co-operative and co-operative activities. Lack of access to external learning does not mean that youth do not learn.

Table 19 breaks this down to processes which involve members sharing experiences, discussing issues with one another, carrying out co-operative activities (such as attending meetings and being in leadership positions), ‘being’ in the co-operative, visiting and observing other members’ businesses and, crucially, having the opportunity to practise things. These internal learning experiences can be seen as situated learning experiences which arise through individuals participating in the co-operative. This includes learning through social interactions with other members but members also learn through activity and being in the co-operative. Internal learning also relates to learning through the formal training activities that members arrange for other members which aim to promote learning.

The example of Godfrey from Kigayaza (Table 17, Uganda) is illustrative. He connects learning about farming, recordkeeping, confidence and ability to mobilise other people to a range of situated learning experiences. He refers to learning farming techniques from members more experienced than he; recognition of the importance of saving and becoming more confident through being a leader in the co-operative. To understand this area better, it is necessary not

only to identify when situated learning takes place but to unpick what takes place when situated learning occurs.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) ideas can help understand the learning that takes place between members. They emphasised the learning that takes place between what they termed as old timers and new comers, people who have been in the organisation/group for some time and those people who are new to the group. This also occurs in co-operatives. For example, youth report that they are inducted when they take up a new position within the co-operative from the person who previously held that position (IntsLUYouth, 2010). The emphasis in co-operatives is on experience more than the length of time someone has been a member of a co-operative. Experience is often related to achievement - for example, when a member is seen to have more success in a particular area (for instance they have produced more pineapples or sold more chickens) they are then seen to have a greater level of knowledge from which others can learn.

The following is an extract from an interview with a member of a farmers co-operative.

"I learn from the youth members, from both females and males. (Do fellow members learn from you?) They consult me on different projects as I beat many in terms of income and expenditure. (What are the main things you want to learn from fellow members?) How to manage different projects, also about diseases and pests etc. (When does this take place?) Normally on visits to their farms. (Does being in the youth group enable you to approach farmers more easily?) Yes it helps as we are all members. This style of learning really excites me." (IntUT David, 2010)

Experience dictates who shares knowledge but this can change depending on the area of interest.

One person may share the knowledge they have in one area and then receive knowledge in a different area. This is more in line with Johnson and Wilson's (2009) collegial learning which is learning that takes place between co-workers and is also akin to Fuller and Unwin's (2004) ideas on horizontal learning.

Co-operative membership in itself is perceived as facilitating learning - members refer to learning through 'being in the co-operative' which is connected to the co-operative principles and values and being a member of a group (Table 19). David's extract above alludes to learning that comes through being in a group - being in the co-operative enables youth to connect to, and build relationships with people through whom they can then learn. As David explains, without the co-operative connection they would not feel that they could approach the person and ask to share the knowledge.

There are elements of similarity and difference between youth in a co-operative that underpin the learning that takes place through these relationships. Mohammed from JoyFod said he: *'...found it useful to learn from a fellow member – as he is like us and lives in the village'* (IntUJF Mohammed, 2010). In this case, the fact that members live in the same community and have a sense of shared experiences and ideas enables them to relate to each other and provides a foundation for learning from each other. They establish relations and importantly a sense of trust, which can be important for creating effective learning experiences (Johnson and Wilson, 2009). I return to trust in Chapter 7. As discussed earlier the situation of members having similar experiences is particularly evident in Rise and Shine in Lesotho. The data indicates that this similarity has an impact on skills and personal development (as discussed), how they learn and links the learning to the shared environments and institutional settings.

However there is also evidence that learning takes place when youth experience things that are different from their current practices or when others have a different experience or background from theirs. Such difference can create a space for learning:

"I learn through the co-operative...In most cases when you see something very different to yours you have to take care to pick something for yourself. (In what areas?) In bananas, business or the garden." (IntUK Godfrey, 2010)

“Members being from different backgrounds really helps and strengthens the co-op as they can then deal with a range of issues and also learn a lot from each other” (IntL Pheko, Easy Go Travel, 2010)

The issue of learning from and through difference is an important one and fundamental for learning and new knowledge (Engeström, 2004; Johnson, 2007).

Discussion is a central platform through which members share knowledge with each other and learn. The data shows that this is important when youth learn through difference as it creates an opportunity to share and debate different ideas:

“(Do you find it easy to learn new things?) No it takes time, I cannot learn by just sitting there. In groups through having conversations you will learn. (How?) As we are talking we will start conversing about something. Someone then comes up with a good idea, we discuss it and we will learn from that. Both sides learn through this.” (IntLSD Petrus, 2010)

Such conversational learning has been analysed by Baker et al (2005) (as discussed in Chapter 3) who point out that conversations provide the space for people to voice different ideas. Baker et al (2005) go on to argue that conversation plays a role in helping people process ideas and information and make sense of them, which is reflected in the words of the youth above.

Participants make reference to the ‘teaching and learning’ responsibility which they link to the co-operative principles and values. They report learning skills in the co-operative in how to “share ideas”, in “training” and “knowledge transfer” (FGDUK, 2010). These ideas are also illustrated by two of the self-directed photograph projects where participants were asked to take photographs of what their co-operative meant to them. Participants took or arranged photographs to be taken of them running meetings and workshops with other members and people in the community.

Figure 17 - Photograph of Mohammed training a youth group on how to tackle poverty through group formation⁷⁴



Figure 18 - Godfrey's photograph of a local women's group being provided with information on HIV and AIDS⁷⁵



When asked why they conducted the training, both Godfrey and Mohammed refer to having a duty to share the information they accessed via the co-operative with others in order to give those “people a chance to also develop” (IntUK Godfrey, 2010). Table 19 indicates that this emphasis on providing learning opportunities is also manifest in members providing training for each other. As discussed in Chapter 5, Rise and Shine members provide training sessions for each

⁷⁴ Photograph arranged by Mohammed (JF) (Uganda, 2010)

⁷⁵ Photograph taken by Godfrey (K) (Uganda, 2010)

other, often on personal development (Figure 12 showed a photograph where they were learning about self-esteem).

So far this section has highlighted that situated learning experiences play a central role in co-operatives and that a key part of this is members sharing knowledge with each other. My discussion of learning theories in Chapter 3 indicated that the relationships between members can also influence the extent to which learning takes place. For example, Lave and Wenger's (1991) ideas on legitimate peripheral participation suggest that people make decisions about how and when they will share information with other people in the group. Johnson and Wilson (2009) go on to suggest that, as knowledge can be seen as power, some people can become reluctant to share information. And yet the data shows members regularly sharing information with each other. This is an important aspect that comes out of the data, contrary to ideas of knowledge as power. I return to this in Chapter 7 and 8.

As well as learning from other members, learning through experience is common throughout the data (Table 19). For example members learn about democracy through the experience of voting at the AGM and participating in decision making in the co-operative (ObUK AGM, 2010; ObsLU Meetings, 2010). Members (Table 16 and Table 17) report learning through meetings, leadership positions, interacting with other organisations while representing the co-operative and being part of this research. Comments from Godfrey from Kigayaza provide further insight (IntUK Godfrey, 2010): *"When you use the skill from the training it develops."*, emphasising that after an individual has initially learnt a skill they go through a process of developing it as they keep using the skill. This reflects aspects of Kolb's (1984) ideas that people learn through a cycle of experiencing something, processing the meaning and practising it.

Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that a group is given structure by the nature of the work with which it may be associated. In this case, the structure is provided by the co-operative and the learning space is framed and influenced by being a co-operative and within the framework of co-operatives (Table 1). It is therefore not only the nature of the work - although the type of business of the co-operative plays a role - but also the culture and the values of the co-operative which play a role in learning. They affect the way youth relate to each other with an emphasis on sharing knowledge and experiences (and therefore on situated learning). I return to the influence of the co-operative values and principles on learning in Chapter 7.

The preceding sections have focused on answering the research question 'What kinds of learning can be identified and how do they occur?' (RQ 4) Firstly I have shown that youth develop a number of skills in business, vocational and co-operative areas through the co-operative but just as significant is the personal development they experience. Secondly I argue that skills and personal development result from youth learning through combined learning experiences (I have conceptualised this as learning pathways) - where they first acquire new knowledge and then develop it further through a number of different learning experiences. A core platform for the co-operative learning space is situated learning: learning from other members and through participating and experience in the co-operative and the learning experiences provided by the co-operative networks.

The data analysis also shows that the extent to which a co-operative can create a learning space is complex. Learning depends on the personal situation of members and the broader social context of issues, such as gender, and goes beyond their own needs and aspirations for learning. This creates a situation where what youth learn and how they learn it is not uniform for different members, and depends on a number of factors. Thus while positive attitudes to learning and

sharing knowledge, linked to co-operative values and principles, are evident, individual youth have different experiences of learning in the co-operative - both in situated learning experiences and learning opportunities the co-operative networks provide.

6.4 Impact of learning on individual agency, capabilities and achieved functionings

Aside from the skills and personal development and learning experiences discussed in the preceding sections the learning audits captured data on the *effects* of what was learnt - how participants used the skills and personal development they had acquired through the co-operative. The aim was to collect data that would answer the research question 'How and to what extent does learning in the co-operative develop the capabilities and agency of a youth and with what development impacts?' (RQ 5) One answer is illustrated in the following account:

"(How have you changed since you have been in a co-operative?) My life has changed, I used to smoke drugs and I am now in the co-operative and responsible. I do not now smoke drugs. (How have you developed this through the co-operative?) The organisation is now growing up and I want to see its success, I am therefore motivated to stay healthy to make a success of the co-operative and not do bad things. (What are the effects of this?) I have improved relationships at home and with the family. In particular with my dad. (Why has he changed his mind about you?) Because I have stopped drinking, he saw me drinking and thought I was 'futureless'. Now he sees me and sees I can do things in the co-operative. Before he would trust my brothers and not me. Now [he] consults me and wants to talk to me about important matters.

I also now have recognition in the village. In the past I have never been invited by the Chief but now he invites me and other members. (Why has this happened?) As they have seen the co-operative making something out of the dinosaur footprints and making some money. We have since offered to pay for things in the community i.e. when there are water leakages. They can see us also making money and using it for the community. In past individuals would keep the money for themselves. The chief knows the co-operative is concerned for the community." (IntL anonymous youth co-operator, 2010)

This extract indicates that the youth has improved relationships, become focused on self-development and is now participating in community affairs. Across the data participants report similar stories of taking up leadership positions in school and in the community, and they state the cause is that they now have leadership skills, confidence and communication skills. Youth are

thus able to translate learning from the co-operative to different areas of their lives - building livelihoods, changing relationships and participating in the community.

In this section I will use the capability approach to assess the extent to which the learning in the co-operative has affected youth's capabilities and led to achieved functionings. I will also look at changes in youth agency, their resources and the social relations framing a youth's life. I will begin by assessing what youth value and later in the section I will then use this list to analyse whether youth's learning in the co-operative leads to valued changes.

What youth value

As I indicated in Chapter 3, studies that use the capability approach often focus on creating a basic list of capabilities; the advice given by Alkire (2002a) and Walker (2006) is that the starting point is consultation with participants over what they value in life. Although I did not initially set out to discover what youth value in their lives⁷⁶, I derived some general areas that youth value from the interviews and focus group data. For example:

"(What are your hopes for the future?) I would like to change my business from the local setting it is in to Buwenge and I would like to further my education by getting a diploma in Engineering." (IntUJF Mohammed, 2010)

"(What are your future plans?) I would like to get a degree in social work and social administration. I want to continue working with the community. However this is not possible for the moment as I am self-sponsoring." (IntUK Geoffrey, 2010)

From similar data across the set, I collated areas that youth value. They are presented in Table 20. I have grouped these into different areas of a youth's life - economic, social, self-development and education and indicated the number of times they appear across the data. As with Table 18

⁷⁶As discussed in Chapter 4 the approach to the research has been both inductive and deductive. Whilst I reflected on the capability approach during fieldwork I did not make it the foundation for data collection and did not explicitly set out to develop a list of values. I did however collect data which helps me understand and infer what it is youth value.

and 19 I have indicated the frequency across the data, and as with these earlier tables the aim is to create a sense of prevalence of what youth value and not to create quantitative statistics

Table 20 - What youth value in their lives

What do youth value?	Areas of life	Total instances in the data
Increased income	Economic	13
Access to finance	Economic	9
Ability to build a livelihood and successful businesses and engage in work they value	Economic	9
Access to education - their own and their families, links to having enough money to pay for it and getting access to training opportunities	Education/Self-development)	7
Access to information - meeting new people, going to new places, sharing information and access to training	Education (Self-development)	7
Recognition in the community and family	Social - Respect	7
Ability to pay for health	Economic	6
Doing something productive with their time	Self-development	6
Building peer groups - support, share information and trust	Social - Relationships	6
Avoiding risky lifestyles - drugs, gambling, HIV/AIDS, unplanned pregnancies and negative relationships	Self-development	6
Participation in community activities	Social - Participation	4
Improved housing	Economic	4
Being focused on the long term - making long term investments and not waiting for short term gains	Self-development	4
Hope for the future	Self-development	4
Sufficient food for them and the family	Economic	3
Access to the market	Economic	3

Economic areas refer to increases in income and the changes that youth can make to their lives as a result of this increased income. *Self-development* refers to youth developing themselves and living a life that is productive and useful - such as building a successful business. *Education* refers to being able to become educated and obtaining access to information and opportunities for learning. The next area I have classified as *social* where there is an emphasis on youth being able to participate in the community and youth building relationships with peers and networks, creating a group of people they can go to for advice and support. Table 20 indicates that youth

particularly value improving the economic areas of their life, as well as increasing their access to education and becoming more developed. The data shows that developing and improving relationships at home and in the community is also important to them.

Being productive and avoiding risky behaviour is a key area of self-development. These ideas are illustrated in Figure 19 which is a photograph taken by the male Research Assistant in Uganda. He perceived the young men in the photograph to be idle: without jobs and playing games and gambling in the village centre. He wanted to illustrate that this was what the youth participants were talking about when they reported wanting to avoid being tempted into this type of behaviour, placing emphasis instead on opportunities which enable them to make productive use of their time which in turn 'develops' them.

Figure 19 - Photograph of 'idle' youth near JoyFod's office⁷⁷



I use Table 20 in the next section to analyse the role of learning in the achievement of valued functionings.

⁷⁷ Photograph taken by Anthony Twalibangi (Research Assistant) (Uganda, 2010).

The role of learning in capabilities and achieved functionings

For the purposes of this research I am specifically interested in how learning through the co-operative affects capabilities and achieved functionings. I argue that: a) youth value opportunities for learning and b) they are able to make changes in their lives through the learning that the co-operative provides. The following quotations from my data begin to illustrate these points:

"(Why did you decide to join the co-operative?) Seems most students in the co-operative have self-confidence and share ideas and then invent them. I wanted to be like that and have access to that." (IntLRS Bokang, 2010)

"You can never say that you are full of knowledge. I hope that everything that comes my way I hope to learn about. I want to go back to school and complete." (IntUK Godfrey, 2010)

"The worst person in life is a poor one but worse than this is a poor person with no understanding." (FGDUJF, 2010)

"(Can you compare yourself to before you joined the co-operative to now?) I can now talk with people, I was shy before and I can now communicate with people. (Which people?) Members; people in the community. (How?) Last year I went to the youth forum and this helped as I was talking to people there. Even now in societies meeting. (What other effects does this have?) [I] can now talk to people in the community. (Is there any other skills that you have developed?) My English is improving. I am 'more educated'." (IntLSD Agnes, 2010)

The data also indicates that the associative and informal learning experiences as well as the external learning experiences play a role in developing capabilities. As discussed in Chapter 3, while Sen tends to emphasise access to formal schooling opportunities (Walker, 2006), I argue that this perspective ignores the central role of situated learning experiences in providing learning opportunities, which lead to skills and personal development.

The Head Teacher at Mohale's Hoek High School further explains the role of learning for changes youth make to a range of areas of development:

"(How do you think the students change as a result of being in the co-op?) Discipline; one could be aloof before, could be selfish and not having a sense of sharing. They develop a personal discipline to chat to each other and think of one another. They are competent; they believe in what they are and accept their situation. They do not feel ashamed – they know their income levels and their orphan status and accept this and realise that stealing

is not an option for them. They find ways of helping each other and learn how to live with their problems. Girls might think they have no cash, go out and have sex for money. Learning not to do this is the discipline part of it. They need to not see this as an option. They develop a sense of self-esteem – they trust in themselves and others – they learn to co-operate with others. They have a sense of good relations and friendships. They bear with other people’s problems and try to understand them.” (IntL, Head Teacher Mohale’s Hoek High School, 2010)

Learning in the co-operative has enabled members to develop new and positive ways of behaving. The Head Teacher explains that personal development, in terms of increasing self-esteem and what the Head refers to as ‘discipline’, enables (or enhances the capabilities) of youth members to make different decisions and change their behaviour (changing their valued functionings) as a result. It also shows the interconnected nature of capabilities and functionings; changed relationships with peers, linked to learning, and personal development, enable youth to achieve valued functionings.

The catalytic role of learning was illustrated in the self-directed photograph project undertaken by Godfrey at Kigayaza in Uganda. He chose to take a number of photographs relating to learning to express what the co-operative meant to him and Figure 20 shows two of a series of photographs where Godfrey is trying to capture the impact and central importance of learning in the co-operative.

Figure 20 - Godfrey's photographs of the members of Kigayaza and the benefit they acquire from learning⁷⁸



The photographs show members on their farms with their produce which Godfrey explained has increased or improved from the learning that they have obtained through the co-operative. The first photograph is of his wife, with the bananas they have grown together which he describes being of better quality and greater yield, attributed to learning he obtained in the co-operative. Godfrey explains the knock-on effects of this increased income, for example using the extra income to improve his house and buy a motorbike. He reports using the motorbike for income generation and talks of how he uses the business skills he acquired through the co-operative to help with this. The second photograph shows a member, Moses, with his cassava. Godfrey explains Moses is making income through processing the cassava by drying it, something he learnt during training from the UCA.

This connection between learning and other capabilities and achieved functionings was referred to in many of the learning audits, with participants describing how a range of skills and personal development enable them to make changes to their lives outside of the co-operative. Table 21 is an example from an individual learning audit which further illustrates the role of learning in both capabilities and achieved functionings:

⁷⁸ Photographs taken by Godfrey (K) (Uganda, 2010)

Table 21 - Tracking broader effects of learning with Bokang, Rise and Shine (IntLRS, 2010)

Skill/Personal Development and evidence	What does it allow you to do outside of the co-operative? <i>(relates to capabilities and achieved functionings)</i>
Management of money - talked about knowing importance of savings, how to budget	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manage personal money and help the family with their spending <i>(achieved functioning)</i> - Will also help when go off to study - as this will be first time living away from home <i>(capability)</i>
Handling clients	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Will help in his later career (wants to be an accountant) <i>(capability)</i>
"Can now make friends easily as I can now approach people and feel free to put my opinion forward" (relates to confidence and self-esteem)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Now has friends at school - gets peer advice/counselling on issues in life such as which courses to do at University <i>(achieved functioning)</i> - Will help him when he goes to study in a new country (he is hoping to go to South Africa to do accountancy) <i>(capability)</i>
Planning ahead and future focused	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set up small business ventures <i>(achieved functioning)</i> - Deciding what to focus on in his life and what activities to do and avoiding negative life style <i>(achieved functioning)</i>
Can make better decisions - can look at both sides of an argument (" <i>both hands</i> ") and also at the future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents appreciate his ideas (relates to social relations) - Allows him to participate in decision making particularly around financial planning <i>(achieved functioning)</i>

Achieved functionings can be identified in a range of areas. Bokang refers to transferring financial skills developed in the co-operative to everyday life. He describes using these skills to help improve how he handles his personal income and also helping the family to make decisions about household income. There is also a range of areas of personal development which in his assessment have led to him building a peer network at school and focusing on his future. He also refers to learning providing him with skills and knowledge that will help him in the future, such as with his career as an accountant. These are therefore identified as capabilities as they provide him with the potential to change things in the future.

Whilst all participants described using different skills and personal development to make changes, there were differences in the extent of these changes. Compare Charles (Table 22) from JoyFod with Bokang. He appears to be able to make changes in fewer areas of his life than Bokang which as I explain after Table 22, could relate to him reporting fewer skills and personal development than Bokang.

Table 22 - Tracking broader effects of learning with Charles, JoyFod (IntUJF, 2010)

Skill/Personal Development and evidence	What does it allow you to do outside of the co-operative? (relates to capabilities and achieved functionings)'
Saving	Helps him develop his business and manage financial emergencies (<i>achieved functioning</i>)
Confidence	Helps him make decisions for his business and his family (<i>achieved functioning</i>)
Working with others - consulting them	Consults other members when making decisions and feels that this improves the decision making (<i>achieved functioning</i>)

Robeyns (2005) recognises that there can be differences between people’s capabilities and achieved functionings and conceptualises that the conversion of capabilities to achieved functionings is affected by the social and economic context as well as the personal history of the individual (Figure 3). In Charles’ case (Table 22) it could be that he learnt less than Bokang (Table 21) which could relate to the nature of the co-operative (JoyFod has 1000+ members and Rise and Shine has 40)⁷⁹. However as Robeyns argues it will also relate to a wider set of factors - the broader context as well as Charles’ personal situation (educational levels, what he values and wants to do with his life). I return to the influences on capabilities and achieved functionings at the end of the section.

To develop a wider understanding of the areas of development where learning in the co-operative has an impact I have analysed and combined data across the data set (see Table 16 and Table 17). Table 23 lists the achieved functionings of youth (as a result of being in the co-operative) and then tracks how they relate to skills and personal development and lists any other factors which contributed to them. Table 23 lists how many instances there were for a particular achieved functioning across the data sets and separates them by country. As with Table 18, 19 and 20 I have indicated the frequency across the data, and as with these earlier tables the aim is to create

⁷⁹ I discuss the influence of the co-operative structure and size on learning in detail in Chapter 7.

a sense of prevalence of different achieved functionings and not to create quantitative statistics. There are common areas of achieved functionings for youth in both countries and there are some areas of difference.

Table 23 - Overview of the role of learning in achieved functionings

Achieved functionings	Instances in the data Lesotho	Instances in the data Uganda	Total	Related learning (acquired through the co-operative)	Other support (related to being in the co-operative)	Area of life/ development
More informed and educated	10	11	21	All learning experiences are seen as part of this		Education
Can now talk to people and has made friends and built networks: - Approaches peers for advice and is part of a social group - The networks provides further opportunities	7	7	14	- Confidence and self-esteem - Communication skills - Open-minded	Changed views of youth	Self-development and Social
Increased participation with the community: - Runs workshops - Mobilises groups to become co-operatives - Supports those less fortunate	6	5	11	- Interest in the school and the community - Mobilisation and training skills - Open-minded	Changed views of youth	Social
Improved basic living – food, security, housing, schooling, sanitation and health	4	5	9	- Motivated to invest money on key areas of development - Knowledge on issues such as sanitation	- Increased income - Peer support	Economic
Improved relationships and increased participation at home and in the community	5	4	9	- Confidence and self-esteem - Concern for others - Open-minded	Changed views of youth	Self-development Social - participation

Achieved functionings	Instances in the data Lesotho	Instances in the data Uganda	Total	Related learning (acquired through the co-operative)	Other support (related to being in the co-operative)	Area of life/ development
Doing productive activities and focused on improving life and not engaged in risky behaviour	4	4	8	Motivated and focused on life	- Peer support - Kept busy by the co-operative membership	Self-development
Business improved and income increased	2	6	8	Increased skills in business	Access to finance	Economic
Part of a peer network which provides/ has provided support when it is needed	4	2	6	Learnt to trust each other	Opportunity to be part of a group	Social
Engaged in a livelihood	5	1	6	Skills in how to run a business	Market for products	Economic
Increased ability to find a job/set up own business	5	0	5	Transferable skills and experiences		Economic
Leadership position in the co-operative, community and school	2	3	5	- Leadership skills and leadership experience - Confidence - Interest in the community	Changed views of youth	Self-development Social - participation
Initiated consultative decision making at home and in life	2	2	4	Skills and experience in consultative decision making	Peer group to ask for advice	Self-development Social - relationships

Table 23 indicates that the personal development that results from being in the co-operative enables youth to make a range of changes to their lives; in other words, it increases their agency. The self-confidence and self-esteem that they develop through the co-operative gives them the personal skills they need to make the changes. The motivation and focus they develop as a result of being in the co-operative then drives them to use their agency to make positive changes.

Amina from Tweekembe explains:

"(How would you describe life before and after joining the co-op?) Before I used to spend most of the time in town for leisure and I never used to programme myself and would just do anything and not make a programme. Now I am good at time keeping, I use planning, I

have increased management of my tasks and I have made new friends as well.” (IntUT, Amina, 2010)

Achieved functionings relating to economic areas of life are achieved through youth developing a range of business skills, which enables them to improve their individual businesses and any collective businesses in which they are engaged. In turn this increases their income and they report using this money to make other changes such as using it for education, health or sanitation. In some cases their decision on what to spend their extra income was influenced by things they had learnt or were exposed to in the co-operative. This was illustrated by Godfrey when discussing his motorbike taxi business. Youth from JoyFod also reported spending money on improving housing and sanitation as they had learnt about the value and importance of this during training that the SACCO provided (IntsUJFYouth, 2010). Furthermore youth reported saving extra income or investing it in areas like education as they changed their focus and commitment towards their own and their families’ development (FGDsLUYouth, 2010).

Table 23 also outlines how youth are able to improve relationships through the co-operative, building peer groups who they can draw on for support. Part of this is associated with learning interpersonal skills and having the confidence to build these relationships. It is also about having the opportunity to interact with a group of youth, learning how to trust other youth and building those relationships. This builds the foundation for supporting each other - through the provision of advice, ideas and, at times, financial support. Youth also report changing relationships in their home, with their parents and with their spouse. One co-operator illustrates this in an FGD:

“Men used to be the final decision makers but now from co-operative to the home, the style of decision making has spread, now members sit at the table and make the decisions with their wives. This used to not happen and co-operative is playing a role in this.” (FGDUK, 2010)

Relationships are also built with other organisations such as local NGOs and government offices which enable youth to connect to other networks. Members report that this provides them with access to other opportunities, like training. They attribute this to their personal development through the co-operative and to the 'connections' they can build, such as meeting people, when performing co-operative activities.

The individual achieved functionings also have a wider impact on the community. Youth report developing a greater sense of concern for the community and a motivation to play a role in the development of their community which is then facilitated through skills that they have developed in the co-operative, particularly those concerning leadership and communication, and increased self-confidence. Geoffrey from Kigayaza explains further:

“Working with different groups of people has helped developed my heart for the community. The community then knows you can co-operate and sees you at higher levels of development. Communities can under-rate youth but in fact we are at the same level and there is not a gap there.” (IntUK Geoffrey, 2010)

Further evidence is provided by Mohammed and Godfrey’s work with different groups in their own community (which they link to the development of training skills and a sense of duty) discussed in the last section (and depicted in their photographs - Figure 17 and Figure 18). Across the data, youth report taking up leadership positions in the community and some report becoming engaged in local and regional politics. In short, what is learnt in the co-operative motivates and enables youth to engage with their immediate community.

The data shows another important aspect of youth’s relationship with the community. For some of the areas listed in Table 23, youth report that changed social relations in the community play a supplementary role in their ability to make changes. For example, youth have the skills and the motivation to take up leadership positions, but the community has also created spaces for them

to participate - an acknowledgement of these achieved functionings. This can be seen in the comments from Geoffrey at Kigayaza (above) and the extract from a youth co-operator at the start of the section. Geoffrey described community members changing their view of him after they have seen him joining in with and leading co-operative activities. The extract used at the start of this section described the Chief now inviting members of the co-operative to participate in community affairs as the Chief's view of the youth co-operator had changed since he had been in the co-operative. The members of Rise and Shine chose to underline the changed views of their parents and Head Teacher had of them as part of their photograph project. Figure 21 is the photographs they took: the first is of parents attending a co-operative meeting and the second is members meeting with the Head Teacher.

Figure 21 - Rise and Shine Co-operative's photographs of members in meetings with parents⁸⁰ and their Head Teacher⁸¹



The members describe how their parents and the Head Teacher see them as responsible and focused since they joined the co-operative. In the first photograph, parents are attending a

⁸⁰ The parents are sat amongst the student members of Rise and Shine.

⁸¹ Photographs taken by members of Rise and Shine (RS) (Lesotho, 2010).

meeting with the co-operative and discussing their donations for a proposed poultry. In the second photograph the Head Teacher is agreeing to send letters to their parents on behalf of the members; the members who took the photographs are keen to stress that her support is needed to build parental support.

The changed views of youth by others also extend to organisations and government bodies. At Kigayaza's AGM local government representatives and farming organisations described how they were willing to work with the members as they had seen they were responsible and successful in managing their co-operative (ObUK AGM, 2010).

There are several differences between Lesotho and Uganda which provide insight into influences on capabilities and achieved functionings. For Lesotho the area of 'increased ability to get a job or set up a further business' is important, while there are no instances of this in Uganda. The reason for this relates to the approach to youth co-operatives in Lesotho where the aim is to provide skills and experience to youth which they can use in the future to help them find a job or set up their own business (discussed in Chapter 5), as well as generate a livelihood and an income. By contrast, the primary purpose of co-operatives in Uganda is to establish a business that makes money. The other significant difference relates to the achieved functioning of 'increased income' which is cited more prominently in the Ugandan co-operatives. This relates to the level of financial success the Ugandan co-operatives have achieved, which in turn corresponds to the wider economic situation and finding markets for products. In contrast the Lesotho co-operatives face a greater challenge in such economic areas than those in Uganda (as I discussed in Chapter 5). This discussion of differences between the data from Lesotho and Uganda generally concurs with Robeyns' argument that economic context affects capabilities and functionings (Robeyns, 2005). However I did not discuss with the participants what influenced their ability to use

learning to make changes to their lives and have therefore analysed the wider data set, including contextual data, to assess the potential influences. To create a complete analysis of these influences would require more research, a point I return to in the conclusion of the thesis.

The data in this chapter also emphasises the role of the co-operative (as a group) in developing capabilities and achieved functionings - for example being in the co-operative increases access to networks and the community and provides access to group learning. This relates to the debate on the potential for a group to be a collective capability (discussed in Chapter 3). I return to this in Chapter 7.

In summary, I return to the research question 'How and to what extent does learning in a co-operative develop the capabilities and agency of a youth and with what development impacts?' (RQ 5). Reflecting back on Table 20, increasing access to education, increasing incomes, building relationships, improving the community's attitude to youth are all core areas that youth value. The co-operative learning space has the potential to enhance a youth's development in a number of valued areas - economic, social as well as agency. The data indicates that the co-operative impacts more on the social areas of life than the economic, whereas youth attach most value to increasing their income. To understand this further it is useful to consider the capabilities as well as the achieved functionings the co-operative impacts on. Youth value enhanced ability to get a job both as a capability and an achieved functioning as they believe that will provide them with an income over the long term. As discussed in Chapter 5 they also report that making an income from the co-operative can take time and they therefore value the capability the co-operative provides in terms of the long term potential impact on income. It is therefore important to evaluate what youth value, their achieved functionings, and their capabilities to assess the effects of learning in the co-operative.

6.5 Conclusion

The data and discussion in this chapter has developed the idea of a co-operative learning space through an expanded analysis of learning and capabilities. Through a range of learning experiences - both externally initiated and internally situated - youth can acquire technical skills and knowledge as well as personally develop. This chapter has underlined that people use the skills and ideas that they have gained in the co-operative (often combined with changes in social relations) to make changes in their lives in areas that they value and that youth's learning experiences in the co-operative have an impact on the development of the individual and their families, as well as their immediate community.

I have found that the situated experience of being in the co-operative plays a central role in learning for the individual alongside the learning that comes through the co-operative networks. This chapter concurs with other literature (Felstead et al, 2009a; Fuller et al, 2004; Fuller and Unwin, 2004;) on the presence and role of both external and internal learning experiences. However it also provides insight into the complexity of these learning experiences which are interlinked and combine tacit and explicit knowledge for different areas of skill and personal development. There are common areas of skills and knowledge development, as well as learning experiences and capabilities that change consistently across the co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda. However within this commonality people's learning experiences (what they learn, to what extent and how) can differ and I have begun to explore the different factors which influence these processes.

The chapter has emphasised that a significant amount of what an individual learns results from their interaction with others and is influenced by the unique aspects of a co-operative, such as co-

operative values. The next chapter will explore and develop these ideas by focusing on the collective dimension of co-operatives.

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I analysed the individual learning experiences of co-operative members attempting to answer the research question 'What kinds of learning can be identified and how do they occur?' (RQ 4). I found that one of the central ways youth develop skills and knowledge is through sharing and experiencing learning with other members. In this chapter I engage with the same research question, but extend it from personal learning as an individual experience to assess if collective learning is taking place and what effects it has, responding to the research question 'How does youth learning shape thinking and practices in co-operatives?' (RQ 6).

Analysis of the five co-operatives indicates that there are common areas relating to collective learning - in terms of what knowledge is being developed, how it is becoming institutionalised and the effects it has on the co-operative. These common areas relate to the systems, structures and business of the co-operative as well as the roles and responsibilities of members, relationships between members and the co-operative values and principles (Table 1). However, I also find that, as with individual learning, collective learning is influenced, and at times is limited, by a number of factors. I argue that the co-operative values and principles are central to collective learning - providing a foundation for what is learnt and the ways in which it is learnt. Also central to collective learning is the generation of a joint identity of co-operators and the role of trust between members.

I go on to analyse whether youth's learning creates new ways of thinking and operating in co-operatives. I argue that youth's learning is developing co-operatives that are member-owned and member-controlled, which are a break from how they have operated in the past. This is an

important finding as these new forms of co-operatives are being put forward as central to the success of the revival of co-operatives in countries in Africa (as discussed in Chapter 2).

The chapter is structured into six sections. First, key terms are defined and I give an overview of the data related to collective learning. I then go on to explore collective learning and the mechanisms through which this learning is developed and institutionalised in the co-operative. The next section concentrates on the influence that the different types of co-operatives and the networks have on learning and I then focus on the central role of trust in the co-operative. Next I analyse how youth's learning shapes new ways of thinking in co-operatives. In the final section, I reflect on the potential of using the concept of collective capabilities to analyse learning.

7.1 Definitions and data related to collective learning

7.1.1 Defining key terms

To foreground this analysis it is important to define and discuss some key terms that will be used throughout this chapter. As discussed in Chapter 3 there is substantial literature relating to learning that takes place through interactions between people and in organisations. There are different terms associated with situations where individuals learn together, in groups and in connection to the organisation.

I will be using the term 'collective' to refer to the members who are in a co-operative. 'Collective learning' relates to the processes that involve these members learning together and generating a 'collective knowledge'. The analysis in Chapter 6 highlighted that limitations exist which restrict some members in these collective learning experiences. Collective learning is therefore where all or a group of the members are part of the learning experiences. The collective knowledge that they develop transcends the individual and is held and known by the majority of members of the

co-operative. This knowledge can become codified, such as knowledge found in a co-operative's constitution or financial manual. It can also be of a tacit nature, for example, people's knowledge of the way the co-operative operates but which is often hard to identify and express. As discussed in Chapter 3 individual learning experiences can be seen as a starting point for collective learning and development of learning within the organisation (Dodgson, 1993; Argyris and Schön, 1978).

In this thesis I see the organisation as being synonymous with the co-operative and focus therefore on the development or change in the systems, structure and culture of the co-operative. Collective learning can develop and become organisational learning when the knowledge that such learning generates becomes embedded in the co-operative and as such has the potential to influence and at times change the way it operates. I recognise that assessments of the extent to which the co-operative develops and changes will be limited. Changes to the way the co-operative operates can take time to develop and study would therefore be necessary over an extended period to capture them. The data collection in this study is a 'snap shot' of the co-operatives rather than a long-term study. Therefore, whilst learning can be identified as well as changes to the way the co-operative operates it is difficult to assess the extent to which it has systemically changed its practices. As a result I have focused on collective learning examples extracted from the data, selecting those where there was more evidence of learning and its effects on the co-operative rather than collating all the possible areas of organisational change.

I will now turn to the data that will be used as the basis for analysis in this chapter.

7.1.2 Data to be used in this chapter

Participants were asked about how learning affected the co-operative and, in groups, participants were asked to discuss their shared understandings of different areas of knowledge. Observations of activities in the co-operative such as meetings, interactions between members, AGMs and the training sessions also provided a rich source of data. This was also supplemented by being able to examine documentation that the co-operatives possessed. For example when assessing collective learning and organisational development on bookkeeping, it was possible to look at the co-operative's financial records. I was therefore using changes in practices as outcomes of, and hence proxies for, organisational learning.

Tables 24 and 25 show the different areas of learning that have been identified in the co-operatives. They also show the reported effects (by the participants) and observed effects (by me as the researcher) of this learning on the co-operative. I have summarised what the participants reported but aimed to retain the kind of language they use. In the last column I list how evidence was gathered.

Table 24 - Areas of collective learning and the effects on the co-operatives in Lesotho⁸²

Area	Reported and Observed Effects on the co-operative	Evidence
Rise and Shine Co-operative - school-based peri-urban youth co-operative, 41 members aged 17 to 21 years old		
Good communication with customers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creates customer satisfaction - Increases number of customers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Puleng and Bokang - FGD
Recordkeeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Helps leaders fulfil their positions - Attracts people to co-operative as they see good work and want to join 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview – Puleng and Bokang - Reported in FGD - Documentation
Bookkeeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Able to record the finances of the co-operative in a book and this helps co-operative keep track of its money and becomes well run - Helps the co-operative not run at a loss - Activities are budgeted for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Puleng, Bokang and Likhlabno - Reported in FGD - Documentation
Sense of focus on development among members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Committed to the co-operative - Members are active 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview – Puleng and Bokang - Interviews – Head Teacher and teacher - Photograph project
Working as a team	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Members in the co-operative get on - Members consult each other and work as a team - Attracts more members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Puleng, Bokang and Likhlabno - Observations of FGD - Reported in FGD - Photograph project
Willing to help others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conduct activities as a co-operative that help others in the school and community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Puleng and Bokang - Interviews – Head Teacher and teacher - Reported in FGD - Observations of FGD
Sharing skills and learning from each other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hold meetings monthly where members teach each other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Puleng, Bokang and Likhlabno - Photograph project
Nature of the co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operates according to co-operative model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations
Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative - a community based rural co-operative, 12 members aged 18 to 35 years old		
Democratic control of the co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Practise democratic control in the co-operative – all members vote on decisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews Petrus and Agnes - Group Interview - Photograph Project
Bookkeeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It improves the quality of the books - Keep records of money coming in and out of the co-operative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Petrus and Agnes - Documentation - Group Interview
Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making products attractive to clients 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Petrus and Ranford - Observations of products
How to live and work with people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Members get on better - Stops conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Petrus and Agnes - Group Interview

⁸² I do not discuss collective learning for the three youth co-operatives in Maseru, Lesotho. As discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 I only collected data on individual learning as these co-operatives are relatively inactive and it was not possible to collect data from groups of members.

Area	Reported and Observed Effects on the co-operative	Evidence
What co-operatives are and co-operative values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Members practise them - Members know their role - Members become responsible for their actions in the co-operative - Members more active and more likely to then come to meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews Petraus, Agnes and Ranford - Group Interview - Observations - Reported in FGD
Sharing skills and learning from each other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Members better co-operators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Petraus, Agnes and Ranford - Group Interview - Observations - Reported in FGD

Table 25 - Areas of collective learning and the effects on the co-operatives in Uganda

Area	Reported and Observed Effects on the co-operative	Evidence
Kigayaza Youth Co-operative - community based rural farmers co-operative, 98 members aged 18 to 35 years		
Understanding each other in a more detailed way	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Business linkages, can approach each other more easily and conduct group projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview – Geoffrey - Reported in FGDs
Recordkeeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keep records for the co-operative - Allows the co-operative to follow up on actions - Evaluate profit and loss in co-operative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Godfrey and Geoffrey - Reported in FGDs
Mobilisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supporting community groups to become co-operatives - Recruiting new members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Godfrey and Geoffrey - Photograph Project - Reported in FGDs
Sharing ideas and knowledge transfer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sharing knowledge with each other about doing business and personal life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Godfrey, Geoffrey and Juliet - Reported in FGDs - Observations board meeting and meeting with student group - Photograph project
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People have trust in leaders - Able to do role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Godfrey, Geoffrey and Juliet - Reported in FGDs - Observations AGM and Board Meeting
Nature of the co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operates according to co-operative model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview – Geoffrey - Observations of how co-operative runs
Farming knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementation of collective businesses for the co-operative - Co-operative selects profitable business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews – Godfrey and Geoffrey - Photograph Project - Observations of the businesses that the co-operative runs - Godfrey, Geoffrey and Juliet
Focus on development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Members are more committed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview Juliet - Photograph Project
Democratic Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consultative meetings - AGM held 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations AGM and Board Meeting

Area	Reported and Observed Effects on the co-operative	Evidence
JoyFod - a community based SACCO, 1364 members aged 18 to 35 years		
Saving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Savings are necessary to make the co-operative viable – savings contribute to the money the co-operative has to lend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews Mohammed and Charles - Reported in FGDs
Mobilisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Works with other community groups to encourage them to become co-operatives or join JoyFod 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview Mohammed - Observations of JoyFod Training - Photograph project
Sharing information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Able and motivated to learn from each other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview Charles - Reported in FGDs - Observations Demonstration Farm - Photograph project
Recordkeeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accurate record kept and co-operative then accountable for its operations and business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview Mohammed - Observation Loans Appraisal - Observation looking at JoyFod's account and registration books - Reported in FGDs
Democratic control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Procedures for loan appraisal - Way board meetings are conducted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview Mohammed - Observation of Loan Appraisal and Board Meeting
Nature of co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operates according to co-operative model - Viable businesses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reported in FGDs - Observations
Twekembe Youth Group - community based rural farmers co-operative, 62 members aged 18 to 35 years		
Working together	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Realise the synergy of working together. - Members therefore willing to do group projects - Help and support each other, including sharing information, willing to pool resources i.e. finances, labour etc - Builds trust between the members - Improved relationships youth and elder – respect for each other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview David - Reported in FGDs - Photograph Project - Observations
Farming knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective poultry project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews David and Hakim and Amina - Reported in FGDs
Democratic control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective businesses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations of meetings on the poultry project
Sharing information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivates members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews David and Hakim and Amina - Reported in FGDs - Observations Board Meeting
Nature of co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operates according to co-operative model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reported in FGDs - Observations

7.2 Mechanisms for collective learning

Tables 24 and 25 show that collective learning can be identified in a number of different areas.

For example, in Rise and Shine (Table 24, Lesotho), learning is identified in relation to improving

the business of the co-operative. Members reported developing knowledge on the importance of keeping customers happy and how to communicate with them and using this to provide customer care. Others reported learning related to the operations of the co-operative - on bookkeeping and recordkeeping which resulted in a system to keep books for all of the key areas of operations. There is also learning on the nature of co-operatives, the values and principles, in particular concern for the community. A further area relates to members' interactions, in particular improved relationships between members and a willingness to share information.

The general areas of learning identified in the example of Rise and Shine can be found across the data for each of the co-operatives. I have divided these areas into categories of collective learning which relate to different parts of the co-operative - operations and structures, the business, co-operative values and principles and identity of members (encompassing relationships between members and responsibilities of members). The nature of learning and how it develops in terms of the collective, and within the co-operative, is complex and processes overlap rather than being linear. I have therefore organised the data and the analysis according to these specific categories of learning. I then explain how collective learning was identified and how it has developed within the co-operative. The data for these different categories can be found in Table 26:

Table 26 - Common areas of collective learning

Collective Learning	Development as organisational knowledge and learning	Potential Effects on the co-operative	Lesotho	Uganda
Collective learning relating to the structure and operations of the co-operative				
Democratic control - Belief in the democratic election of a group of leaders - Consultative and democratic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Part of co-operative principles ● Learning through external training ● Through the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Co-operatives run by elected board ● Members have trust in leaders ● Meetings run democratically and 	Rise and Shine Subeng	Kigayaza JoyFod Twekembe

Collective Learning	Development as organisational knowledge and learning	Potential Effects on the co-operative	Lesotho	Uganda
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - decision making processes - Regular communication and meetings between group of leaders and the members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • co-operative networks • Situated experiences of members - being consulted, taking part in meetings • By-laws requiring democratic election of leaders • Reinforced through co-operative networks 	<p>effectively</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leaders make decisions in consultation others leaders/members • Regular meetings and AGM held 		
<p>Keeping records</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Belief that to be effective and accountable it is necessary to keep records for the co-operative - Recognition that ongoing records enable the co-operative to provide annual records 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning through external training • Situated experiences of keeping records • By-laws requiring the co-operative to have annual meeting where annual reports are presented • Through the co-operative networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Records (books) are kept for register of members, minutes meetings, businesses etc • Annual accounts and reports produced 	Rise and Shine Subeng	Kigayaza JoyFod
Collective learning relating to the business of the co-operative				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Belief in selecting the right enterprise - Belief in working together is beneficial - Belief in making money and sharing it between members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subject of external training • Through the co-operative networks • Situated experiences of working in the co-operative • Part of the co-operative principles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection of a viable enterprise that is suitable to the market in which the co-operative operates • Collective businesses established 	Rise and Shine Subeng	Kigayaza JoyFod
Collective learning relating to a joint identity of co-operators				
<p>Roles and responsibilities of members</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect for each other - Being open-minded - Willing to support and help each other - Willing to share knowledge with each other - Focused on development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sense of an identity as a co-operator • Situated experiences of working in the co-operative • Subject of external training • Through the co-operative networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-operative is harmonious • Develops a culture of sharing information and supporting each other • Builds relationships between members (trust) • Members learning from each other 	Rise and Shine Subeng	Kigayaza Twekembe JoyFod (sharing information only)

Collective Learning	Development as organisational knowledge and learning	Potential Effects on the co-operative	Lesotho	Uganda
Collective learning relating to co-operative values and principles				
Co-operative values and principles - Co-operative is jointly owned and run by its members - Understanding of co-operative definition, values and principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-operative Law recognises international co-operative values and principles • Through the co-operative networks • Subject of external training • Situated experiences in the co-operative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members join on a voluntary basis • Practising democratic control in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meetings - Election of leaders - Decision making • Members contributing economically to the co-operative • Co-operative members learning through the co-operative and teaching others about the co-operative • Conduct activities that help the wider community i.e. HIV and AIDS awareness, supporting vulnerable people with donations • Co-operative working with other co-operatives 	Rise and Shine Subeng	Kigayaza Twekembe JoyFod

7.2.1 Collective learning relating to the operations and structure of the co-operative

Democratic control

The data shows a belief across the co-operatives that they should govern and run their organisations according to democratic ideas. Members at Subeng (Table 24, Lesotho) reported both in individual interviews and in group interviews that as a co-operative they have learnt about democratic control. Evidence for this was reinforced through other extracts from the interviews where members described having the opportunity to put their opinion forward in meetings and decisions being made through a voting system. Similar evidence on democratic control was identified in all of the co-operatives (Table 26). It was also observed in the way the five co-operatives implemented different activities such as the AGM and meetings.

Table 26 suggests some of the potential effects of democratic control on the co-operative. All the co-operatives reported being governed through an elected board of co-operative members. This board was then reported and observed to run the co-operative in a democratic manner. Democratic control manifested itself in the way meetings are run, the way decisions are made and the way governance structures are established such as how leaders are elected:

"(How did you organise the poultry project?) The group sit and decide who gets the livestock - very much a joint decision." (IntUT David, 2010)

"(How are decisions made?) We discuss things and do it through voting, the majority then rules. (Do you have AGMs?) Yes, because at the end of the year we have a break and sit and discuss the plans for the year." (IntLSD Petraus, 2010)

Regular meetings are reported across the data, which was observed during the fieldwork. Meetings are used as a way to implement consultative decision making, for example, during board meetings observed in Kigayaza and Subeng the leader gave each member the opportunity to give their opinion and decisions were made through consensus (ObUK Board Meeting, 2010; ObLSD Board Meeting, 2010).

This type of situation requires a certain style of leadership and people with the ability to implement an elected style of leadership. For example, during one board meeting members discussed the need to increase the number of female members in the co-operative (ObsUK, 2010). All members agreed with this and started to talk through why women did not want to join the co-operative, the need to provide access to women and ways to solve this problem. One member suggested that they persuade their wives to join to increase the number of female members and others agreed with him. However the Chair then explained that people must join co-operatives on a voluntary basis and persuading wives to join went against this. After some discussion other members gradually came to agree with the Chair.

The above examples raise a question of how collective learning on democratic leadership develops and becomes institutionalised in the co-operative. The following example outlines the role that external training plays. Leadership was a part of the YEECO training in Uganda and members would learn about a democratic leadership style (Table 25, Uganda). Members learn as an individual how to be a democratic leader, and their role as a member in voting for their leaders in democratic elections in the co-operative. However they also learn when and how to hold leadership elections - they learn about, and have the opportunity to reflect upon, how to systemise democratic leadership styles (IntsUK, 2010; IntsUJF, 2010). This example shows the role external learning experiences can have in developing collective learning - teaching about subjects in a way that makes reference to the co-operative rather than only focusing on developing individual learning.

This example shows that within collective learning there is interplay between the individual and the learning that takes place in the organisation, and reflects the premise of some organisational learning theories (Argyris and Schön, 1978; Dodgson, 1993). Others place more emphasis on the systems in the organisation and storing learning there (Senge, 1990). However this example shows that, even though the co-operative might have embedded the idea of democratic leadership in its structures, it also required that individual members have the right ideas on leadership and the opportunity to call to account any ineffective leadership.

Collective learning on democratic control can also be identified in the AGMs the co-operatives hold. The AGMs are seen as a key time for the board and staff managing the co-operative to report on the past year's activities to all the members - through annual accounts and an annual report, and also make key decisions with the members. I observed members collectively learning

through their participation in Kigayaza's AGM. In Figure 22 members can be seen voting for the board:

Figure 22 - Photograph of situated learning during Kigayaza AGM⁸³



Members were asked to nominate other members and others then asked to second the nominations (ObUK, 2010). Nominees were given the opportunity to make a 'pitch' and the members were then asked to vote for their favoured candidate. Members raised their hand to indicate their vote and the position went to the candidate with the most votes. Some members were experiencing this style of decision making and governance for the first time; for others it was reinforcing their existing learning.

This example does not simply provide evidence of democratic control being implemented, it is an example of the role of situated learning experiences in developing collective learning and in embedding ideas on democratic control within the co-operative. Whilst co-operatives are legally required to implement AGMs, Kigayaza had not implemented one since it started their operations in 2000. The members' knowledge of democratic control (learnt through external training,

⁸³ Photograph taken during fieldwork (Uganda, 2010).

participation in co-operative activities and co-operative principles (Table 25)) contributed to the co-operative's decision to hold one in 2010.

However for some co-operatives, AGMs do not happen due to financial constraints or a lack of impetus in organising them (IntUT Chair, 2010), even though collective learning on democratic control can be identified. Furthermore whilst at times decisions were practised democratically, at other times they were not:

"The ways of democracy and co-operative are linked - through one member and one vote. However - in practice we are not always democratic, it is just on paper that we are democratic." (IntUJF Manager, 2010)

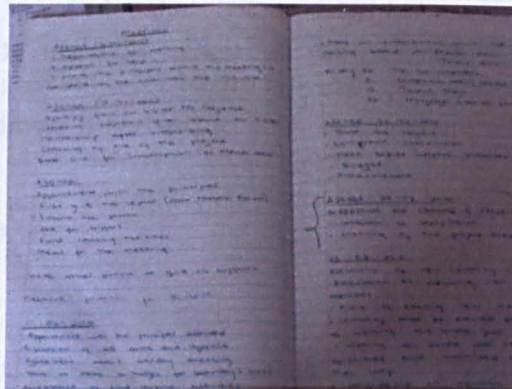
The example of Tweekembe (Table 25, Uganda) presents a more complex situation. Observations at this co-operative outline the mixed experiences of democratic control (ObsUT, 2010). Members associated democratic control with their understanding of co-operatives (FGDsUT, 2010). An example was when the co-operative discussed a poultry keeping project where members shared their ideas, voting on key decisions. However at another meeting a quick decision was made to re-elect the board as none of the board members had shown up for the meeting and, whilst voting did take place, it was only with the small numbers of members that were present (FGDUT, 2010).

These mixed experiences suggest that, while there is collective learning on operating democratically, it does not always lead to overall changes – in some co-operatives it leads to changes in the behaviour of only some of the members or in some activities. The process of developing collective learning that affects all the operations of the co-operative is therefore not an automatic or a linear process. It is also important to consider the time it takes to develop these practices and the influence of issues such as the availability of financial resources to support learning.

Recordkeeping

Across all of the co-operatives there was an emphasis on being professional organisations, keeping records and books for finances and other key activities. An example is Subeng (Table 24, Lesotho) where collective learning was identified in the area of bookkeeping. There was a shared belief in the need to keep records of the finances for the co-operative. Members reported having knowledge of bookkeeping and there was recognition that this was a way for them to be accountable to members and external stakeholders. This was reported as an area of learning through the interviews and was also observed in the co-operative's documentation - in particular the accounts book that they kept. All of the co-operatives set up books for finances, collective activities, minutes of meetings, and a register of members (ObsLU of the co-operative books, 2010).

Figure 23 - Photograph of Rise and Shine's meetings book⁸⁴



Being able to see the books was useful in assessing the extent of collective learning. Figure 23 is a photograph of Rise and Shine's meeting book and seeing the quality of it (and their other books) emphasised a sound knowledge of recordkeeping. However seeing other books, especially in Uganda, indicated a different situation - they were often out of date or simply unorganised with pages missing. Participants recognised this problem and often attributed it to lack of training or

⁸⁴ Photograph taken during fieldwork (Lesotho, 2010)

know-how on the part of the members who had the responsibility for keeping the books (IntLSD, Petraus, 2010; IntUK Geoffrey, 2010). It suggests that whilst there might be collective knowledge in one area and a commitment to making change it is also influenced by the skills and knowledge of individuals.

Recordkeeping draws attention to the indirect influence that co-operative law plays on learning in co-operatives. Co-operatives are legally required to keep books, which is something on which the co-operative would be monitored (IntsLDept, 2010; IntsUC, 2010). The registration process in Lesotho and Uganda also requires that a co-operative develops its own by-laws (ibid). These by-laws stipulate the way the co-operative will operate and reflect the way co-operatives are understood in the national co-operative policy or law. For example they will list the responsibilities of the members elected to be on the board, the need to keep books, produce annual accounts and be audited, and when AGMs will take place. It makes the co-operative accountable for certain types of actions and ways of operating which in turn members then have to learn about to be able to fulfil their legal requirements. These legal requirements influence the focus of external training and what learning needs are identified within the co-operative. However while fulfilling legal requirements helps enforce behavioural change, the extent to which it also leads to collective learning is complex - members might learn how to keep proper records but not necessarily *why* they should do so. Without learning why something is important the behavioural change is likely to be only instrumental.

Some of the collective learning on recordkeeping starts as individual knowledge and learning experiences which are then transferred to the other members. Returning to the example of bookkeeping at Subeng, the Chair was trained on bookkeeping by the regional co-operative office. He reported that the enhanced knowledge that he acquired improved how the co-operative

managed its finances (IntLSD Petrus, 2010). He trained other members, in particular the bookkeeper, and together they set up a book specifically to record the inflows and outflows of money into and out of the co-operative. This is an example of how individual learning can be a building block towards embedding knowledge in the proper functioning of the co-operative and reinforces the idea that the individual has an impact on collective and organisational learning.

This example also reflects a general approach to external training provided for co-operatives - external training providers emphasise cascading training when going back to the co-operative. For example the UCA realise they cannot afford to bring all members to a central area to train them but recognise that all members need to access to the training (IntsUUCA, 2010). This again shows that the networks focus on developing knowledge and skills that support the co-operative even when they are training individual members.

7.2.2 Collective learning relating to the business of the co-operative

Collective learning relating to the particular business venture of the co-operative can be found across all the co-operatives (Table 26). At Kigayaza and Twekembe (Table 25, Uganda) it was knowledge on specific farming technologies as well as the belief that farming could in fact provide a livelihood for youth. For Rise and Shine (Table 24, Lesotho) it was a shared belief and skills in the provision of customer care. In Subeng (Table 24, Lesotho) a collective area of learning was identified as relating to marketing. Alongside this specific business knowledge, there was also learning on operating a business as a co-operative; working together to make the business a success and a sense of collective entrepreneurship rather than individual and the type of business in which they are engaged in.

There is a common understanding that to be a successful co-operative, members need to produce products that appeal to the customer - they must relate to the customer's needs and consequently package products in an attractive way. Participants at Subeng reported this in the interviews and it was also evident in the products they had developed. They were able to compare examples of products that they had made some time ago, which they perceived as low quality, with newer products which they thought were more appealing to the customer (my observations concurred with their perceptions). This is part of a widely held view across the data that co-operatives should operate as profitable businesses - they should set up a viable business that makes money for its members (Table 26). This is a definite move away from the past when co-operatives have at times been perceived only as a social platform for members (IntL Chair Maseru Aloe, 2010) or created as a receptacle for government hand-outs (IntUK Geoffrey, 2010). These new views of co-operatives were reported in interviews and FGDs when participants defined what co-operatives were. It was also evidenced in the fact that all of the co-operatives in the study were operating as businesses - developing products and services and working to sell them and make a profit.

This focus on viable business ventures was also observed in the decisions of the types of businesses in which the co-operatives had decided to engage. Selecting enterprises based on their potential profitability rather than what was perceived as the 'norm'. To elucidate, the co-operatives in Lesotho focused on sectors such as tourism - a move from the traditional agricultural model of co-operatives to a sector that is seen to have potential in Lesotho⁸⁵. The idea that a co-operative should be profitable has been partly developed through the new ways of viewing co-operatives in the revival (IntsLC, 2010; IntsUC, 2010). These ideas have consequently become part of external training and support provided by the co-operative networks.

⁸⁵ Whilst the common co-operatives in Lesotho have always been multipurpose (doing a number of businesses) they have in the past often concentrated on agriculture (IntsLDept, 2010).

There are a number of challenges to making co-operatives profitable businesses. Whilst there is evidence that members search for a profitable service (or product), as discussed in Chapter 5, domestic markets are limited and it is challenging to tap into regional and international markets. Another challenge is not being able to access capital to make the investments they need to grow (IntsLUYouth, 2010). This lack of capital relates to a lack of youth-friendly finance (banks and SACCOs are often reluctant to loan money to youth as they tend not to have security) (IntU Regional SACCO Coordinator UCA Busoga Region, 2010; IntsUJF Manager, 2010). Barriers also exist in the co-operative shown through the members' lack of willingness or ability to buy shares in the co-operative (GintUK, 2010; IntLSD Petraus, 2010). Whilst collective knowledge exists and has led to a change in the direction of co-operatives (moving towards more collective business approaches), such organisational learning is at times limited by the context and the financial resources.

7.2.3 Collective learning relating to a joint identity of co-operators

The next area of collective learning relates to the roles and responsibilities associated with being a co-operator, identified across all of the co-operatives (Table 26). Throughout the data there is a clear shared understanding of how members should act and ways in which they should interact with each other - such as mutual respect, being open-minded and supporting each other.

Co-operator identity is an area of shared knowledge as well as a way that learning is facilitated. Co-operator identity is also part of the way that notions of membership are embedded in the co-operative, providing individual members specific roles and responsibilities, such as the training and learning responsibilities discussed in Chapter 6. There is a sense of shared co-operator identity, creating a sense of 'we' as co-operators and acts as a mechanism for the internalisation

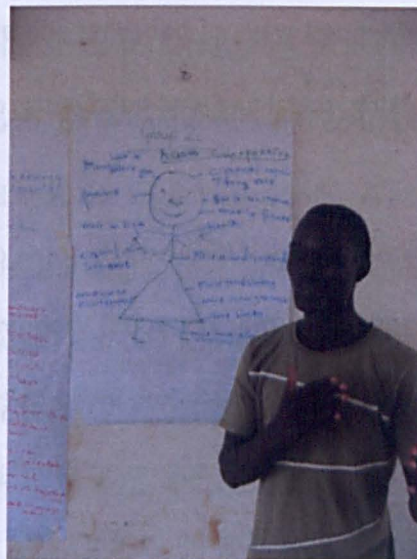
of collective ideas on membership. The following extracts provide an insight into what participants mean by the term co-operator and how it develops:

“My Dad was a co-operator. My Mum told me the story of my Dad and the work that he did in the community due to him being a co-operator. I want people to uplift their income. I have a heart for the community and I think this is what being a co-operator is about. Poverty in Uganda is very high and the only way to help the community is for them to help themselves.” (IntUK Geoffrey, 2010)

“(What do you understand by co-operatives?) We are co-operators, have to coordinate and learn from each other, advise and give each other some skills. (How?) No formal training, no explanation, it is through being a co-operator.” (IntLSD Ranford, 2010)

These ideas were explored further through FGDs with the different co-operatives. For example, participants at JoyFod were asked to draw what they thought a co-operator was. Figure 24 is a photograph of one of the pictures:

Figure 24 - Photograph of a poster presented by members at JoyFod during a FGD⁸⁶



Box 1 is an extract from the verbal presentation that the group made of the picture in the photograph in Figure 24.

⁸⁶ Photograph taken during fieldwork (Uganda, 2010)

Box 1 - Descriptions of a co-operator (FGDUJF, 2010)

- *Creative – start up new things rather than it being started for you*
- *Responsible – do something, don't wait for someone to tell you to do it or do it for you*
- *Focused – need to sit beyond, eyes to go beyond and not look at the ground*
- *Healthy – healthy body and mind, that your life is healthy, when you are sick you cannot think and cannot do anything either*
- *Disciplined – broad thinking, tackles many things, need to be disciplined in whatever you do, even with your friends*
- *Hardworking – work in order to save, not wait for someone to tell you to walk*
- *Good conduct*
- *Love to learn new things*
- *Need a work plan – important to go by what you have laid down*
- *Patient – so that you do not rush to get outcomes*
- *Social – work with friends*
- *Trustworthy*
- *Not to be short tempered – control yourself and ask questions first*

Similar data was collected in the same exercise with other co-operatives. It represents a core theme in which participants associate positive connotations with being a co-operator – seeing a co-operator as organised, thoughtful, open-minded etc. The joint identity of a co-operator helps to support collective learning and embed ways of behaving and attitudes in the co-operatives – co-operators are seen as hard working, social and well-behaved as cited in Box 1.

As outlined in Chapter 3, co-operator identity is discussed in some of the literature and is linked to learning (Facer, 2012; Fairbairn, 2003; MacPherson, 2003; Woodin, 2011; 2012). Woodin (2011: 89), in analysing historical experiences of education in co-operatives, refers to co-operator identity having individual and shared dimensions and being about a “way of life” and “developing co-operative character”. The analysis in this chapter concurs with this and provides some further insights. Co-operator identity also has the effect of creating a culture where information and knowledge is shared, where people strive to be open to working with others harmoniously and where they aim to work hard and make a success of the co-operative. This in turn enhances the way that members interact with each other and helps develop their relationships and a sense of

trust - which in turn reinforces the notion of a joint identity and their desire to share knowledge with each other.

The phrase co-operator is often used as a common term to refer to members or for members to refer to themselves (Obl ICA Africa Regional Assembly Meeting, 2010). It is also reinforced through external training where members are trained in their roles and responsibilities (UCA, n.d.). The networks of which co-operatives are a part also refer to co-operators (ObsL Youth Co-operative Forum, 2009, 2010). The joint identity of co-operators transcends one individual co-operative to all co-operatives and the networks that support them - both nationally and internationally - which in itself acts as a way to reinforce and embed these ideas.

Felstead et al (2009b) help conceptualise this discussion of co-operator identity further. They argue that the workplace influences the development of personal and collective identities. Personal identity influences an individual's willingness to learn and their willingness to support the learning of others. It can both be in contention and conform to the collective identity of the workers as a group. They find that the organisation influences the extent to which conformity between these identities exists and argue that where individual and collective identities are shared then relationships between workers and overall performance can be enhanced. In the case of co-operatives there is an explicit emphasis on the development of an individual and a joint co-operator identity. The aim is to align individual and collective identities through the co-operative values and principles which acts as a common basis and foundation from which identity can be developed.

However the data also shows that co-operator identity does not always develop; members do not always share ideas on the ways in which co-operators behave:

“(What are the solutions to challenges that Kigayaza faces?) Every member must commit themselves to the group and own it - need for members to respect one others opinions. Recognise their roles and responsibilities as members - use the constitution to do this” (FGDUK, 2010)

Some members do not understand or take up the roles and responsibilities associated with being a co-operator. This reflects Felstead et al’s (2009b) ideas that there can be non-conformity between personal and collective identities in the workplace. It also illustrates that, while information on members’ responsibilities are codified in the co-operative’s constitution, they do not always equate to the development of all members as co-operators. This gap in a member’s behaviour highlights that co-operator identity has a tacit dimension, which can make it challenging to develop in the organisation. Ranford (IntLSD, 2010) points out that there is no formal training on being a co-operator - it is about ‘being’ a co-operator. The following extracts highlight the tacit nature of co-operator identity and that individuals’ beliefs and ideas will affect the extent to which they can absorb the notions of co-operator identity:

“(Who is a co-operator?) Someone with the right attitude – might claim to be in co-op but needs the motivation and right attitude to co-op. It is about a heartfelt feeling not just because you want to get rich” (FGDUJF, 2010)

“(What makes a good member?) A member that does not always look for income but strives for the organisation to become successful in future. (Can you teach them this?) No it is a person’s character.” (GIntLSD, 2010)

As Tsoukas (2002) has noted, there are difficulties of extracting and capturing tacit knowledge and attempts to codify it can lose the essence of what it actually means.

Further insight on the influences on the development of co-operator identity are found in an extract from a FGD with Tweekembe in Uganda (Box 2) where members discussed the challenges they face as a co-operative. It shows that at times there is a break down in relations between members – lack of respect and a lack of trust for each other. As I discuss later in Section 7.4., trust

plays a role in developing a joint feeling of being co-operators and without the trust members may be less inclined to assume the joint identity.

Box 2 - Challenges faced by Tweekembe Youth Group (FGDUT, 2010)

- *Some members have self-interest*
- *Members lack skills on how to run projects and lack access to training*
- *Members like short term gains*
- *Youth interested in short term gains*
- *Some youths who marry at an early age and they join the co-operative but they have too many responsibilities to be able to raise money for membership fees*
- *Youth lack land and this creates problems for doing farming*
- *Sometimes leaders are not trustworthy, corrupt leaders in a co-operative*
- *The youth don't trust one another. Even if in the co-operative.*
- *Some members scare potential members by talking about negative aspects of the co-operative*
- *Lack of respect in co-operative*

In summary the analysis has underlined that co-operator identity plays a role in embedding shared ideas of membership in the co-operative but it necessitates that individuals appreciate the beliefs and ideas associated with being a co-operator, otherwise their behaviour may be incongruent with the joint identity of co-operators.

7.2.4 Collective learning relating to the co-operative values and principles

The final category of collective learning relates to the co-operative values and principles. This was reported in individual interviews and also in the group interviews where definitions of co-operatives were discussed and shared understandings were generated. This shared understanding relates to collective learning on what the co-operative is and on what principles a co-operative operates. It can be identified in the way participants define their co-operative, summarised in Table 27:

Table 27 - Interpretations of the definition, values and principles of co-operatives (IntsFGDsLU, 2010)⁸⁷

Defining co-operatives	Reported by
Controlled and owned by their members	K, T, SD
Profits are shared equally	K, JF
Businesses	K, JF, T, RS, M
Leaders are elected democratically	K, JF, RS
Concerned with improving the lives of people as well as profits	K, JF, T,
Keeps books, records and documentation of decisions	K, JF
Decisions are taken by the group	K, JF, M
Clear vision and plan	JF, T, M
Group cohesiveness (one voice)	K, JF, RS, SD
Rules and regulations	K, JF, T, RS
Focus on sharing skills and training	K, JF, T, RS, SD
All members are equal	K, JF, T, RS, SD
Financial investment in the co-operative by the members	K, T, JF

Participants are not often able to cite the international definition, values and principles of co-operatives. However as one participant points out *“I cannot tell you them but I understand them in my own way”* (IntUK Godfrey, 2010). The definitions in Table 27 also closely align with the definition, principles and values of co-operatives promoted by the ICA (Table 1).

The co-operative values and principles becomes embedded in the organisation through external training, through co-operative networks, through situated learning experiences, through the development of co-operator identities, as well as being part of the by-laws of a co-operative (Table 26). In fact increasingly co-operative law links the ways a co-operative should operate with the co-operative values and principles, listing the principles and then at times outlining how they would specifically relate to activities in the co-operative such as using the idea of ‘one member one vote’ for decision making⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ Participants were asked to define co-operatives and the differences between co-operative and other types of groups

⁸⁸ National Co-operative Policy Uganda 2008 and National Co-operative Policy Lesotho 2009

Knowledge of co-operative values and principles influenced the co-operatives in the study in many ways (Table 26), leading to voluntary membership, one member one vote, payment of membership fees and supporting people outside of the co-operative. Many of these aspects indicate that the co-operative values and principles act as a foundation for much of the collective and organisational learning that takes place in the co-operative. For example values and principles inform learning and processes in the organisation relating to democratic control and members' willingness to share their knowledge with each other and provide the basis for the development of the co-operative as a collective business - members are willing to share the profits.

Finally co-operative values and principles also underpin the co-operative's approach to its immediate community - this relates to the principle 'concern for the community'. For example this principle is reflected in group activities at Rise and Shine, where members reported supporting students who were in greater need than themselves, including donating and collecting clothes for a student who had a house fire and dedicating a percentage of their profits to students less fortunate than themselves (FGDLRS, 2010).

The central nature of collective learning on co-operative values and principles is illustrated by a FGD (summarised in Box 3) with members at Tweekembe in Uganda where they discussed the role of co-operative principles in their co-operative:

Box 3 - Role of co-operative principles, Tweekembe Youth Group (FGDT, 2010)

- *They guide the co-operative in its direction*
- *When you follow them you can develop new ideas and knowledge*
- *When you follow them, never find co-operatives collapsing*
- *Community also benefits if it follows the principles, and it helps with sustainability*
- *Community won't have jealousy as they are also benefiting from it. They will also be willing to join.*
- *When following the principles, you actively target goals*
- *If you know principles you can take them home and this will also lead to development at home*

This FGD suggests that co-operative values and principles are seen positively and as a set of guidelines to which they can aspire. There is a sense that they are accepted as the way that the co-operative should develop. This is an important point that I consider again in Chapter 8 (Section 8.4).

With such a key role to play in learning in the co-operative it is therefore important to ask to what extent co-operative values and principles is practised within a co-operative. The following participant suggests that co-operatives do not always operate according to the principles:

"(What do you think about the co-operative principles and values?) They make a change in a co-operative. (How can you use them?) Members should put them into practice. (Are you using them for Rise and Shine?) Yes but not all, equity, not using this, in meetings not always selecting people fairly for the activities." (IntLRS Puleng, 2010)

Examples like this can be found across the data and suggest that, while knowledge of co-operative values and principles may be present in the co-operative, the activities of the group and the actions of members do not always reflect them in practice.

An example concerns representation of women in the co-operatives. One of the co-operative values is equality and there was a shared belief across all of the co-operatives that women have an equal right to be members and to be leaders within the co-operative (Table 26). Co-operatives are trying to address this issue and increase female members and bring women onto the boards (ObsUK Board Meetings 2010; ObLSD Monthly Meeting, 2010). However for all of the co-operatives in Uganda this continues to be a challenge. For example, members of Tweekembe report that they believe women have a role in the co-operative. This was evidenced in several ways: the selection of an 18 year old female to be the treasurer for the collective poultry project (ObUT Poultry Meeting, 2010); David's self-directed photograph project demonstrates that support was provided to relatively equal numbers of men and women by the co-operative (see

Figure 26 later in the chapter). However when we discussed why there were no women at many of the FGDs held with Tweekembe, the members explained that someone had to stay at home to look after the animals while they (the men) came to the meeting (FGDUT, 2010). Gender equality remains a gap in shared learning within the co-operative, particularly in Uganda. I return to the issue of gender and its influence on learning in Chapter 8.

The discussion in this section has implications for how learning in the co-operative is conceptualised. Co-operative values and principles provide a foundation for learning within the co-operative for the individual (Chapter 6) and the organisation (discussed in this chapter). Collectively members learn about the co-operative values and principles and values and principles also underpin other areas of learning, for example members do not just learn about leadership they learn about democratic leadership. It also enhances the scope for collective learning by creating a situation where members are willing to share information with each other as part of a shared identity of co-operators. In summary I am arguing that the specific organisational form of a co-operative (influenced by the values and principles) frames the learning that takes place and creates a unique learning space for members.

In the following section I discuss in detail the influences on collective learning at the level of the organisation and within the networks.

7.3 Influences on collective learning at the level of the organisation and within the network

My analysis has shown that there are common areas of learning across the five co-operatives but there are also differences. In this section I assess the factors that influence learning, specifically at the level of the organisation and within the networks. I argue that these factors relate to the context of a particular co-operative rather than the country context.

Several co-operatives report that formal learning is restricted by lack of resources - this concurs with other academic findings on the types of influence at the organisational level (Felstead et al, 2009a; Fuller et al, 2004; Fuller and Unwin, 2004; Johnson and Wilson 2009). Subeng report that the co-operative lacks the capacity to run internal training (GIntLSD, 2010). Also, as discussed earlier, Tweekembe and Subeng lack the finances to put in place training and other co-operative activities like AGMs, which have been identified as situated learning opportunities.

The example of JoyFod (Table 25, Uganda) shows that the size as well as the structure of co-operatives also influences the scope for collective learning. JoyFod had less collective learning taking place than the other co-operatives; I identified six areas of learning (as compared to nine at Kigayaza in Uganda) and even with those six there was less evidence for these areas. Its structure as a large SACCO means that there are fewer interactions between members and less of an emphasis on developing relationships between members, as compared to other types of co-operatives. The core relationship is between the team of staff coordinating the co-operative and the members - which is of a vertical rather than horizontal nature. Social learning is less likely in this context. This is further compounded by size, as the co-operative has over 1,300 members, which gives less scope for trust-building (which I focus on in the next section). As observed by Lyon (2005), trust is more easily built in smaller organisations.

However, JoyFod's financial success means it can invest in internal training, which is the core mechanism through which their individual members learn (see Table 17, Uganda). They believe it is necessary to provide training for members to enable them to make an income and repay their loans (ObUJF training, 2010). To support this process, JoyFod has established a demonstration farm where members learn new farming techniques (ObUJF demonstration farm, 2010).

Figure 25 - Photographs of internal training at JoyFod⁸⁹



The photographs of Figure 25 highlight how substantive these training activities are at JoyFod. They have invested money in renting a room and use resources for training (first photograph) and establishing the demonstration farm (second photograph). As I outline below, this is different from the other co-operatives. Scale and structure clearly influence learning but there is not a definitive argument on whether small or larger co-operatives provide 'better' learning spaces - only that they provide different ones.

The case of Twekembe provides evidence of other influences at an organisational level. The co-operative has only five areas of collective learning (as compared to Kigayaza's nine) (Table 25) and again the evidence was lacking in some of these areas. This relates to a number of issues. They, along with some of the other co-operatives, reported not having the finances to put in place training activities. They are also a mixed (adult and youth) co-operative which means youth do not have the same access to situated learning opportunities as the other youth co-operatives; leadership positions, training opportunities, attendance at meetings is shared between the youth and the other members. Members also reported that their access to co-operative networks is limited by their rural location. Similarly there were some suggestions that those youth co-

⁸⁹ Photograph taken during fieldwork (Uganda, 2010).

operatives based in Maseru were prioritised over the co-operatives from the rest of Lesotho (IntL anonymous youth co-operator, 2010). The data also shows that in Uganda those youth co-operatives that are recognised as YEECO co-operatives achieve more support from the co-operative network than those that are not recognised as YEECO co-operatives (IntU anonymous Regional Co-operative Officer, 2010; FGDsUT, 2010). This suggests that the co-operative networks are conducive to learning depending on how a co-operative is positioned in the network.

However the analysis has also shown that while the social dynamics of the networks and where the co-operative is located can hinder learning, in many individual co-operatives they play a core supporting role, particularly in the provision of learning opportunities. The foundation for this support comes from the shared co-operative values and identity that exist in the networks as well as the individual co-operatives, alongside a remit on the part of some of these organisations to provide education to co-operatives. Co-operative networks are therefore akin to Brown and Duguid's (2001) networks of practice - they are based on mutual interest and shared ideas. However it is important to recognise that members engage in learning that is not part of the learning space provided by the co-operative. As discussed in Chapter 6, learning accessed via school and other organisations also plays a role in the skills development that youth attribute to the co-operative. Reflecting other literature (Engeström, 2004; Fuller 2007; Fuller and Unwin, 2004), members also learn beyond the boundaries of these networks of practice - building knowledge through interactions with people and processes outside of the co-operative and the co-operative networks.

7.4 The role of trust in learning

Trust has emerged from the analysis as having an important role in co-operative learning space. Learning to work with others and build relationships is a common area of individual learning (as

discussed in Chapter 6) and collective learning (as discussed in this chapter). The development of trust between youth was a core feature of David's (Twekembe, Uganda) self-directed photograph project and it can provide further insight into the role of trust in co-operatives and how it develops. Figure 26 is two of a series of photographs of members at Twekembe.

Figure 26 - David's photographs of how trust has been built between members of Twekembe Youth Group⁹⁰



The photographs are different examples of how members have trusted and built trust with each other (IntUT David, 2010). The first photograph is of the Chair of Twekembe Youth Group. David describes how the Chair gathered members together to ask them to invest in a goat livestock project whereby the co-operative would buy several goats which he would care for, and when the goats reproduced he would pass on the offspring to another member and the cycle would start again. Each member agreed to provide one chicken to make the necessary investments in the goat. David makes the point that the experience and benefit of working together (and 'no one was cheated') in this project built trust among the members. In the other photograph David shows a female member with a goat that the members lent her money to buy. David wanted to show that this built trust as the member repaid the money and also that when there is trust members feel free to approach each other for help. These examples indicate that: 1) members learn to trust each other through positive collective engagement; 2) this trust then leads to more

⁹⁰ Photographs taken by David (T) (Uganda, 2010).

collaborations; 3) trust has a role in building support networks for members (I discussed this last point in relation to individual capabilities in Chapter 6 and will discuss it again in the next section).

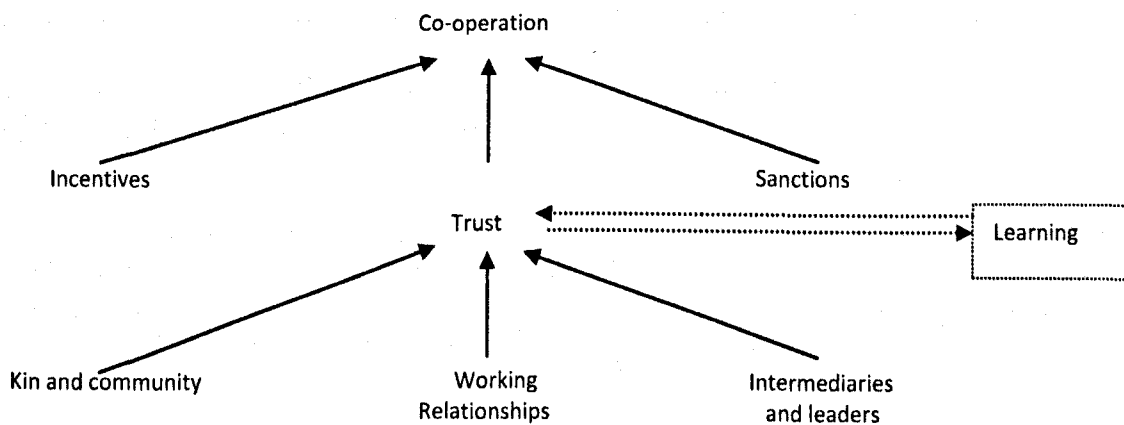
As discussed in Chapter 3, the literature has connected trust and learning (for example, Wilson, 2006) and specifically trust and learning in co-operatives (Fairbairn, 1999; Fairbairn, 2003; Stefanson, 2002). Fairbairn (1999; 2003) argues that trust is central to the success of co-operatives and co-operatives create a foundation for trust to develop. This dovetails with aspects of David's rich description of how trust works in Tweekembe. Fairbairn goes on to say that trust develops through shared understandings of the co-operative which he links to learning. This echoes my earlier analysis of the development of joint identity in youth co-operatives.

Other literature can help further interpret David's experiences. Vangen and Huxham (2003) in their study of collaborations between organisations refer to the "trust-building loop" which is a cyclical process through which trust develops as organisations experience positive repeated engagement (Vangen and Huxham, 2003: 8). Lyon (2005: 41) similarly argues that trust can be "self-reproducing" as people have the opportunity to interact with each other where they have positive experiences of trust; this then builds their trust further. These theories reflect the situation at Tweekembe where, through situated learning experiences, David and the other members further built trust which then led to them deciding to collaborate further. Trust then becomes about a person (or an organisation's) beliefs about their relationships with others, which is based on past experiences, but also the "anticipation" of future positive experiences (Vangen and Huxham, 2003: 10) developed through learning.

Lyon (2005) provides a framework which allows for further analysis. He points out that people need an initial framework in which they can start to trust each other through having the

opportunity to initiate processes that involve trust. He goes on to point out that trust is developed through “kin and community”, “working relationships” and “intermediaries and leaders” (Lyon, 2005: 40). In this research trust can be seen to be developed through the shared connections of youth who are from the same community, combined with the framework of the co-operative and the support networks with which the co-operative is associated. However the study has also found that learning plays a role in how trust is developed and I therefore add my ideas on learning into Lyon’s (2005: 40) framework in Figure 27:

Figure 27 - The bases of co-operation and the role of learning



Adapted from Lyon (2005: 40)

To explore further, it is important to understand the relationships between youth in a co-operative. Vangen and Huxham (2003) refer to power being a challenge for the development of trust and, as discussed in Chapter 6, members who are similar in age (and in most cases background) are in general open to support and to learn from each other rather than engage in power play. I return to the nature of power in youth co-operatives in Chapter 8 (Section 8.4).

I argue that learning between members in a co-operative takes on a unique form of social learning which is better understood as 'associative learning'⁹¹. I am using the term associative to refer to the particular kind of relationships between members in co-operatives that underpin learning. Core to this associative learning is a virtuous circle between shared values and learning which is underpinned by the development of co-operator identity; it is not only that members learn together but they learn together through a shared identity of co-operative values.

7.5 New ways of thinking in co-operatives

The preceding analysis of collective learning provides the opportunity to look at how youth learning is shaping co-operatives and in this section I assess the extent to which this can be seen as new ways of thinking and operating in youth co-operatives.

The analysis in this chapter shows that a central area of collective learning is about the co-operative values and principles. The data shows that this leads to the five youth co-operatives in this study being member-owned and member-controlled and working to place co-operative values and principles at their heart. The members may not know the exact co-operative values and principles but they operate and have an identity and develop their co-operatives in such a way that they are aligned with them. As I discussed in Chapter 2, historically co-operatives were mainly run for the benefit of a few and/or were largely government-controlled with limited emphasis on the co-operative values and principles (Develtere et al, 2008) and these youth co-

⁹¹ In using the term associative I am reflecting on MacPherson's (2003) concept of associative intelligence. He uses the term associative to refer to the education and learning that took place in co-operatives in the late nineteenth century, which he sees as a golden age for co-operative education, when members referred to each other as associates. I am also using the term to suggest that learning is based on ideas and experiences, reinforcing learning through cyclical processes (as those illustrated by David in his photograph project). This use of the term associative learning reflects the general way it is used – to describe ideas and experiences reinforcing each other and improving learning (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/associative+learning>)

operatives can therefore be seen as 'new forms' of co-operatives and a break from how co-operatives have manifested themselves in the past.

As discussed earlier another area of collective thinking is a commitment to developing viable businesses and a willingness to develop and change the way co-operatives operate. As a result in Lesotho the youth co-operatives have chosen to operate in a number of areas - tourism, professional consultancies, SACCOs, steel and catering (ObL Register of Co-operatives, Lesotho 2010). Members are developing their co-operatives in sectors where they perceive there to be a market. As discussed earlier this is a shift away from the past where co-operatives have operated more like an NGO or charity (receiving grants and providing services to members) and have not engaged in business and generated their own sources of revenue. Members are not constrained by 'old' perceptions of co-operatives and are ready to try new ideas (IntL Commissioner for Co-operatives, 2010; Matla, 2009).

This willingness to adapt and develop their co-operative was also seen at Rise and Shine through the data members presented via their self-directed photograph project. They were struggling to find capital for the co-operative so they organised a Mr and Miss Co-operative contest at the school. Figure 28 shows firstly a photograph of Mr and Miss Co-operative and secondly a photograph of the pupils at the school listening as Mr and Miss Co-operative talk to them.

Figure 28 - Photographs of Mr and Miss Co-operative Rise and Shine⁹²



Members reported that many students came to the event as they were interested in this type of entertainment. This is an example of youth creating solutions and running their co-operatives in a modern way.

Another area common to co-operatives in both countries is that youth develop a sense of concern for the community and as a result develop a social focus in their co-operatives that goes beyond the members, as participants chose to communicate through their photograph projects. Figures 17 (Mohammed at JoyFod) and 18 (Godfrey at Kigayaza), in Chapter 6, were photographs of members providing awareness-raising and training workshops for other members of the community. In this chapter, I have discussed how Rise and Shine provide supports for the wider school community. This research shows that youth are developing co-operatives with a social focus that transcend the boundaries of the co-operative to impact on the wider community. As discussed in Chapter 2, while this is a feature of some co-operatives, other studies have found co-operatives to have a limited social impact (Pollet, 2009).

⁹² First photograph was taken during fieldwork (Lesotho, 2010) and the second photograph was taken by Rise and Shine members (Lesotho, 2010).

The analysis of trust in the last section indicated how youth's learning in co-operatives creates a platform to build supportive relationships. Often motivations to join co-operatives are defined through economic incentives (Lyon, 2005). While the data suggests that this is also of importance to the youth - they want to make an income - they also value the trust that they can build through the co-operative. Trust and being able to build relationships with other youth therefore represents a cornerstone of co-operation (Lyon, 2005) for youth and youth co-operatives.

Argyris and Schön's (1978) ideas on double-loop learning (discussed in Chapter 3) can be used to conceptualise the impact of youth learning on co-operatives. As discussed in this chapter youth have learnt about values-based and business-oriented co-operatives through both situated learning and the co-operative networks. As I have shown in this section – the result of these learning experiences is that youth are attempting to do things differently from how things have been done in co-operatives in the past as illustrated in the following extract:

“(Do think your co-operative does things differently from other co-operatives?) It is a bit the same as other producer and marketing co-ops. (Are you doing the same as an adult co-operative would?) You do stuff based on what you are trained in. We are doing them in this revival of co-operatives where co-operatives are member-owned and member-controlled. (Like co-operatives in your parents' time?) No different; as in parents' time in a co-operative everything was done by the government. They were government funded and now they are member-owned and member-used. They were also based on political parties or had a tribal base.” (GIIntUK, 2010)

This example can be classified as double-loop learning but it does not fit completely with Argyris and Schon's ideas. They argue that loops of learning develop from a mismatch between the individual's actions and ideas and the ways of behaving and activities within an organisation. In the case of the youth co-operatives there are other core drivers of learning. The co-operative networks have played a key role in developing this new approach to thinking and operating in youth co-operatives. The support the networks provide in the form of training, visits and materials injects ideas into the co-operative which provide a foundation for youth to think about

and learn new ways of operating. This is part of broader thinking and learning (in the co-operative networks in Lesotho and Uganda and within the broader international co-operative movement) on the need for a new approach to co-operatives (as I discussed in Chapter 2). I argue therefore that the learning provided by the networks, framed by the revival of co-operatives, and the learning and forward-thinking of youth co-operators, is part of a wider loop of learning (or interconnected loops) that shapes the values-based approach to co-operatives. The learning is therefore partly bottom-up and partly top down with each influencing the other.

7.6 Reflections on collective capabilities

The aim of my research was to look at the wider impacts of learning on the individual and also on the collective and the co-operative. I used the capability approach to assess the role of learning in the co-operative for the development of individual capabilities. For collective learning I have reflected on theories that focus on learning in the workplace and some aspects of organisational learning theories. This analysis of collective learning can be interpreted and extended through the use of collective capabilities. My intention in this section is to provide some basic analysis of co-operatives in terms of collective capabilities which acts as a starting point for further research.

Analysis in Chapter 6 outlined the role of learning in enhancing capabilities. However it was the individual's membership of a co-operative which provided and framed the learning space. This aligns with Stewart's (2005) argument that that group membership increases a feeling of "well-being" among members (Stewart, 2005: 190) which is reflected in the descriptions of members developing peer support networks through the co-operative. She also alludes to groups influencing the values that people have. This was seen in this study where participants describe changing their outlook, becoming motivated through being in the co-operative and learning from other members about how to approach life.

However Ibrahim (2006) argues that, for a collective capability to develop, everyone in the group needs to benefit. As analysis in Chapter 6 and this chapter has highlighted, members are sometimes limited from learning and from developing capabilities. To make an assessment of the extent to which learning (or membership of the co-operative) constitutes a collective capability would therefore require more discussion of what a collective capability is. The analysis in this thesis relates to another aspect of Ibrahim's argument, where she states that collective capabilities have the potential to have a wider effect on the community that can lead to social change. The discussion in this chapter and the individual capabilities discussed in Chapter 6 relating to concern for the community and participation in the community all represent important potential for this broader change that Ibrahim speaks of. This would require different data from what I have collected (such as more data from community members). However, an extension of analysis of co-operatives and the learning space to assess if they build collective capabilities would be a way to further understand the wider impact co-operatives (and co-operative learning spaces) can have on development.

I return turn to the role of collective capabilities in analysing learning in co-operatives in Chapter 9. I now turn to the conclusion of this chapter.

7.7 Conclusion

There are commonalities between the collective learning experiences in Lesotho and Uganda which provide a foundation to develop categories of collective learning. There is substantial common ground rather than significant differences between countries. This is part of the co-operatives being linked to an international framework (Table 1) which defines how they operate (Chapter 2) and the fact that the co-operatives in this study have been established during the revival as part of increasing efforts to focus on youth. Where differences exist in collective

learning they tend to relate to the specific co-operative context, specifically the size and nature of the co-operative and the access it has to the co-operative networks.

The analysis has emphasised the influence that organisational form has on learning. I have found that co-operatives can create a distinctive collective learning space for youth based on their values and principles. It creates a space where learning is framed by values, co-operator identity and trust and connects the learning space to a broader network of learning opportunities and beliefs and ways of thinking. Significantly the study has found that trust, shared values and learning create a cyclical, mutually reinforcing process for co-operative youth. In the next chapter I use these findings to build a model for re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives.

8.0 Introduction

This chapter synthesises analysis and thinking in this thesis to present the core arguments and contributions to empirical and theoretical knowledge. I develop my guiding ideas into a conceptual framework of co-operatives as an expanded learning space. Building on this, I discuss the contribution the research makes to understanding the role of co-operatives in learning for development, youth agency and the nature and potential of youth-focused co-operatives. Bringing together the two bodies of literature on situated learning and the capability approach has enabled me to develop a model for re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives from the perspective of co-operative members. I also elaborate on the contributions to the theoretical literature that have developed from the research. Firstly the influence of organisational forms on learning and secondly that analysis of situated and social experiences of learning can be extended through the capability approach and as a result play a central role in the development of capabilities.

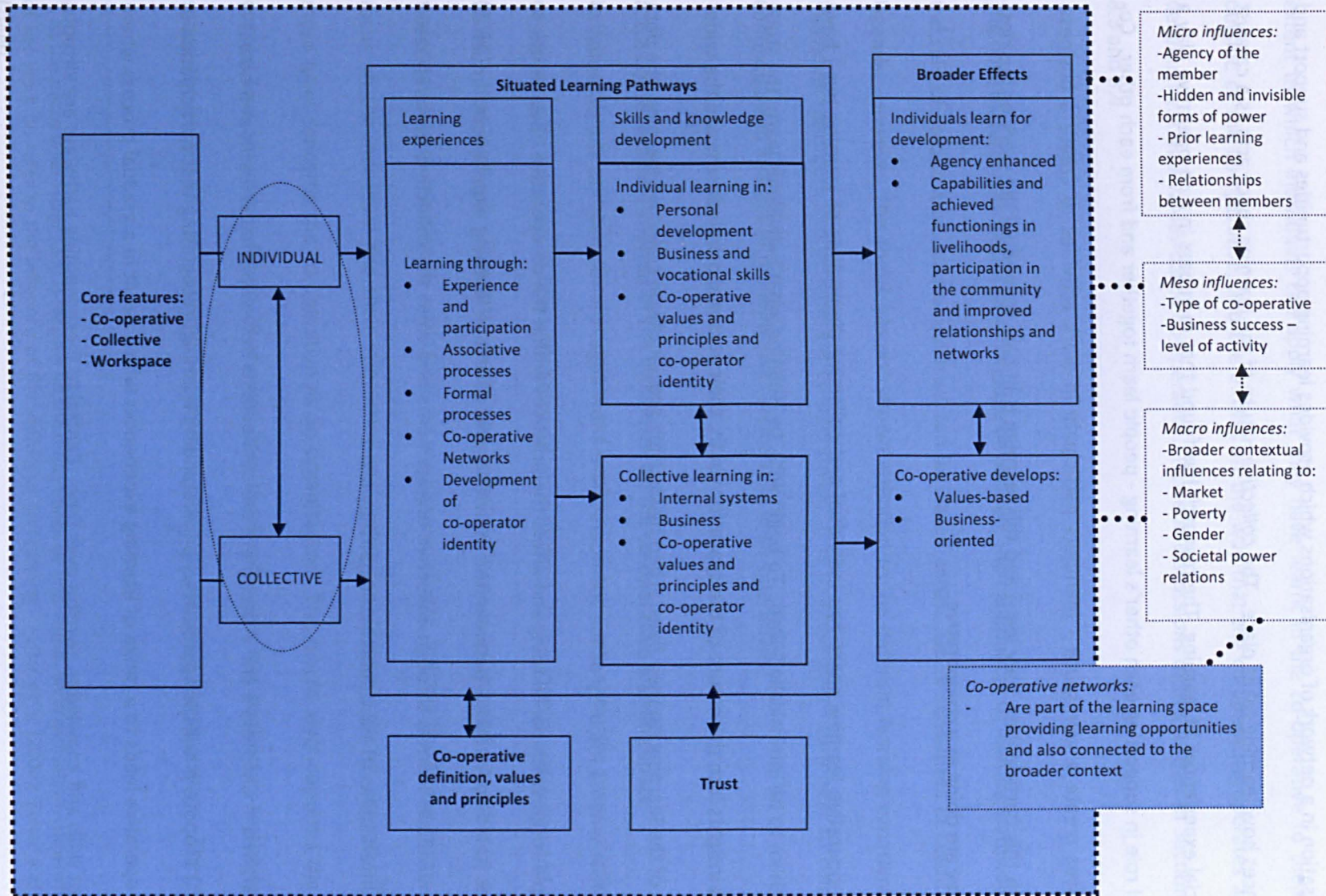
In the first part (Section 8.1) I present the conceptual framework and explain the influences on the co-operative learning space. In the second part, I comment on the research's contribution to knowledge in terms of learning for development (8.2), youth agency (8.3) and the nature of youth co-operatives (8.4). In the next part (8.5) I propose a model for thinking differently about learning and education in co-operatives and in the final part (8.6) I examine contributions that the research makes to the theoretical literature.

8.1 Conceptualising co-operatives as an expanded learning space

In Chapters 2 and 3, I argued that learning is a core dimension of youth's engagement with co-operatives. I developed the ideas of co-operatives as a learning space, which involved an

expanded analysis of learning and the influences on learning (Section 3.3), and used these ideas in Chapter 6 to frame individual learning and in Chapter 7 to analyse collective learning. The following diagram (Figure 29) brings together these different ideas and gives an overview of a consolidated conceptual framework of co-operatives as an expanded learning space.

Figure 29 - A conceptual framework of co-operatives as an expanded learning space



8.1.1 Conceptual framework of co-operatives as an expanded learning space

The core features of the framework are found across the co-operatives in this study and underpin the co-operative learning space. The *co-operative* values and principles frame learning; they influence the processes through which learning takes place. Being a co-operative situates the organisation in a network of organisations which provides learning opportunities and support and influences how learning takes place. The *collective* nature of the learning space acts as a catalyst for social experiences of learning. The research has found that members in a co-operative play a central role in supporting each other's learning - people learn together and from each other. Co-operatives create a *workspace* - members participate in work activities to create a business. Through this participation they learn and this learning is in part framed by the work or business that they are doing as a co-operative.

The co-operative learning space has individual and collective dimensions of learning but I have found them to be intrinsically linked. To begin with, by isolating what individuals learn, the study creates insights into the nature of the space for youth, their personal development and the wider effects of the learning on their lives. Then by focusing specifically on collective learning, the data shows that when a majority of the members share knowledge, the learning has the potential to develop as organisational learning and affect the practices within the co-operative. Both of these analyses found connections between the individual and collective learning experiences: much of what individuals learn is through collective engagements and what the collective learns is based on the interactions of individuals and what they learn.

I have argued in Chapters 6 and 7 that there are connections between what is learnt and how it is learnt. I propose a holistic approach to understanding learning; recognising that participation in the co-operative leads to a range of learning experiences which result in a gradual process where different skills and knowledge develop over time. Central to these learning pathways are virtuous

circles between learning, co-operative values, shared co-operator identity and trust and relationships between members. I discuss these issues further in Section 8.5.

The concept of co-operatives as a learning space is expanded to include the broader effects: the extent to which individuals can apply what they have learnt in the co-operative to their lives outside of the co-operative, and the effects on the way that the co-operative operates and its development as a values-based co-operative. I extend discussions of this further in Sections 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4.

The core features, the skills and knowledge developed, the experiences of learning pathways, and the role of co-operative values and trust can be traced across the co-operatives in Lesotho and Uganda. However, this thesis has also drawn attention to the different learning experiences, of individual members and of different co-operatives. It is to these that I turn next to conduct a contextualised analysis of the influences on learning in co-operatives.

8.1.2 Contextualised analysis of the influences on the co-operative learning space

In this section I synthesise the discussions in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and show the types of influences on learning, to propose, in line with Felstead et al (2009a), Fuller (2007) and Fuller and Unwin (2004), that analysis of macro, meso and micro influences is needed to achieve a “full” understanding of learning in workplaces or workspaces (Fuller, 2007: 27). At the micro level I focus on the individual and their interaction with other individuals in the co-operative⁹³. The meso level concerns the co-operative as an organisation. The macro level concerns the wider context and networks. Figure 29 showed how these influences are connected to the learning space; the broken lines indicate the permeability of the co-operative learning space. These levels

⁹³ At the micro level Fuller (2007) focuses on the department or unit within an organisation. However parts of her work do refer to the influence of the individual on learning - Fuller et al (2004), Fuller and Unwin (2004).

are also detailed in Table 28. Whilst Table 28 distinguishes the levels, there are interconnections between them (as illustrated in Figure 29).

Table 28 - Influences on the co-operative learning space

Level of influence	Areas of influence
Micro – individual/collective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agency, beliefs, values and commitment of a member - Hidden barriers to learning - Relationships between members and the similarity and difference between members
Meso – co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of success and level of activities the co-operative carries out - Type of co-operative
Macro – co-operative networks and wider context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Extent and focus of co-operative networks - Contextual influences relating to gender, age, poverty, market and societal power relations

Micro level influences

The study has emphasised that learners are not passive. Individuals control aspects of learning; they decide whether or not they want to learn and how much they want to support other people’s learning. As discussed in Chapter 7 there is a relationship between the individual’s own set of values and collective learning. Furthermore the level of activities with which youth are engaged in the co-operative – both direct learning opportunities and general activities (for example, meetings) will affect how much youth learn. This is influenced in turn by endogenous factors, for example how ‘active’ a member is, how committed they are to the co-operative and their level of self-belief and their prior learning experiences, affecting their willingness to use their agency to pursue learning opportunities.

The gender of a member, their level of education and their age also influence learning. These issues can be seen as invisible forms of power (Gaventa, 2006). The data suggests that these situations are not a result of the personal machinations of members. They are ideas and ways of behaving that exist under the surface in the co-operative and in the community. They are

manifest at the meso level of the co-operative, but are linked to contextual issues of gender, education and youth, that are part of the macro context of which the co-operative is part. My findings in this area concur with Penrose-Buckley (2007) that relationships between members and the behaviour of members reflect the broader society in which they are situated

I have also found that, whilst this similarity between members can have a positive effect on learning, it can also create a challenge and it can hinder access to new ideas and information. As discussed in Chapter 6, where members are different they can learn new things from each other and may be more inclined to initiate learning experiences where they challenge each other's ideas. Consequently, as many of the members in youth co-operatives are similar they are often reliant on the co-operative networks for new knowledge, ideas and links to wider society.

Meso level influences

If a co-operative is less successful in the sense of having a low level of business activity there will be fewer activities which in turn result in less situated learning. Furthermore business success also influences the amount of financial resources to dedicate to learning activities. However a co-operative, unlike a pure private sector business, while not successful in a business sense⁹⁴ can still be an active co-operative i.e. engaged in a number of activities. For example, the Lesotho co-operatives were not making significant money but they were active in terms of having regular meetings, and initiating other activities through which members were learning. However this does raise a question of the long-term sustainability of these co-operatives, whether they are viable businesses, and ultimately the continuity of the learning they provide. I return to the issue of sustainability in the conclusion.

⁹⁴ For example co-operatives may be breaking even rather than making a surplus.

Chapter 7 outlined that the nature and structure of the co-operative affect learning. Co-operatives are engaged in different businesses and have different structures. Indeed, within the co-operatives in this study, the notable structural differences were between the larger formalised SACCOs and other co-operatives. The differences have implications for how co-operative education and learning is understood and conceptualised for different types of co-operative.

Macro level influences

The study emphasised the importance of networks in the provision of learning opportunities. I therefore conceive networks as directly connected to the learning space as well as part of the macro context (as indicated in Figure 29). While these networks provide learning experiences for co-operatives they also play a role in excluding some co-operatives from learning. As discussed in Chapter 7, location and how the networks classify the youth co-operatives influence learning. Again these are hidden barriers and invisible forms of power (Gaventa, 2006). Thus, while I found in Chapter 5 that there is high level support for youth at a national level within the lead co-operative organisations, such support is not mirrored throughout the co-operative networks, or within co-operatives with mixtures of youth and adults, and this can hinder youth's access to the learning space. These discontinuities in the networks weaken the long term sustainability of youth co-operatives.

The economic situation in which the co-operative operates also influences the learning space. Low incomes mean that members do not have the money to invest in their co-operative. Thus, coupled with a lack of capital as a group, co-operatives struggle to access finance and make long term investments. The market also underpins the extent to and conditions under which the goods and services that the co-operative produces can be traded. The market opportunities in both countries, but particularly Lesotho, are limited, which affects the viability of the businesses in which they are engaged. This influences the level of success, and therefore activity and

potential for situated learning. This again has implications for the long term sustainability of the co-operatives which I return to in the conclusion.

In summary to develop a holistic view of learning in co-operatives it is necessary to undertake an analysis of influences on learning at multiple levels - micro, meso and macro. This multiple level analysis will take in the different experiences of the learning space from one co-operative to the next and for different individuals.

In the next three sections I consider the broader effects of the co-operative learning space (Figure 29).

8.2 Youth learning for development through the co-operative

To assess learning for development in terms of the individual I used the capability approach to analyse whether the co-operative learning space enables youth to make changes in valued functionings. I argue that youth's engagement with the co-operative leads to learning which acts as a foundation for increased agency and capabilities which enables youth to achieve functionings in a wide range of areas of development which they value, for example livelihoods, income, being productive, education, relationships and community engagement. Table 29 provides an overview of the links between learning in a co-operative and the impacts this has on the life (development) of a youth.

Table 29 - Learning for development through co-operatives⁹⁵

Area of learning	Impact on the life of a youth	Area of development
Access to education and learning	More informed and 'developed'	Educational (learning) development
Personal development (particularly confidence and communication skills)	Agency and personal position enhanced	Self-development
Motivated and future focused	Avoided risky behaviours and using time productively	
Business know-how	Improved business and increased incomes, increased food security, improved housing and health	Economic development
How to work with (trust) others, tolerant, open-minded, consultative decision making	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Relationships (and support networks) developed with peers based on trust 2) Relationships with family members changed, particularly on participation in decisions 3) Networks improved which provides further opportunities 	Social development
Sense of community engagement, leadership and training skills	Increased participation in the community and society	

This thesis has shown that youth do indeed learn for development through co-operative membership. It also deconstructs the experience of learning for development by tracking what a youth learns and the impacts that this has on development (as outlined in Table 29).

The capability approach indicates that to obtain a full understanding of the impact of learning it is important to evaluate what members value, their capabilities and their achieved functionings. As I discussed in Chapter 6 some significant outcomes of learning for development in the co-operative are capabilities, for example enhanced potential to get a job. This underlines that youth value co-operative membership as an investment in their future income, livelihood and career as well as a platform for achieving changes (such as increased income) in the short term. Analysis through the capability approach has also begun to show that the potential role of learning for development can differ from person to person and is in turn affected by the social conditions in which a youth lives and by their individual agency, beliefs and aspirations. Consequently, as with

⁹⁵ Table 29 derived from Table 23

assessments of learning in the co-operative, there is a need to assess the influences on the development of capabilities to achieve a fuller understanding of the extent of learning for development for youth in a co-operative.

There is an interconnected nature to the development of capabilities. Learning enhances youth's agency, particularly in terms of providing the opportunity for personal development which, alongside areas like increases in finances and improved relationships with their family and the community, enables them to achieve their functionings. This emphasises the importance of learning for making valued changes to life but also that learning is connected with changed resources and changed social relations, which together build the capabilities of a youth.

The analysis of learning for development in this thesis provides evidence and insight into the wider impacts of co-operatives, particularly the social impacts. The last column in Table 29 locates the achieved functionings in different areas of development. The impact of co-operative membership therefore includes: 1) economic development, in terms of increased income and engagement in a livelihood; 2) education (learning) development, which is access to learning opportunities; 3) self-development, which is the acquisition of skills as well as personal development which enhances agency and develops a sense of being productive and having a sense of purpose; 4) social development, particularly in the area of improved relationships and networks and community engagement. However as discussed the development potential of co-operatives can differ between individuals and between co-operatives and assessments of the impact of co-operatives must be context specific. This understanding of the wider impact of co-operative membership has implications for policy relating to co-operatives, which I discuss in the conclusion.

8.3 Youth agency

Inherent to the concept of youth co-operatives is that youth have agency - that they can help themselves by joining the co-operative. The study has shown that personal development enhances youth's agency, in particular skills such as confidence, communication and negotiation. The co-operative also provides them with an opportunity to use their agency which creates a sense of self-belief and stimulates them to further use their agency. They learn how to voice their opinions and that their voice counts. A connected core thread in the analysis is that youth appreciate their agency being recognised and this in turn stimulates them to use it in a virtuous circle. Thus, the concept of 'youth co-operatives' communicates to the youth that their agency and skills are recognised. It acts as a catalyst or stimulus for them. The ongoing support from the co-operative networks reinforces the virtuous circle and acts as a further motivation.

However this agency can be understood in different ways. Youth's membership of a co-operative can be seen as them using their strategic agency (Honwana, 2005, following de Certeau, 1984). Youth make a decision to join the co-operative as they believe membership enables them to improve their lives through establishing a livelihood and making an income. It is an example of youth using their agency in a positive sense - to build their own development - rather than in what is perceived to be a negative way, i.e. for crime or engagement in conflict (World Bank, 2007). However, youth's membership of co-operatives can also be classified as a form of tactical agency (Honwana, 2005). Youth report being faced with unemployment and poor business prospects and see the co-operative as the only option that they have available to them to change their situation.

These ideas of tactical and strategic agency provide insight into learning experiences. A co-operative member may access ways to develop and further use their agency strategically - pursuing leadership positions, participating in activities and ultimately making a success of the co-operative. However the social relations in and outside of the co-operative may constrain the

member and it is here that tactical agency can be identified. This is particularly the case for female and younger members; a member's age or gender can constrain the learning opportunities that they can access. Despite this youth engage in the opportunities they have for learning and value these opportunities. Furthermore, the nature of their agency (whether it is tactical or strategic) can highlight the underlying motivations youth have for joining a co-operative (as discussed above) which can affect the extent to which they are willing to engage with it and learn.

8.4 Nature of youth co-operatives

Chapter 7 showed that youth co-operatives represent new forms of co-operatives which are central to the revival of co-operatives. In this section I look at what is different about youth co-operatives. Table 30 summarises the distinctive features of youth co-operatives arising from the data.

Table 30 - Distinctive features of youth co-operatives

Distinctive features of youth co-operatives	Potential effects on the co-operative and learning in the co-operative
Correlation between the values of youth and the co-operative values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Youth motivated to join as they are attracted by the co-operative values ● Youth members committed to embedding the co-operatives values in the way the organisation operated
Peer group – youth working alongside other youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Enhanced their feeling of a joint identity and helped develop co-operator identity ● Created flatter and more open structures between members which made it easier to share knowledge ● Shared information and knowledge about 'work' and also about 'life' ● Created a foundation to build trust which then enhanced learning
Focus on learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Youth value the opportunity to learn and take advantage of learning opportunities that are offered to them and to share knowledge they have
Focused on youth – recognition of the agency of youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increased confidence and self-esteem of youth which enabled them to do more activities and access more learning experiences ● Utilised the skills youth have ● Created spaces for youth to take on responsibility for their own development
Supported through the co-operative networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Motivated the members ● Provided training and support appropriate for youth

Distinctive features of youth co-operatives	Potential effects on the co-operative and learning in the co-operative
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Based on 'new forms' of co-operatives – focused learning on co-operative values

Youth co-operatives create a platform on which youth can work and learn together, which is underpinned by their appreciation of co-operative values. Youth have a sense of shared identity as they are all 'youth' and share many of the same challenges and needs in life (FGDsLUYouth, 2010). The co-operative provides the mechanism to develop this identity further, fusing it with the co-operator identity. These relationships between youth create fertile ground for learning – they are willing to share knowledge with each other and are motivated to develop each other. It is enhanced through the co-operative having flatter structures: as members are similar in age and have a shared sense of youth, barriers are broken down between them. They operate through having a sense of 'power with' rather than 'power over' (Rowlands, 1997). While the relationships and trust that the members have enhance the learning that takes place, learning together further enhances their relationships. Associative learning becomes a building block of their continued co-operation (Macpherson, 2003).

As discussed in Chapter 6, youth co-operatives often play an important role in the provision of learning opportunities for youth. They often exist in the context of scarce opportunities for higher education and vocational learning opportunities (common to developing countries) (King and Palmer, 2010). The data indicates that youth regard the learning in the co-operative as a stepping stone to further work or study and as an important building block towards a longer term career trajectory, particularly in the schools based co-operatives. This reflects aspects of Fuller and Unwin's (2009) work on apprenticeships which they view as a 'transition' from school to work. In fact, similar to Fuller and Unwin (2009), I have also found that youth in youth co-operatives engage in a holistic work-based learning experience where personal development, alongside vocational learning, prepare them for their development as citizens as well as work transitions (ibid).

As discussed in Section 8.1.2 there are different influences on youth co-operatives which mean the extent to which they develop these distinct characteristics (Table 30) and provide learning opportunities will vary between youth co-operatives. However the research has shown that building youth agency and livelihoods has worked best when the co-operative has an explicit focus on youth. This worked in both 'youth-only' (where the majority of members are youth) co-operatives as well as co-operatives with a youth group - although there was a higher level of impact for those co-operatives that had a majority of youth members.

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 7 whilst youth co-operatives can be seen as representing new forms of co-operatives, they are developed within the framework provided by the co-operative networks and the co-operative values during this time of revival. The co-operative networks play an important role in the development of the youth co-operative through providing new information and a values framework within which members are expected to operate. However there is not a space for members to constructively challenge the co-operative model or the values that underpin it if they wished to do so. As Chapter 7 outlined there are times when members' actions conflict with the co-operative values which leads to members being seen as lacking commitment. Whilst the values framework is widely acknowledged as the key to the success of the co-operative revival it can also create challenges as it ignores individuals' own beliefs and ideas that may not align with those of the co-operatives. In the Section 8.5 I discuss how learning in the co-operative can address this tension.

In summary (Sections 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4) this thesis has been able to make contributions to the knowledge on the engagement between youth and co-operatives by focusing on co-operatives as a learning space for youth. I now turn to my contributions to the practice and literature on co-operative education.

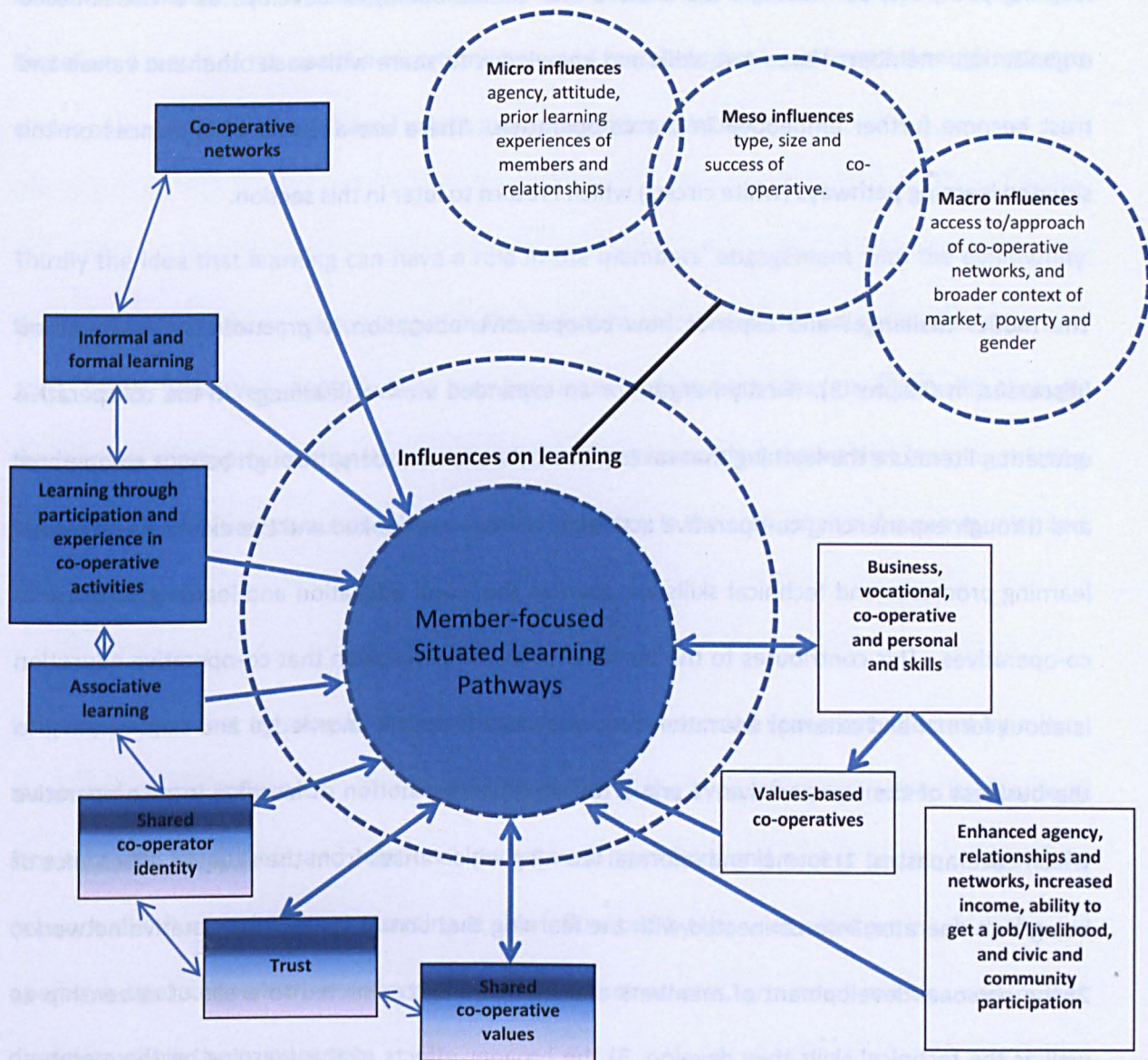
8.5 Re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives

In this thesis I have brought together two bodies of theory to develop a better understanding of learning in the co-operative. This enables me to respond to the gaps in the co-operative education literature and present a model which helps re-think learning and education in co-operatives (as discussed in Chapter 3). The model extracts and details the relevant dimensions of the research for stakeholders dealing with learning and education for co-operatives.

8.5.1 A model for re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives

The focus of the model (Figure 30) is learning from the perspective and activities of members of a co-operative. Taking this perspective moves emphasis away from the external providers of co-operative education and looks at learning from the bottom up. In doing so the model emphasises the situated and associative processes of learning, expands understanding of skills and personal development and outlines what influences learning in a co-operative.

Figure 30 - A model for re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives



The idea of situated learning pathways is the central foundation for the model. Members of a co-operative learn through their participation in the co-operative and understanding of this learning can be expanded through recognition of a range of learning experiences (Fuller and Unwin, 2004). However instead of a dichotomy of external or internal, or on- or off-the-job, I have developed the idea of situated learning pathways where learning experiences (blue boxes) intersect and build towards skills and knowledge development which are a foundation for the development of members' agency and capabilities and also the co-operative (white boxes). Trust, shared co-operator identity and co-operative values are part of both learning experiences and skills and

personal development (indicated by shaded boxes). There is an ongoing dimension to the learning pathways, as members learn more and the co-operative develops as a values-based organisation: members have more skills and knowledge to share with each other and values and trust become further embedded in the co-operative. There are a series of influences on the situated learning pathways (white circles) which I return to later in this section.

The model challenges and expands how co-operative education is practiced and understood (discussed in Chapter 3). Firstly I argue for an expanded view of learning. In the co-operative education literature the learning that takes place between members, through being a co-operator and through experiencing co-operative activities, is often overlooked and the external and formal learning processes and technical skills are seen as the 'core' education and learning platform in co-operatives. This contributes to the persistence of the perception that co-operative education is about formal and external education processes and technical knowledge and skills relating to the business of the co-operative. I argue for an expanded notion of learning in a co-operative which encompasses: 1) formal and informal learning which arises from the situated experience of being a co-operator, interconnected with the learning that comes via the co-operative networks; 2) the personal development of members and the learning connected to areas of citizenship as well as the technical skills they develop; 3) the broader effects of this learning on the members and the co-operative.

Secondly the research has also shown that members learn how to build relationships with others, which in turn enhances their ability to engage in learning. This concurs with Fairbairn's (1999) and MacPherson's (2003) analysis that learning comes through members working together. However this study goes further: central to learning is the shared identity of co-operators⁹⁶ and the trust members develop in the co-operative - which I identified as 'associative learning' in

⁹⁶ Facer et al (2012), Fairbairn (2003), MacPherson (2003) and Woodin (2011; 2012) also argue that co-operator identity is central to co-operative education.

Chapter 7. The shared identity of co-operators is reinforced through positive engagements between members, which build trust, which in turn creates more space for learning. Learning is therefore a result of the social interactions between members but is enhanced through virtuous circles of learning and trust, shared values and co-operator identity.

Thirdly the idea that learning can have a role in the members' engagement with the community they live in is sometimes acknowledged in the literature on co-operative education (MacPherson, 2003; Smith, 2004; Yeo, 2003), where members learn and develop ideas on citizenship through the learning space provided by the co-operative. This research has shown that learning relating to co-operative values, personal development and agency is the core catalyst for community and civic engagement.

Fourthly I argue that learning in the co-operative is not a bounded space but affected by micro, meso and macro influences. The agency of learners, the type of co-operative, its business, structure and its success and relationships between members and access to the co-operative network all influence learning. Learning is also influenced by the wider context in which the co-operative operates, which is reflected in the social structures, grounded realities and power dynamics within the co-operative.

Finally, whilst existing conceptualisations of education (Fairbairn, 1999; 2003; MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2009b) recognise that co-operative values should have a central role in co-operative education, they do not unpack the role values have in learning, or how members can effectively learn about them. At times the external and formal learning experiences initiated by the co-operative networks include co-operative values but this is limited in focus and effect. I argue that learning about values requires an opportunity to reflect, internalise and change personal beliefs

and ways of behaving, and the more tacit experiences involved in situated learning can be effective in achieving such a process.

8.5.2 Implications arising from these insights

The complexity of how to learn about areas such as values is reflected in the existing lists of co-operative values and principles (ICA, 1995). They have been created as a way to communicate the essence of co-operatives (ibid). However this study has shown the importance of building trust in the co-operative is not communicated through the co-operative values and principles effectively. It is of course reflected in the co-operative value of solidarity, however there is no co-operative principle to explain how this value of solidarity can be put into practice⁹⁷. This omission is in part due to the challenge of explaining tacit processes like trust in a codified way, when tacit processes are better explained and understood through an analysis of situated learning.

Developing a joint identity of co-operators can provide a way to institutionalise as well as personalise a sense of shared values. It allows for a deeper level of learning more akin to Entwistle's (1997) concept - where critical reflections on what is being learnt can take place. Analysis in Chapter 7 indicated that the co-operative needs to: 1) create a space where members can discuss and reflect on the co-operative identity and values; 2) provide the opportunity for members to consider the relationship between the values of the co-operative and their own personal values (and identity), to enable members to internalise these ideas. Interactive approaches to learning such as using drama and debate, can also support the development of knowledge on values.

That there are areas of knowledge that require a deeper level of learning has also been reflected with regards to gender. Co-operatives have historically had low proportions of female members

⁹⁷ As discussed in Chapter 2 the co-operative principles are recognised as the 'ways' to carry out the co-operative values.

linked to societal perceptions of women (Develtere et al, 2008). As discussed in Chapter 2 there is a move to assure equal access for men and women and ensure that women have equal access to opportunities in the co-operative like leadership positions. Gender awareness is therefore part of training workshops for co-operatives (UCA, n.d.). However, even though male members may espouse a positive attitude to female members, this does not always manifest itself in equal access to areas such as learning opportunities. This is because changing the situation for women and girls necessitates: 1) changing core beliefs and behaviours on the part of members which, like any values, requires a deeper level of learning than can be provided by training workshops; 2) recognising common expectations of women e.g. in the home which put their time for engagement in the co-operative at a premium.

Recognising that there are different levels of learning can explain some of the differences between behaviour of co-operative members with respect to the aims of their co-operatives. Situated and social learning experiences hold the potential for a deeper level of learning associated with areas of knowledge like gender and the co-operative values. This can help inform design of external and internal learning experiences by encouraging education providers to think of more personalised and interactive ways of stimulating learning. These can then provide members with a learning space where they have the opportunity to question their existing beliefs and critically engage with the areas of knowledge being presented to them.

8.6 Contributions to the theoretical literature

Combining situated learning and capabilities in this research also enables me to contribute to the theoretical literature on learning in the workplace and the capability approach.

8.6.1 The importance of organisational forms on learning

I have found the literature focusing on learning in the workplace (Felstead, 2009a; Rainbird et al, 2004⁹⁸) and some organisational learning theories (Argyris and Schön, 1978) to be limited in the extent to which they can be used to analyse co-operatives. This concurs with MacPherson's (2003) argument that organisational learning theories tend to focus on private sector organisations which are of a different nature from co-operatives. The emphasis on private sector and more formalised larger organisations in theories looking at learning in the organisation creates several challenges when using them to analyse co-operatives. Smaller organisations (for example those with 15 or fewer employees) do not always have smaller groups within the organisation as suggested by Lave and Wenger (1991). There is also a sense that the workplace is formal, manifesting itself in matters like detailed job descriptions (Fuller and Unwin, 2004). However the work environments in this study tended to be informal - work activities taking place in different locations - in rooms in people's houses or in the local church or on people's farms with no formal office. It is the participation in work activities that brings people together wherever it is convenient to arrange them rather than one consistent physical workplace.

These theories frame their analysis from the assumption that an organisation's primary goal is making a profit which excludes the co-operative organisational form where the motivations are both for economic and social gains for members (Borzaga et al, 2009). Furthermore, as Fuller et al (2004) point out, organisations focus on learning as a way to improve their performance, seeing learning as a means to an end, while in Felstead et al (2009a) they argue that learning is considered only in the potential it has to improve work. However, historically co-operatives have recognised their role in providing education to their members, about how to run the co-operative and about developing broader ideas and knowledge to improve their lives and engage in

⁹⁸ Whilst the Rainbird et al (2004) collection looks at public sector organisations as well, a distinction is only made between private and public sector organisations which exclude the combined social and economic nature of co-operatives.

citizenship (MacPherson, 2003). The ethos that learning is a primary function of the co-operative rather than a process to achieve performance differentiates it from other organisations.

8.6.2 Enhancing understanding of learning in the capability approach

As illustrated situated learning provides an effective way to assess the learning that takes place in co-operatives but it is not sufficient for assessing wider impacts on members. The capability approach has enabled analysis of the role that the different and extended ways of learning can have on enhancing development. It encompasses learning in terms of direct access to learning opportunities that the co-operative provides (recognised as a capability in its own right) and the effects of this on youth. It also has helped to investigate the indirect role that learning plays in other changes to capabilities and functionings in a youth's life. Personal development has been found to play a core role in enabling the use of agency. Youth engagement in their communities has led to community members re-evaluating their views of youth and opening access for youth to participate.

Combining the capability approach with situated learning has thus provided a framework to articulate the impact of learning in the co-operative in terms of development and then enabled me to track the contribution of learning to development whilst considering the influences of personal choice and agency and the social situation in which a youth lives. This provides an enhanced understanding of the types of learning that lead to the development of a person's life and emphasises that conceptualising learning in terms of situated learning can allow for a wider appreciation of learning experiences.

8.7 Conclusion

The co-operative learning space provides a new and expanded way of looking at learning in co-operatives. In particular, it emphasises the personal development of members, the importance of shared values and co-operator identity and how they underpin associative learning. It also

emphasises the link between learning and the wider impact of the co-operative on development processes, the core role that situated learning pathways play in developing these and other areas of learning, and the contextualised nature of learning in co-operatives. In the next and concluding chapter I connect the empirical and theoretical findings in this chapter to the research questions and I discuss the implications of the research for policy.

9.0 Introduction

This research has brought together the subjects of youth and co-operatives in the context of sub-Saharan Africa and sought to understand how youth learn for development by being members of co-operatives, and the impact on their agency and capabilities. The research is important for two reasons. Firstly, the increasing youth demographics in Africa have led to global debates around how to ensure that they are able to build a livelihood and contribute to society, rather than be excluded from it or a burden on it. Secondly, there is a revival of co-operatives in Africa which has included opening up membership to youth who are seen as important in ensuring the long term sustainability as well as the development of co-operatives.

This research has responded to these debates with the aim of adding knowledge where there are significant gaps. There is recognition in co-operative organisations of the need to engage youth but there is a lack of research-based evidence and analysis. Although it is understood that co-operatives have wider impacts on their members, there is a lack of evidence of the nature of these impacts and the processes that underpin them.

The guiding ideas of a co-operative learning space and an expanded and contextualised analysis of learning were developed in Chapter 3 and framed the analysis of the data in later chapters. The concept was developed through the findings of the research and in Chapter 8 I presented a conceptual framework of co-operatives as an expanded learning space (Figure 30). As people participate they engage in situated and social learning and this plays a core role in developing individual skills and knowledge and collective and organisational learning. The space has been expanded by bringing together situated learning with capabilities to assess the broader effects of learning on youth agency and achieved functionings, while recognising the role of the co-operative networks and the influences on learning at the micro, meso and macro level.

My approach was to focus on youth and obtain their view of co-operatives and learning. This reflected my own view and the view of current literature on youth, that youth can articulate their experiences. The approach was to make the research a two-way process through a series of participatory processes. Whilst this approach created a challenge for objectivity it generated insightful data from the viewpoint of members inside the co-operative. Research questions were developed to analyse the different kinds of learning taking place for youth in youth co-operatives and impacts of this in terms of agency, capabilities and achieved functionings. The aim was to situate youth's ideas and perspectives on their engagement with co-operatives in the contextual data gathered from key stakeholders and secondary sources.

Inherent in the research design for the Case Studentship, was the aim of generating contributions to knowledge that could be used to inform policy in the area of co-operatives' engagement with youth. This chapter responds to this aim with a discussion on the contributions of this research (synthesised and analysed in Chapter 8) and implications of this for policy relating to: 1) the wider impacts of co-operatives on development; 2) the nature and role of learning in co-operatives; 3) youth livelihoods; 4) youth co-operatives as a form of youth engagement.

This chapter is structured into three main sections. The first section brings together the analysis made throughout this thesis and presents key findings for this research. The next section goes on to discuss the implications that the research has generated for policy. The chapter ends with a discussion on further research ideas that can build on and extend the work of this thesis.

9.1 Key findings and research questions

In Chapter 8, I provided a synthesis of findings from the research. In this section I focus on three core themes which represent the central findings in response to the six research questions:

1. Why and in what ways are youth engaged with co-operatives?
2. How is youth engagement with co-operatives affected by the broader social and institutional context?
3. In what ways are co-operatives learning spaces for youth?
4. What kinds of learning can be identified and how do they occur?
5. How and to what extent does learning in a co-operative develop the capabilities and agency of youth and with what development impacts?
6. How does youth learning shape thinking and practices in co-operatives?

RQ 1 is essentially about the background and context of the research and relates more to the practical implication of youth co-operatives. Therefore Section 9.2, which includes discussion of the implications for policy on youth co-operatives, offers a specific response to RQ 1.

Co-operatives are learning spaces (RQ 3, RQ 4 and RQ 6)

The research has shown co-operatives provide learning spaces for their members. This learning is created and influenced by the collective, values-based and work oriented nature of the co-operative and creates a situated space where, through interaction with other members and co-operative activities, members learn.

The analysis of co-operatives demonstrates the significance of situated learning. Members learn through participating in activities and interactions through their membership of the co-operative. This includes learning through experiencing activities in the co-operative; it also provides an opportunity for associative learning that is generated through learning with and from other members. Central to this learning are shared values and shared identity of co-operators which is framed by the co-operative values and principles. Values and trust also frame learning, acting as inputs into the learning space and being further developed through the learning space. However,

analysis of the co-operative has emphasised that the learning space is expanded and members learn in a variety of ways; of particular significance is learning through the co-operative networks which I return to in the next theme.

The research has shown that learning is both individual and collective and there are interconnections between these levels. Core to individual learning is learning with and from others and collective learning results from individuals learning. Collective learning relates to the development of collective knowledge and skills that influence how the co-operative operates. Individual learning relates to the technical aspects of the co-operative, and values of co-operation and personal development.

My research has shown that different dimensions of learning are inter-related; viewing them as separate misses the nuances of how learning takes place. I have proposed the idea of situated learning pathways to try and encapsulate these ideas, where learning experiences intersect and build towards the development of skills and knowledge.

Co-operatives are expanded learning spaces where youth learn for development (RQ 5)

This research has shown that learning transcends the boundaries of the co-operative and impacts on processes of development. I have used the concept of an expanded learning space to bring together learning and the development of capabilities, and to encapsulate the role of the broader terrain of co-operative networks. In essence learning underpins the wider impacts of co-operatives on development, enhancing agency and other capabilities, particularly in relation to community engagement. This occurs in several ways.

Firstly, the co-operative provides a platform for youth to use and develop their agency which is enhanced through the development of personal skills. It gives them an opportunity and the

motivation to do something productive with their time within and outside of the co-operative (and avoid riskier activities). Secondly, the co-operative leads to increased participation in the community which is facilitated through the development of skills such as leadership and communication as well as a developed sense of community engagement. Furthermore when the community has the opportunity to witness youth engaging in productive and responsible activities their perceptions of youth change and they recognise the agency of youth and open spaces for them to participate. Finally the learning affects youth's access to and approach to relationships at home and in the community both with other youth and with adults. The co-operative provides the space to build trust with other youth which in turn leads to an informal support structure being established between youth. In summary the research has shown that learning, combined with changed perceptions of youth and enhanced agency, leads to changes in individual development in areas that youth value.

Co-operative networks play a significant role in the learning that takes place in individual co-operatives. They provide the main access to external learning experiences and provide support in the form of visits and discussions with members which provide further situated learning experiences. The sense of shared values and co-operator identity in the co-operative are also core features of the networks and provide a common basis from which relationships and learning can be developed. However access to the networks can be limited for some co-operatives because of geographical location, whether a co-operative is registered or recognised as a youth co-operative and the financial resources it has available. Limited access can also relate to views of youth and youth co-operatives.

Co-operatives are shaped by the context in which they are situated (RQ 2)

Co-operatives cannot be viewed in isolation from the context in which they operate as it shapes the extent to which co-operatives act as learning spaces for members. The context needs to be

analysed at the micro (individual and collective), meso (co-operative) and macro levels (networks and broader context) to understand the different learning experiences between members and between co-operatives.

At the micro level the individual, their agency, experiences of learning and values have an effect on the extent to which individuals engage in activities in the co-operatives and therefore the extent to which they learn. However the more pronounced influences often relate to their gender, level of education and age which can restrict their access to the co-operative and to the learning opportunities it provides. Gendered perspectives are reflected in the co-operative: females stay at home to look after children to allow male family members to attend meetings. Male members are more likely to put themselves forward for leadership positions and more likely to be elected. The research has shown the influence of the nature, structure and size of the co-operative on learning. I found a significant difference between large SACCOs and other types of co-operatives and between co-operatives recognised as youth-focused. High unemployment rates and increasing numbers of youth place emphasis on the potential opportunity that co-operatives provide for youth livelihoods. High rates of poverty and economic under-development impact on the extent to which a market exists for a co-operative's goods and services and the extent to which members have the finances to invest in their co-operative. Co-operatives cannot therefore be viewed in isolation from the context in which they operate as it shapes the extent to which they act as learning spaces for members.

In the next section I discuss the areas of policy to which these findings can contribute, and in what ways.

9.2 Contributions to policy discussions

This research contributes to policy and policy-discussions in a number of areas:

- The wider impacts of co-operatives on development
- The role of learning in co-operatives
- Youth livelihoods
- Youth engagement with co-operatives.

This discussion responds to the growing interest in co-operatives within the international development community and the need for more evidence to underpin the related policy dialogue.

The wider impacts of co-operatives on development

Firstly this research contributes to how the impact of co-operatives is understood and conceptualised. The research has shown that as well as increasing income, co-operative membership provides opportunities for learning, enhanced use of agency, increased participation in the community, increased recognition of youth agency amongst adults and improved relationships. This extends impact beyond the individual member to the lives of a member's family and the community in which they live. This broader understanding of benefits from co-operatives is significant. Whilst there is some awareness of wider benefits, there are limited studies which analyse these benefits and what underpins them. Such data and analysis are needed to ensure that the impact of co-operatives on multiple dimensions of development is recognised.

Furthermore, as discussed in Section 9.1, co-operatives are shaped by their broader environment, and therefore understanding their learning and developmental potential requires consideration of the context within which they operate and recognition of the potential for individual and different experiences of members and co-operatives. I have looked more specifically at the context

relating to youth co-operatives and processes of learning and capabilities. However, as indicated in Chapter 2, it is also important to assess the legal regime and power relations between a co-operative movement and government, as well as within the movement, to assess the potential for co-operatives to develop.

The role of learning in co-operatives

Secondly, understanding co-operatives' role in development also requires a re-conceptualisation of learning and education in co-operatives. As discussed in Chapter 2, co-operative education is seen as a channel for co-operative development and, in the current revival, as a foundation for building a new generation of values-based co-operatives. As discussed throughout the thesis, the current approach to co-operative education is limited as it focuses on technical knowledge and skills and access to formal education. The findings in this research show that learning in co-operatives is complex, involving different types of interaction, and in Chapter 8 I proposed a framework for understanding this complexity (Figure 29) and a model for re-thinking learning and education in co-operatives (Figure 30). While my conceptualisation of learning continues to reflect historical understandings of co-operative education (MacPherson, 2003; Shaw, 2011; Woodin, 2011), it provides further insights on learning as a situated experience and the role of personal development, associative learning, shared values and co-operator identity. These situated and social experiences can initiate deeper levels of learning where members are internalising learning on complex subjects such as gender and values and which necessitate challenging existing ideas and beliefs.

The findings in this study can therefore contribute to work that is aiming to better define learning in co-operatives (Facer, 2012; Facer, et al 2011; Shaw, 2011; Woodin, 2011; 2012) and be used by co-operative organisations to think about and plan for the learning needs of their members. In line with Felstead et al (2009a), the aim of this model is to: 1) improve the understanding of how

learning takes place (in a co-operative) and not simply to encourage stakeholders to provide 'more' learning opportunities; 2) move policy away from the predominant focus on formal training and skills⁹⁹.

Youth livelihoods

Thirdly this study of youth co-operatives can contribute to policy on youth livelihoods. In policy documents relating to youth and youth co-operatives it is common to use age-related definitions of youth and design programmes around a homogeneous understanding of youth. This research has reinforced other literature (discussed in Chapter 2) that the situation facing youth, the needs they have and what they value, define youth as much as their age. Understanding the heterogeneity of youth, their specific contexts and experiences will help to inform livelihood policy. Coupled with consultation with youth in terms of their needs and what they value, the design of any livelihood options and programmes will be more appropriate.

Engaging with youth and their perspectives in this research has revealed the emphasis that youth place on livelihoods that both generate an income and contribute to other valued aspects of their lives. This includes the wider impacts discussed earlier: provision of learning opportunities, community engagement, development of peer networks and personal development. It also includes the opportunity to work in a group, and recognising the potential synergy of collective agency in terms of business and opportunities to build relationships with others. Also valued are the structures the co-operative provides them in terms of values and legal standing.

⁹⁹ I used this approach as a basis for a conference paper 'Co-operatives as a learning space' (Hartley, 2012) which I presented to academics and practitioners working in and researching co-operative education at a conference in July 2012.

Youth engagement with co-operatives

Fourthly, the research highlights that, when co-operatives focus on youth, the opportunity for learning, individual and collective, increases. The impacts increase as youth gain access to co-operative activities, such as taking on leadership positions, attending meetings and taking up opportunities for training, which in turn increase the potential for them to learn. Youth are also more attracted to co-operatives that focus specifically on youth. It has changed their attitude to co-operatives - seeing them as relevant to youth as well as adults. Furthermore they perceive their skills as being recognised and appreciated which in turn motivates them to join and be an active member, building their self-esteem. Co-operatives create the space for youth to build relationships with other youth, which enhances their ability to learn from one another. They also provide important access to scarce learning opportunities especially of a vocational nature. Youth can also develop the co-operative in ways that are relevant to their lives, leading to diversification into new business areas (as in Lesotho) and the development of co-operatives that are increasingly values-based.

The research does, however, underline several challenges relating to youth's engagement with co-operatives. Whilst youth value co-operative membership as a livelihood opportunity, they do not always see co-operatives as relevant to them; it is only after sensitisation that they recognise this potential and relevance. Youth members' lack of experience in basic business skills requires investment in training, which means that there are costs associated with supporting youth co-operatives, raising issues of sustainability. Also, as discussed throughout the thesis, different influences on youth co-operatives mean that experiences of youth co-operatives differ, with people benefitting to different degrees.

The Uganda case highlights an added complication for youth co-operatives supported by external funding. While the funding of the co-operative movement in Uganda is beyond the realm of this

research, the limits to external funding have resulted in the co-operative movement's decision towards mainstreaming youth engagement in existing co-operatives and activities. This needs further research. The data highlights that mainstream co-operatives may not provide youth with the support they need nor the access to learning opportunities, leadership positions and decision making.

A key challenge therefore is to address the financial viability and sustainability for youth co-operatives. In Uganda there is recognition of the pivotal role of access to finance for co-operative development. The UCA are following a model where groups of primary co-operatives will be supported by SACCOs as well as the traditional union level structures (Kwapong and Korugyendo, 2010a). There are also lessons to be learnt from organisations like JoyFod that are managing to provide loans to youth and groups of youth, using peer influence as a form of collateral. In Lesotho there is talk of establishing a revolving loan fund for youth co-operatives (Intl Commissioner for Co-operatives, 2010; Obl Meeting, 2010). Furthermore there is a key question of whether co-operatives with a mixture of adults (who are likely to have greater financial collateral) and youth can more effectively raise finance. However, whether there are markets that can support the growth of youth co-operatives remains an issue. Enduring poverty and weak economic development, particularly in a country like Lesotho, mean that all co-operatives face this as a core challenge.

Ultimately the implications relate as much to financial sustainability as they do to the impact of co-operatives on youth in terms of their learning and development. Indeed, while the findings from Rise and Shine, one of the school-based co-operatives in this study, suggest that the economic gain and access to finance is of central concern to the members, interviews with members of school-based co-operatives in Lesotho suggest the opportunity for the experience

and learning that the co-operative provides is as important and at times more important than the income it generates. The findings of this research are vital for informing this debate.

9.3 Key learning points, limitations and further research

In this last section I look at some of the learning points and limitations of the research, and recommend areas for further investigation. I also take the opportunity to reflect on my own situated learning experiences.

The in-depth and participatory nature of the study created the opportunity to analyse the complex and often abstract processes of learning, particularly social and situated learning. Central to this was the wider appreciation of learning experiences generated through the learning audits. These were developed during the course of the fieldwork and responded to the challenge of participants tending initially to refer only to one way they have learnt about a particular skill. The learning audit asked participants to track the development of a skill or area of knowledge (breaking down learning into parts) asking what they learnt, the different ways they use skills and knowledge acquired in the co-operative, and the different ways they have learnt about things. Visualising the process with participants (see Appendix 6) also helped stimulate thinking and discussions. This created the foundation for the idea of learning pathways. As participants engaged with the learning audits the learning pathways idea emerged from the way they described their learning. The data from the learning audits was enhanced with the visual data and ideas that youth generated from the self-directed photography project. This created a platform for youth to talk about learning in their 'own way' and not be constrained by the abstract nature and common vocabulary associated with learning. These are useful approaches for research and practice that involves conceptualising learning and capturing data on it.

The first limitation I draw attention to relates to the scope of the empirical research. For the in-depth case studies, I selected youth-focused co-operatives to ensure there were youth participating in activities who would consequently be able to engage with the lines of enquiry in the data collection. Research findings could have been enhanced through including co-operatives in the study that had youth members but did not have a specific youth focus. This would have provided the opportunity to find out if these youth were learning in different ways (of particular importance being the learning between youth and adult members) or to different extents, as compared to co-operatives that have only a youth focus. It would have provided better contributions to policy debates, when considering what approach to adopt for youth engagement and the possibility of mainstreaming youth in all co-operatives.

The second limitation relates to theoretical analysis of capabilities. My use of the capability approach allowed me to expand the analysis of learning and assess the significance of learning, particularly situated learning for development. The capability approach therefore provided a core platform for analysing the role of learning and co-operatives for learning for development, which has emerged as a central contribution of this thesis. However, there was not the space to look in detail at: 1) the influences on the development of capabilities and conversion of capabilities to achieved functionings particularly for the individual; 2) collective capabilities. I have conducted a brief analysis of both these areas to outline their relevance but I believe extended analysis, particularly of collective capabilities, would contribute to debates on the impact of co-operatives on development processes beyond the individual.

Testing the concept of the expanded learning space in other country contexts and types of co-operatives would further develop the conceptual framework (Figure 29) and model (Figure 30). During the course of the research it has become clear that there are initiatives taking place in other countries that aim to engage youth with co-operatives, which represent a potential area of

further research. In Kenya there is drive to engage youth with co-operatives and in South Africa a school-based approach to co-operatives has recently been initiated. These initiatives present the opportunity to test and develop the expanded learning space in different country contexts. It will also important to test the framework and model with non-youth members. This type of testing will develop the applicability of the framework and the model for different contexts.

The research highlights the need for further research in Lesotho and Uganda to assess the growth and development of youth co-operatives over a longer period. In both countries it would be useful to revisit the youth co-operatives in this research and assess their growth as businesses and their wider impacts in the communities. It would also be insightful to track and reveal the long term sustainability as well as the impact on youth engaged in the co-operatives. In Uganda specifically it would be useful to assess the efforts to mainstream youth engagement and compare that experience with the impacts of distinct youth co-operatives, as well as re-visiting the existing youth co-operatives to assess their progress after the withdrawal of support provided by the YEECO programme. In Lesotho it would be useful to assess the success of youth co-operatives, development of their school-based approach and the impact of financing youth co-operatives through the planned revolving loan fund.

Finally it is pertinent to interpret my own learning through the PhD. My learning pathways have involved participation in a range of learning experiences of both a collective and individual nature: discussions with colleagues in DPP and people in my own networks, conferences, supervision meetings, fieldwork, as well as the more tacit and individual spaces of thinking, reading, writing and reflecting. I have been challenged by the individual nature of this learning pathway and have had to think innovatively about how to stimulate my own individual learning experiences of reflecting and thinking. My learning has been framed and influenced by being part of the DPP Group at the Open University, the nature of the Case Studentship, links to the Co-operative

College and my own learning territory of a Masters in Development Management and previous to that a degree in Business Studies. My prior vocational knowledge and skills of being a practitioner has been both an input into learning and an influence on the learning experiences.

The fact that I am drawn to interpret my learning in terms of the core concepts in my thesis alludes to my ongoing development as an academic - but my persistence to find ways to make this thesis relevant to policy and my commitment to sharing its findings underline my continued engagement as a practitioner in international development. As I have engaged with my PhD I have grappled with the tensions this duality creates and it has required questioning my own knowledge and ways of acting in terms of analysing situations, reporting on them and writing about them to develop the skills necessary to think and write academically. As I leave my PhD I have a new learning territory and ways of thinking and acting that I need to now adapt to a new workspace.

9.4 Conclusion

The core finding of this research has revealed the importance of co-operatives in providing expanded learning spaces for their members. Youth participate in a range of learning experiences which build their skills and personal development and which enhance their agency and lead to new functionings for their own development and the development processes of their families and people in their communities. This learning is underpinned by the unique organisational form of co-operatives, where co-operative values and the associative learning that emerges from a sense of shared co-operator identity are of central importance. Despite this, the research has also shown how co-operatives, and in particular youth co-operatives, are influenced by the co-operative networks and contexts within which they operate. Understanding the complexity of the processes is necessary to consider the different experiences of learning and the factors that hinder and support its development and the long term potential for youth co-operatives.

The concept of co-operatives as an expanded learning space contributes to a new understanding of learning in co-operatives that recognises its situated and social nature. Through that, the role of learning in the development of capabilities can be recognised. Understanding co-operatives in this way realises the potential impact they have on youth livelihoods beyond the measures of immediate financial reward. Seeing learning as central to the wider impacts that a co-operative has on development processes reinforces the role of learning for development and draws attention to the situated and social nature of this learning alongside more formal education.

The research is timely as it contributes to two current issues in international development. It provides empirically based academic analysis to the debates on the revival of co-operatives and the role of values-based co-operatives for development. It also contributes to debates on increasing youth populations which have become more prominent since 2010 with the conflicts in North Africa, where poverty, unemployment and exclusion have emerged as central issues for youth. This research offers insight into the potential impact of youth working collectively and the significance of values-based organisations like co-operatives which create an expanded learning space. Through this youth can access scarce learning opportunities for both developing vocational knowledge and notions of citizenship, which can lead to the creation of livelihoods, civic participation, community engagement, improved relationships and networks and a sense of self-motivation and dynamism to act.

Appendix 1 - Arrangements for referencing the data in the thesis - data codes

This appendix explains how I reference the data in the thesis. I use codes to enable quick references to the data and which helps maintain the flow of the narrative.

In the data codes I make reference to the research method, the country where the data was gathered, the participant, their position and the organisation they are linked to:

- I use the following codes to refer to specific methods:

Code	Method
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GInt	Group Interview
Int	Interview
Ob	Observation

- I use the following codes to refer to the different countries:

Code	Co-operative
L	Lesotho
U	Uganda
LU	Lesotho and Uganda

- I use the following arrangements and codes to make reference to the data from individual participants/methods:
 - Assuming the participant has given their consent I refer directly to them:
 - For stakeholders I refer to their position and organisation
 - For youth who are members of a co-operative I either refer to them as youth co-operators or state their name plus the co-operative of which they are a member of (see below). Names are used for those youth co-operators who were included in the learning audits in Chapters 6 and 7 to enable the reader to cross reference the data.

Code	Co-operative
JF	JoyFod
K	Kigayaza
RS	Rise and Shine
SD	Subeng Dinosaur
T	Twkembe

- As discussed in Chapter 4 when the data is of a sensitive nature or a participant has requested to remain anonymous, I do not name the participant and instead refer to them as anonymous plus their relevant position e.g. 'anonymous youth co-operator'.
- I use the following arrangements and codes to make reference to the data from groups of different participants:
 - This refers to a situation where the data has arisen from various sources. Codes are used to refer to data from groups of participants:

Code	Description	Breakdown
Research with Stakeholders		
<i>Lesotho and Uganda</i>		
SHLUints	All Stakeholder Interviews Lesotho and Uganda	See below - SHLints and SHUints
<i>Lesotho</i>		
SHLints	All Stakeholder Interviews, Lesotho	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Officers (x10) at Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing, Department for Co-operatives, national and regional levels - Chair, Co-op Lesotho (Apex) - Chair, Maseru Aloe Union - Acting Principal, Lecturer and student at Co-operative College - Country Manager, IFAD - Officer, Ministry of Agriculture - Officer, Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation - Chair, of Youth Apex - Members Maseru youth co-operatives (x4) - Head Teacher and Teacher Mohale's Hoek High School
IntsLC	Interviews with representatives from co-operative organisations, Lesotho	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Officers (x10) at Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing, Department for Co-operatives, national and regional levels - Chair, Co-op Lesotho (Apex) - Chair, Maseru Aloe Union - Acting Principal, Lecturer and student at Co-operative College - Members Maseru youth co-operatives (x4)
IntsLDept	Interviews with officers Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing, Department for Co-operative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assistant Minister - Commissioner for Co-operatives - 5 officers head office - 3 regional officers
<i>Uganda</i>		
SHUints	Stakeholder Interviews, Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commissioner for Co-operatives, Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, Department for Co-operatives - Officers UCA (x4) Regional and National - Acting Principal, Deputy Principal, Lecturer and two students Co-operative College - Country Manager, CCA - ILO Youth Entrepreneurship Fund Coordinator and former YEECO Regional Coordinator - Coordinator, Restless Development (Youth focused NGO) - Representative Commonwealth Youth Programme/Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Affairs - Manager, Microfinance Facility - Regional NAADS Manager (National Agricultural Advisory Development Service), Kangulimira - Representatives regionally based co-operatives (x4) - Community leaders x 2 Kigayaza Village - Community leader, Buwenge
IntsUC	Interviews representatives of co-operative organisations,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commissioner for Co-operatives, Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, Department for Co-operatives - Officers UCA (x4) Regional and National - Staff and students (x5) Co-operative College

Code	Description	Breakdown
	Uganda	- Representatives regionally based co-operatives (x4)
IntsUUCA	Interviews with UCA officers, Uganda	- General Secretary, UCA - Former YEECO Coordinator, UCA - Regional Coordinator, UCA Busoga Region - Regional SACCO Coordinator, UCA Busoga Region
Research with youth co-operatives		
<i>Lesotho and Uganda</i>		
IntsLUYouth	Interviews youth co-operators, Lesotho and Uganda	- See Below IntsLYouth and IntsUYouth
FGDsLUYouth	FGDs youth co-operators Lesotho and Uganda	- See below FGDsLYouth and FGDsUYouth
<i>Lesotho</i>		
IntsLYouth	Interviews youth co-operators, Lesotho	- Individual and group interviews Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative - Individual and group interviews Rise and Shine Co-operative
FGDsLYouth	FGDs with youth co-operators, Lesotho	- Rise and Shine Co-operative - Subeng Dinosaur Youth Co-operative
GIntL	Group Interview with youth co-operators, Lesotho	- Rise and Shine Co-operative - Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative
<i>Uganda</i>		
IntsUYouth	Interviews youth co-operators, Uganda	- Individual and group interviews Kigayaza Youth Co-operative - Individual and group interviews JoyFod SACCO - Individual and group interviews Twekembe Farmers Rural Producers Youth Group
FGDsUYouth	FGDs with youth co-operators, Uganda	- Kigayaza Youth Co-operative - JoyFod SACCO - Twekembe Farmers Rural producers
GIntU	Group Interviews with youth co-operators	- Kigayaza Youth Co-operative - JoyFod SACCO - Twekembe Farmers Rural producers

Appendix 2 - Comparison of general information on Lesotho and Uganda

	Lesotho	Uganda
Geographic Location	Sub-Saharan Africa – Southern Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa – East Africa
Population	2.2 million (World Bank 2012c)	33.4 million (World Bank 2012d)
Human Development Index Position (UNDP, 2011a) out of 187. Ranked 'low human development'	141	161
Life Expectancy at Birth (UNDP, 2011a)	48.2 years	54.1 years
Adult Literacy Rate	87% (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics 2004)	75% (World Bank 2008b)
Mean years schooling (UNDP, 2011a)	5.9	4.7
% of people living below income poverty line	58% (World Bank 2012a)	24.5% (World Bank 2012b)
Gender Inequality Index (UNDP 2011a) out of 146	108	116
Youth	15 to 35 years 40% of population are 15 – 35 years old (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics 2004)	12 to 30 years 21% 18-30 years (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2011)
Type of economic approach	Free Market	Free Market
Average annual growth	5% (2010-2014) (World Bank 2012c)	7% (2010-2014) (World Bank 2012d)
Type of Government	Democratic Constitutional Monarchy	Democratic
Conflict/Stability	Political instability following independence First democratic elections in 1998	30 years undemocratic rule following independence 1986 current government came to power Internal conflict in the North
Colonial History	British protectorate Independent 1966	British colony Independent 1962
Agriculture as % of GDP	8.6% (2010) (World Bank 2012c)	24.2% (2010) (World Bank 2012d)

Appendix 3 - Comparison of the co-operative sectors in Lesotho and Uganda¹⁰⁰

	Lesotho	Uganda
Co-operative History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established in 1940s by the British for mohair and textile products. Used by colonial governments. Periods of growth and decline Affected by liberalisation but did not collapse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established by Ugandan farmers for improving export of cotton. Used by colonial governments and then by national governments post independence. General collapse after liberalisation.
Legislation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Co-operative Societies Act 2000. 2009 National Co-operative Policy. Commitment to reform legislation in line with the new national policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1991 Co-operative Societies Act. 2008 National Co-operative Policy. Commitment to reform legislation in line with the new national policy.
Nature of the Revival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Led by government. Co-operatives put forward as key for job creation and enterprise development in a range of sectors. Emphasis on co-operatives in a range of areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Led by the Apex. Co-operatives promoted to bring economic development and social development. Primarily referenced in connection to agriculture by the government, but beginning to be referenced more broadly. Growth of number of market-led co-operatives.
Sector/Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mainly multipurpose – doing business in multiple areas. Gradual growth in the numbers of SACCOs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mainly agricultural. Large growth in the numbers of SACCOs.
Number of co-operatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 600-900 active (1700 on register) 20 registered youth co-operatives (20-60 in process of registering) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10,000 on the register 7500 – 10,000 active (Mrema, 2008), others think the number is significantly lower (Pollet, 2009) 61 youth co-operatives
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tiered system but weak apex. Co-operative College in existence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tiered system but strong apex. Co-operative College in existence.
Government-Co-operative Control Continuum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government-controlled and weak movement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Co-operative movement key voice for co-operatives while government generally playing a supportive role.
Members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Majority of women. Urban and rurally based. Young and older members but increasing number of youth. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Majority of men. Generally rurally based. Young and older members, but generally older members.
Approach to Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth prioritised in schools and the community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth, along with women and other disadvantaged groups prioritised.

¹⁰⁰ Based on data collected through the research methods and the secondary literature.

	Lesotho	Uganda
Public image of co-operatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Generally positive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mixed, can be positive but can be perceived as being for older people, for farmers and as government-controlled.
Key Partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ICA Africa ● Co-operative College UK ● IFAD ● ILO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● SCC ● CCA ● ICA Africa

Appendix 4 - Overview of research methods conducted in Lesotho and Uganda

Lesotho

Method	No.	Participant(s) (M – Male) (F – Female) ¹⁰¹
Interviews - Community, Regional and National stakeholders	30 ¹⁰²	<p>National</p> <p><i>Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing, Department for Co-operatives</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commissioner for Co-operatives, Department for Co-operatives - Assistant Minister for Co-operatives - 2 x Entrepreneurship for Development (EDD) Officers, Department for Co-operatives - 3 x Co-operative Officers, Department for Co-operatives <p><i>Co-operative movement</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chair of Co-op Lesotho (Apex) - Chair, Maseru Aloe Union - Acting Principal, Co-operative College - Lecturer, Co-operative College - Student, Co-operative College <p><i>Donors and partners</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Country Manager, IFAD - Principal, Co-operative College UK <p><i>Other government sectors</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 Officers Ministry of Agriculture - Officer, Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation - Chair of Youth Apex <p><i>Other youth co-operatives</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 x Chair (M) Bocha ke Palesa - 2 x Chair (M) Easy Go Travel - 2 x Member (F) Poverty Fighters <p>Regional</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional Co-operative Officer for Leribe - Regional Co-operative Officer for Mohale's Hoek - Regional Co-operative Officer for Maseru <p>Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Head Teacher, Mohale's Hoek High School - Teacher, Mohale's Hoek High School
Individual interviews - youth	9	<p>Subeng Dinosaur Co-operative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 3 x Chair (M), Subeng Dinosaur Youth Co-operative (1 x Life History participant) - Member (F), Subeng Dinosaur Youth Co-operative - Member (M), Subeng Dinosaur Youth Co-operative <p>Rise and Shine Co-operative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 x Board Member (F), Rise and Shine Co-operative (1 x Life History participant) - Chair (M), Rise and Shine Co-operative - General Member (F), Rise and Shine Co-operative
Group Interviews - youth	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 x Subeng Dinosaur Youth Co-operative (2F, 2M) (4M, 2F) - 2 x Rise and Shine Co-operative (10F, 4M) (15F, 5M)
FGDs - youth	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 x Rise and Shine Co-operative (7F, 2M)

¹⁰¹ I only make reference to the gender of the youth co-operators (not the stakeholders) as this provides useful information for the data analysis in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

¹⁰² Several of these interviews were conducted with two people at the same time (where they were colleagues in the same department or organisation).

Method	No.	Participant(s) (M – Male) (F – Female) ¹⁰¹
		- 1 x Subeng Dinosaur Youth Co-operative (4F, 4M)
Observations	7	Key stakeholders <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 x Youth Co-operative Forums, 2009 and 2010 - 1 x 2010 ICA Africa Regional Assembly Meeting - 1 x Planning meeting for Youth Apex - 1 x Meeting between Principal Co-operative College UK and Permanent Secretary Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing Youth Co-operatives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 x Monthly meeting for both youth co-operatives
Training sessions	2	- 2 x Youth and Students Co-operative Conference

Uganda

Method	No.	Participant(s) (M – Male) (F – Female)
Interviews - Community, Regional and National stakeholders	23	National <i>Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry (Co-operatives)</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commissioner for Co-operatives, Department for Co-operatives <i>Co-operative movement</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General Secretary, UCA - Former YEECO Coordinator, UCA - Acting Principal, Co-operative College - Deputy Principal, Co-operative College - Lecturer, Co-operative College <i>Donors and partners</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Country Manager, CCA - ILO Youth Entrepreneurship Fund Coordinator and former YEECO Regional Coordinator - Coordinator, Restless Development (Youth focused NGO) - Representative Commonwealth Youth Programme/Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Affairs <i>Other government sectors</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manager, Microfinance Facility Regional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional Coordinator, UCA Busoga Region - Regional SACCO Coordinator, UCA Busoga Region - Regional SACCO Coordinator, UCA Mukono - Manager Kangulimira SACCO - Manager Area Co-operative Enterprise, Kangulimira - Regional NAADS Manager, Kangulimira - Manager Bukanga SACCO - Manager Area Co-operative Enterprise Bukanga Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community leaders x 2, Kigayaza Village - Community leader, Buwenge - Chair, Tweekembe Farmers Rural Producers Organisation
Individual Interviews - youth	21	Kigayaza Youth Co-operative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 x Chair (M) - 3 x Board member (1 x Life History) - 2 x Member (F) - 3 x Member (M) JoyFod SACCO <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 4 x Member (M) (1 x Life History) - Manager (M), JoyFod Tweekembe Farmers Rural Producers Youth Group

Method	No.	Participant(s) (M – Male) (F – Female)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 4 x Member (M), (1 x Life History) - Member (F) - Member (M)
Group Interviews - youth	8	<p>Kigayaza Youth Co-operative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Board (8M, 2F) - Board and members (3M, 1F) <p>JoyFod SACCO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Staff (1F, 3M) - Board (4M) - Members (2F) - Members (2M) <p>Twekembe Farmers Rural Producers Youth Group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Board and Members (10M, 1F) - Members (9M, 1F)
Training sessions - youth	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kigayaza – Business Planning (9M, 1F) - JoyFod – Situational Analysis (5M, 2F) - Twekembe – Co-operative values (11M, 1F)
FGDs - youth	12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 5 x Kigayaza (6M) (17M,2F) (22M,2F) (16M, 1F) (16M,1F) - 4 x JoyFod (2M, 6F) (7M, 5F) (2M, 5F) (8M, 2F) - 3 x Twekembe (18M) (15M, 2F) (11M, 1F) (7M, 1F)
FGDs - Key stakeholders	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 8 x Students at Co-operative College (4M, 4F) - 8 x Group of youth not part of co-operatives (4M, 4F)
Observations - youth	8	<p>Kigayaza Youth Co-operative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Annual General Meeting - Board meeting - Meeting with student group of the co-operative <p>JoyFod SACCO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Staff training members session - Loan appraisal - Board meeting - Demonstration Farm <p>Twekembe Farmers Rural Producers Youth Group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meeting on poultry project
Observations - key stakeholders	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lesson at the Co-operative College

Appendix 5 - Example of a Data Grid

YOUTH IN YOUTH CO-OPERATIVES		
AREA OF RESESEARCH	AREAS OF INTEREST	RESEARCH METHODS
YOUTH	Family situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interviews with youth in the co-operative 2. Life histories: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Photograph project b. Interviews with youth 3. FGD on learning 4. FGD to discuss the effects of a co-operative on youth 5. Observations 6. Training session 7. Interviews with community members
	Their history	
	Personnel details <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the main features of their day-to-day lives? Day-to-day/week-to-week - What is important to them? What troubles them - What have been their achievements over the last 5 years 	
	Where do co-operatives fit into their lives? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What was life like before and after they joined the co-operative? 	
	What organisations feature in their lives? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What role do they play? - Which are important for them and in what ways? 	
	Networks and Influences <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How does being part of the co-operative network benefit them? What do they get from it? - What do they learn from it? - Are there any negatives from being part of this network? - What else/who else influences how they operate 	
	Access to finance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to finances and other resources - Do they have a bank account? 	
	Education attainment/ Educational Opportunities/ Views of education	
	How do they learn new things? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are they interested in learning? - Who do they learn from? - How do they know when they have learnt something? 	
	ICT (Information and Communication Technology) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What role does this play in their life? - Is it connected to learning experiences? 	
	Challenges and opportunities	
	Connection to organisations	
	Hopes for the future	
Agency, power and relationships, and perceptions of youth: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What decisions do they make? - Who else influences/makes decisions concerning them? - Leadership positions 		

YOUTH IN YOUTH CO-OPERATIVES

AREA OF RESESEARCH	AREAS OF INTEREST	RESEARCH METHODS
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are their opinions valued? - Do youth have power in the community? - How do they define a youth? - When does a youth become an adult? - What is the difference between a youth and an adult? <hr/> <p>Effects of co-operative membership on their lives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic - Social - Political - Inside and outside of the co-operative - Does it enable them to tackle their lives in 'new' ways? - Any negatives of being in a co-operative? - See Data Grid for Learning <hr/> <p>What they have learnt and how</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - See Learning Audit (Appendix 6) 	

Appendix 6 - Example of a Learning Audit

NAME:	AGE:	CO-OPERATIVE:		
	EVIDENCE – What can you do with this?	How did you develop this skill? (path of development)	What does this allow you to do outside of the co-operative?	What does it allow you to do in the co-operative?
BUSINESS SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE				
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT				
CO-OPERATIVE SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE				
UNDERSTANDING AND WORKING WITH THE COMMUNITY				
OTHER SKILLS				

Figure 31 - Photograph of group learning audit from the FGD with Rise and Shine

SKILL	How was this developed?	How do you use it outside of co-op?	How does it effect the co-op?
Self-Confidence	- Practice - having more people to help - Encouraging the people to help - Working in groups - Learning from others - Having a role to play - Having a chance to be heard - Having a chance to be heard - Having a chance to be heard	- Teach people in the school - Also willing to come to in school - Small business at home	- Increase in confidence - More willing to help - More willing to help
Financial Record Keeping Income/Expense	- An education of school - Internal training in co-op - Financially at home - Co-op Activities	- Small business at home - In future, will run businesses	- Customers help increase sales
Working with Customers Building Skills Everyone feels free to something	- Experience in co-op - Sports at school - Music lessons	- Sports at home - More people	- More people
Problem Solving Skills I work with other local groups	- Experience in the co-op	- Six people in local community for fundraising to increase capital of co-op	

② Rise & Shine Co-operative

The photograph illustrates the visual version of the learning audit - seeing the audit helped participants visualise the pathways of learning.

References

- Abdullah, I. (2008) 'Social Citizenship or Generational Struggle? Marginal Youth in Post War in Sierra Leone', *Young People in Africa: From Marginalisation to Citizenship*, The Hague, 19-21 November 2008, Institute of Social Studies.
- Adams, A. (2008) *Skills Development in the Informal Sector of Sub-Saharan Africa*, Washington DC, World Bank.
- Africa Commission. (2009) *Realising the Potential of Africa's Youth – Report of the Africa Commission*, Copenhagen, DANIDA.
- Agan, K., Akongo, M.L., Angiroi, T., Emai, J., Logira, N., Lokuda, X., Lokut, P., Lolepo, L., Lomongin, M.J., Marczela, S., Napokol, J.G., Nakong, C. and Otiang, C. (2012) *Strength, Creativity and Livelihoods of Karamajong Youth*, Jinja, Restless Development and Institute of Development Studies.
- Agarwal, B. (2010) 'Rethinking Agricultural Production Collectivities', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XLV, no. 9, pp. 64-78.
- Alkire, S. (2002a) 'Dimensions of Human Development', *World Development*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 181-205.
- Alkire, S. (2002b) *Valuing Freedoms: Sen's capability approach and poverty reduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Alkire, S. (2005) 'Why the Capability Approach?', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 115-133.
- Alkire, S. and Deneulin, S. (2009) 'A Normative Framework for Development', in Deneulin, S. with Shahani, L. (eds) (2009) *An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach* [Online], Ottawa, International Development Research Centre, <http://web.idrc.ca/openebooks/470-3/> (Accessed 26 February 2012).
- Argyris, C. and Schön, D. (1978) *Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective*, Boston MA, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Baker, A., Jensen, P. and Kolb D. (2005) 'Conversation as Experiential Learning', in *Management Learning*, vol. 36, no.4, pp. 411-427.
- Bame Nsamenang, A. (2002) 'Adolescence in Sub-Saharan Africa, An Image Constructed from Africa's Triple Inheritance', in Bradford Brown, A., Larson, R.W., and Saraswathi, T.S. (eds) (2002) *The World's Youth, adolescence in eight regions of the globe*, Cambridge, University Press.
- Bernard, T., Taffesse, A.S. and Gabre-Madhin, E. (2008) 'Impact of cooperatives on smallholders' commercialization behaviour: evidence from Ethiopia', *Agricultural Economics*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 147-161.
- Bernard, T., de Janvry A. and Sadoulet, E. (2010) 'When Does Community Conservatism Constrain Village Organisations?', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. 58, no. 4, pp. 609-641.
- Bibby, A. and Shaw, L. (eds) (2005) *Making a Difference – Co-operative solutions to global poverty*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- Billet, S. (2004) 'Learning through work: workplace participatory practices', in Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro A. (eds) (2004) *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.
- Birchall, J. (1994) *Co-op the people's business*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Birchall, J. (2003) *Rediscovering the co-operative advantage – Poverty reduction through self-help* [Online], Geneva, ILO, [http://www.acdivocacoopex.org/acdivoca/CoopLib.nsf/dfafe3e324466c3785256d96004f15a8/e23f0c803fc6060485256ef400575ed8/\\$FILE/Rediscovering%20the%20Cooperative%20Advantage.pdf](http://www.acdivocacoopex.org/acdivoca/CoopLib.nsf/dfafe3e324466c3785256d96004f15a8/e23f0c803fc6060485256ef400575ed8/$FILE/Rediscovering%20the%20Cooperative%20Advantage.pdf) (Accessed 26 January 2009).

Birchall, J. and Hammond, L. (2009) *The Resilience of the Co-operative Business Model in Times of Crisis*, Geneva, ILO.

Birchall, J. and Simmons, R. (2008) 'The role of co-operatives in poverty reduction: Network perspectives', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, vol. 37, no. 6, pp. 2131-2140.

Birchall, J. and Simmons, R. (2009) Co-operatives and poverty reduction – evidence from Sri Lanka and Tanzania, *Co-operative College Paper 13*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.

Birchall, J. and Simmons, R. (2010) 'The co-operative reform process in Tanzania and Sri Lanka', *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, vol. 81, no. 3, pp. 467-500.

Blackmore, C. (2002) 'Learning about learning as systemic practice in the context of environmental decision-making', *Pre-proceedings of 5th IFSA European Symposium*, Florence, 8-11 April 2002, International Farming System Association (IFSA).

Blackmore, C. (2007) 'What kinds of knowledge, knowing and learning are required for addressing resource dilemmas? A theoretical overview.' *Environmental Science and Policy*, vol. 10, no. 6, pp. 512-525.

Blackmore, C. and Ison, R. (2007) 'Boundaries for Thinking and Action', in Thomas, A. and Mohan, G. (eds) (2007) *Doing Research Skills for Policy and Development – How to find out fast*, London, Sage.

Borda-Rodriguez, H. and Lanfranco, S. (2011) 'Knowledge and Technology for Development', in Veltmeyer, H. (Ed) (2011) *The Critical Development Studies Handbook – Tools for Change*, Canada, Fernwood Publishing.

Borzaga, C., Depedri, D., and Tortia, E. (2009) *The Role of Cooperative and Social Enterprises: A Multifaceted Approach for an Economic Pluralism*, Euricse Working Papers, N.000.09, Trento, Euricse (European Research Institute on Cooperative and Social Enterprise).

Bradford Brown, A. and Larson, R.W. (2002) 'The Kaleidoscope of Adolescence, Experiences of the World's Youth at the Beginning of the 21st Century', in Bradford Brown, A., Larson, R.W. and Saraswathi, T.S. (eds) (2002) *The World's Youth, adolescence in eight regions of the globe*, Cambridge, University Press.

Brannen, J. (2004) 'Working qualitatively and quantitatively', in Seale, C., Gubo, G., Gubrium, J. and Silverman, D. (eds) (2004) *Qualitative Research Practice*, London, Sage.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 77-101.

Brohman J. (1996) *Popular Development. Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Brown, J.S. and Duguid, P. (1991) 'Organizational Learning and Communities-of-Practice: Toward a unified view of working, learning, and innovation', *Organization Science*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 40-57.

Brown, J.S. and Duguid, P. (2001) 'Knowledge and Organization: A Social-Practice Perspective', *Organization Science*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 198-213.

Brown, W. and Hanlin, R. (forthcoming 2013) 'Introducing international development', in Papaioannou, T. and Butcher, M. (eds) (forthcoming 2013), *International Development in a Changing World*, New York, Bloomsbury Academic.

- Bryman, A. (2008) *Social research methods*, 3rd edn, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Burchi, F. and Vicari, S. (2009) 'To be or not to be a member of a primary co-operative in Brazil: any difference in people's empowerment?', *ICA Research Conference*, Oxford, 3-4 September 2009, ICA.
- Carter, S.M. and Little, M. (2007) 'Justifying Knowledge, Justifying Method, Taking Action: Epistemologies, Methodologies, and Methods in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 17, no. 10, pp. 1316-1328.
- Chambers, R. (1997) *Whose Reality Counts? – Putting the First Last*, Warwickshire, ITDG Publishing.
- Chambers, R. (2007) *Who counts? The Quiet Revolution of Participation and Numbers*, *IDS Working Paper 296*, Brighton, IDS.
- Chambo, S. (2007) Co-operatives in a competitive environment: Implications for Youth Co-operatives in Lesotho, *Co-operative Forum for the Youth*, Maseru, 10-13 July 2007, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operatives and Marketing, Department for Co-operatives.
- Chambo, S., Mwangi, M. and Oloo, O. (n.d.) *An Analysis of The Socio-Economic Impact of Co-operatives in Africa and Their Institutional Context*, Kenya, ICA and CCA.
- Clark, D.A. (2005) *The Capability Approach: Its Development, Critiques and Recent Advances*, Oxford, Global Poverty Research Group, GPRG-WPS-032.
- Commonwealth Youth Programme. (2007) *The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment 2007-2010*, London, Commonwealth Youth Programme.
- Co-operative College and Open University. (2008) *Full-Time Case Studentship, The contribution of young people to learning for development in African co-operatives, Further Particulars*, Open University.
- Cornwall, A. (2002) 'Making spaces, changing places: situating participation in development', *IDS Working Paper 170*, Brighton, IDS.
- Cornwall, A. (2004) 'Spaces for transformation? Reflections on issues of power and difference in participation in development', in Hickey, S. And Mohan, G. (eds) (2004), *Participation: from Tyranny to Transformation?*, London, Zed Books.
- Cruise O'Brien, D. (1996) 'A lost generation? Youth identity and state decay in West Africa', in Werbner R. and Ranger T. (eds) (1996), *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*, London, Zed Books.
- Cuevas, C. and Fischer, K. (2006) *Cooperative Financial Institutions: Issues in Governance, Regulation and Supervision*, *Working Paper no 82*, World Bank, Washington DC.
- DANIDA. (2007) *Children and Young People in Danish Development Cooperation – Guidelines*, Copenhagen, DANIDA.
- Dasgupta, A. and Beard, A. (2007) 'Community Driven Development, Collective Action and Elite Capture in Indonesia', *Development and Change*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 229-249.
- de Certeau, M. (1984) *The practice of everyday life*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Delamont, S. (2004) 'Ethnography and participant observation' in Seale, C., Gubo, G., Gubrium, J. and Silverman, D. (eds) (2004), *Qualitative Research Practice*, London, Sage.
- Develtere, P., Pollet, I. and Wanyama, F.O. (eds) (2008) *Cooperating out of poverty – The renaissance of the African co-operative movement*, Geneva, ILO.

DFID (Department for International Development). (2005) *How to note – How to leverage the co-operative movement for poverty reduction* [Online], London, DFID, <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/how-to-cooperatives.pdf> (Accessed 20 January 2009).

DFID. (2010) *Briefing Note - Working with Co-operatives for Poverty Reduction*, London, DFID.

DFID-CSO Youth Working Group. (2010) *Youth Participation in development, A Guide for Development Agencies and Policy Makers*, London, DFID.

Diouf, M. (2005) 'Afterword', in Honwana, A. and De Boeck, F. (eds) (2005) *Makers and Breakers – Children in Postcolonial Africa*, Oxford, James Currey Ltd.

Dodgson, M. (1993) 'Organizational Learning: A Review of Some Literatures', *Organization Studies*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 375-394.

Dodman, D. (2003) 'Shooting in the city: an autophotographic exploration of the urban environment in Kingston, Jamaica', *Area*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 293-304.

Dreze, J. and Sen, A. (2002) *India: development and participation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Eisenhardt, K.M. (1989) 'Building Theories from Case Study Research', *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 532-550.

Engeström, Y. (2001) 'Expansive Learning at Work: Toward an Activity Theoretical Reconceptualization', *Journal of Education and Work*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 133-155.

Engeström, Y. (2004) 'The new generation of expertise: seven theses', in Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro A. (eds) (2004), *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.

Entwistle, N. (1997) 'Contrasting perspectives on learning' in, Marton, F., Hounsell, D. and Entwistle, N. (eds) (1997), *The Experience of Learning: Implications for Teaching and Studying in Higher Education*, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press.

Eraut, M. (2004) 'Transfer of knowledge between education and workplace settings', in Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro A. (eds) (2004) *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.

Evans, K., Kersh, N. and Sakamoto, A. (2004) 'Learner Biographies: exploring tacit dimensions of knowledge and skills', in Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro A. (eds) (2004) *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.

Eyben, R. (Ed) (2006) *Relationships for Aid*, London, Earthscan.

Facer, K., Thorpe, J. and Shaw, L. (2011) 'Co-operative Education and Schools: An old idea for new times?', *The BERA Conference*, London, 6 September 2011.

Facer, K and Shostak, J. (2012) 'Co-operative democracy and education a critical reflection', *An Alternative for the 21st Century?*, Manchester, 3-5 July 2012, Co-operative College UK.

Fairbairn, B. (1999) *Prairie Connections and Reflections – The History, Present and Future of Co-operative Education*, Saskatoon, Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan.

Fairbairn, B. (2003) *Three Strategic Concepts for the Guidance of Co-operatives – Linkage, Transparency and Cognition*, Saskatoon, Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan.

Felstead, A., Fuller, A., Jewson, N., and Unwin, L. (2009a) *Improving Working a Learning*, Oxon, Routledge.

Felstead, A., Fuller, A., Jewson, N., Unwin, L., Bishop, D., and Kakavelakis, K. (2009b) 'Mind the gap: personal and collective identities at work', *Studies in the Education of Adults*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 6-20.

- Filipiak, E. (2007) *Vocational Training in the Informal Sector: the Outcomes of a Field Survey in Seven African Countries*, Paris, Research Department, Agence Francaise de Development.
- Francesconi, G.N. and Heerink, N. (2010) 'Ethiopian Agricultural Cooperatives in an Era of Global Commodity Exchange: Does Organizational Form Matter?', *Journal of African Economies*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 1-25.
- Francesconi, G.N. and Wouterse, F. (2011) The Renewed Case for Farmers' Cooperatives. Diagnostics and Implications from Ghana, *IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute) Discussion Paper 01129*, Washington DC, IFPRI.
- Fraser, A. (2009) *Harnessing Agriculture for Development*. Oxford, Oxfam.
- Fuller, A. (2007) 'Critiquing theories of learning and communities of practice', in Hughes, J., Jewson, N. and Unwin, L. (eds) (2007) *Communities of Practice Critical Perspectives*, London, Routledge.
- Fuller, A., Munro A., and Rainbird, H. (2004) 'Introduction and overview', in, Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro A. (eds) (2004) *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.
- Fuller, A. and Unwin, L. (2004) 'Expansive learning environments: integrating organizational and personal development', in Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro A. (eds) (2004), *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.
- Fuller, A. and Unwin, L. (2009) 'Change and continuity in apprenticeship: The resilience of a model of learning', *Journal of Education and Work*, vol. 25, no. 5, pp. 405-416.
- Fuller, A. and Unwin, L. (2011) 'Apprenticeship as an evolving model of learning', *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 261-266.
- Fuller, A. and Unwin, L. (2012) *Adult Apprenticeships* [Online], London, UK Parliament, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmpubacc/c1875-i/mem02.htm> (Accessed 6 July 2012).
- Fukuda-Parr, S. (2003) 'The human development paradigm: operationalizing Sen's ideas on capabilities', *Feminist Economics*, vol. 9, no. 2/3, pp. 301-317.
- Gasper, D. (2002) 'Is Sen's Capability Approach an Adequate Basis for Considering Human Development?', *Review of Political Economy*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 435-461.
- Gasper, D. and Van Staveren, I. (2003) 'Development as freedom – and as what else?', *Feminist Economics*, vol. 9, no. 203, pp. 137-161.
- Gaventa, J. (2006) 'Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis', *IDS Bulletin*, vol. 37, no 6, pp. 23-33.
- Government of Uganda. (2010) *National Development Plan (2010/11-2014/15)* [Online], Kampala, Government of Uganda, [http://www.unpei.org/PDF/uganda-NDP April 2010.pdf](http://www.unpei.org/PDF/uganda-NDP%20April%202010.pdf) (Accessed 10 March 2010).
- Haan, H. (2006). *Training for Work in the Informal Micro-Enterprise Sector: Fresh Evidence from Sub-Sahara Africa* [Online], Netherlands, Springer/UNEVCO, <http://www.springerlink.com/content/978-1-4020-3828-0#section=468510&page=1&locus=7> (Accessed 12 July 2012).
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007) *Ethnography: Principles in practice*, 3rd edn, London, Routledge.
- Hanlin, R. and Brown, W. (forthcoming 2013) 'Contesting development in theory and practice', in Papaioannou, T. and Butcher, M. (eds) (forthcoming 2013), *International Development in a Changing World*, New York, Bloomsbury Academic.

- Harris, R., Rainey, L. and Sumner, R. (2006) *Crazy paving or stepping stones? Learning pathways within and between vocational education and training and higher education*, Adelaide, National Centre for Vocational Education Research (NCVER).
- Hartley, S. (2011) 'New spaces for a new generation: the rise of co-operatives amongst young people in Africa', *Co-operative College Paper 16*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- Hartley, S. (2012) 'Co-operatives as learning spaces', *An Alternative for the 21st Century?*, Manchester, 3-5 July 2012, Co-operative College UK.
- Henry, H. (2005) *Guidelines for Cooperative Legalisation*, 2nd edn, Geneva, ILO.
- Heron, J. and Reason, P. (2001) 'The Practice of Co-operative Inquiry: Research 'with' rather than 'on' people', in Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. (eds) (2001) *Handbook of Action Research, Participative Inquiry and Practice*, London, Sage.
- Hettne, B. (2009) *Thinking about Development*, London, Zed Books.
- Hoffman, D. (2003) 'Like beasts in the bush: synonyms of childhood and youth in Sierra Leone', *Postcolonial Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 295-308.
- Honwana, A. (2005) 'Innocent and Guilty, Child-Soldiers as Interstitial and Tactical Agents', in Honwana, A. and De Boeck, F. (eds) (2005), *Makers and Breakers – Children in Postcolonial Africa*, Oxford, James Currey Ltd.
- Honwana, A. (2006) *Child Soldiers in Africa*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Honwana, A. (2008) 'Young People and War', *Young People in Africa: From Marginalisation to Citizenship*, The Hague, 19-21 November 2008, Institute of Social Studies.
- Honwana, A. and De Boeck, F. (2005) 'Introduction: Children and Youth in Africa. Agency, Identity and Place', in Honwana, A. and De Boeck, F. (eds) (2005), *Makers and Breakers – Children in Postcolonial Africa*, Oxford, James Currey Ltd.
- Hughes, J., Jewson, N. and Unwin, L. (eds) (2007) *Communities of Practice Critical Perspectives*, London, Routledge.
- Hussi, P., Murphy J., Lindberg, O. and Brenneman, L. (1993) *The Development of Cooperation and Other Rural Organizations – The Role of the World Bank* [Online], Washington DC, World Bank, http://www.wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1993/05/01/000009265_3_970716144733/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf (Accessed 20 January 2009).
- Ibrahim, S. (2006) 'From Individual to Collective Capabilities: The Capability Approach as a Conceptual Framework for Self-Help', *Journal of Human Development*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 397-416.
- ICA. (1995) *ICA Statement on the Co-operative Identity* [Online], Geneva, ICA, <http://www.ica.coop/coop/principles.html> (Accessed 1 February 2009).
- ICA. (2004) *A Profile of products and services offered by Savings and Credit Co-operatives in five countries of Eastern and Southern Africa*, Nairobi, ICA Regional Office for Africa.
- ICA. (2007) 'Proceedings', *ICA Africa Co-operative Gender Forum Lesotho*, Maseru, 12–16 November 2007, ICA Regional Office for Africa.
- ICA. (2009) *New product Development for SACCOs – The Case of Masaka Microfinance Development Co-operative Trust Ltd (MAMIDECOT) in Developing the Youth Savings Program*, Nairobi, ICA Regional Office for Africa.

- ICA. (2011) *ICA International Co-operative Day* [Online], Geneva, ICA, <http://www.ica.coop/al-ica/attachments/Interntional%20Day%20of%20Co-operatives%20message%202011.pdf> (Accessed 26 January 2011).
- ICA. (2012) *Introduction to ICA* [Online], Geneva, ICA, <http://www.ica.coop/ica/index.html> (Accessed 1 June 2012).
- ILO. (2002) *Transition to Co-operative Entrepreneurship – Case Studies from Armenia, China, Ethiopia, Ghana, Poland, Russia, Uganda and Vietnam*, Geneva, ILO.
- ILO. (2010) *The Resilience of Social and Solidarity Enterprises: the Example of Cooperatives*, *Global Jobs Pact Policy Briefs No 10*, Geneva, ILO.
- Johnson, H. (2007) 'Communities of practice and international development', *Progress in Development Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 277-290.
- Johnson, H. and Thomas, A. (2007) 'Individual learning and building organisational capacity for development', *Public Administration and Development*, vol. 21 no. 1, pp. 39-48.
- Johnson, H. and Wilson, G. (2006) 'Introductory Article – Connecting people and places: Spaces for Thinking, Learning, Knowledge and Action', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 747-755.
- Johnson, H. and Wilson, G. (2009) *Learning for Development*, London, Zed Books.
- Kabeer, K. (1999) 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment', *Development and Change*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 435-464.
- Kabeer, K. (2005) 'Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal', *Gender and Development*, vol. 13, no 1, pp. 13-24.
- Kamat, S. (2007) 'Assessment – Populism Repackaged: The World Bank's Perspective on Equity and Youth', *Development and Change*, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 1209-1218.
- KaramiDehkordi, E. And Garforth, C. (2007) 'Development of Agricultural Cooperatives in Ethiopia: Structure, Performance and Lessons', *Project workshop*, Ambo, 23-27 July 2007, Ambo College Ethiopia.
- Keen, D. (2005) *Conflict and Convergence in Sierra Leone*, New York, Palgrave.
- King, K. and McGrath, S. (2000) *Becoming a knowledge bank? The World Bank's emerging approach to knowledge, partnership and development in the time of globalisation* [Online], Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/kbank.pdf> (Accessed 28 March 2012).
- King, K. And Palmer, R. (2010) *Planning for technical and vocational skills development*, Paris, UNESCO, *Fundamentals of Education Planning* 94.
- Kingsbury, D. (2004) 'Globalization and Development', in Kingsbury, D., Remenyi, J., McKay, J., and Hunt, J. (eds) (2004), *Key Issues in Development*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Klasen, S (n.d.) *Social Exclusion and children in OECD countries: some conceptual issues* [Online], Munich, University of Munich, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/19/37/1855901.pdf> (Accessed 5 July 2009).
- Kolb, D. (1984) *Experiential Learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall.

- Korten, D. (1990) *Getting to the 21st Century. Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*, US, Kumarian Press.
- Korten, D. (1995) *When corporations rule the world*, London, Eathscan.
- Kuria, N. (2011) *Co-operatives in Social Development. The experience of Co-operative Insurance in Kenya, in particular, and Africa in general* [Online], New York, UN Social Policy and Development Division, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/social/meetings/egm11/documents/Kuria-Cooperatives%20in%20social%20development%20%20-%20The%20experience%20of%20CIC%20in%20Kenya.pdf> (Accessed 15 January 2012).
- Kwapong, N.A. and Korugyendo, P.L. (2010a) Revival of agricultural cooperatives in Uganda, *USSP (Uganda Strategy Support Programme) Policy Note 10 (December 2010)*, Kampala and Washington, IFPRI.
- Kwapong, N.A. and Korugyendo, P.L. (2010b) Why a few agricultural cooperatives survived the crisis in the cooperative movement in Uganda while others collapsed, *USSP Policy Note 11 (December 2010)*, Kampala and Washington, IFPRI.
- Kyazze, L. (2010) Co-operatives: The sleeping economic and social giants in Uganda, *Coop Africa Working Paper 15*, Geneva, ILO.
- Lacey, S. (2011) 'Beyond a fair price', in Webster, A., Shaw, L., Stewart, D., Walton J.K. and Brown, A. (eds) (2011) *The hidden alternative – Co-operative values, past, present and future*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Laws, S., Harper, C. and Marcus, R. (2003) *Research for Development – A Practical Guide*, London, Sage.
- Lesotho Bureau of Statistics. (2004) *Lesotho Demographic and Household Survey* [Online], Maseru, Lesotho Bureau of Statistics, <http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/FR171/FR171-LS04OneLgFile.pdf> (Accessed 1 June 2012).
- Levi, Y. and Davis, P. (2008) 'Cooperatives as the "enfants terrible" of economics: Some implications for the social economy', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, vol. 37, pp. 2178-2188.
- Leys, C. (1996) *The Rise and Fall of Development theory*, London, James Currey Ltd.
- Louw, A., Ndanga, L. and Chikazunga, D. (2008) *Restructuring food markets in the sub-Saharan Africa region: Dynamics in the context of the fresh produce sub-sector – A synthesis of country findings*, Pretoria, Department of Agricultural Economics, Extension and Rural Development, University of Pretoria.
- Lyon, F. (2005) 'Managing Co-operation: Trust and power in Ghanaian Associations', *Organization Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 31-52.
- MacPherson, I. (2003) Encouraging Associative Intelligence: Co-operatives, Shared Learning and Responsible Citizenship, *Co-operative College Paper 1 - Co-operative Learning and Responsible Citizenship in the 21st Century*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- MacPherson, I. and Yeo, S. (2005) *Pioneers of Co-operation 160th Anniversary Reflections on the Opening of the Toad Lane Store*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK and British Columbia Institute for Co-operative Studies.
- Maguire, S. (2007) *Youth Mapping Study*, London, DFID.
- Mahbub ul Haq. (n.d.) *About Human Development*, New York, UNDP, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/> (Accessed 10 July 2012).

- Mann, P. (2001) 2001 'Tacit Knowledge in an Age of Reform', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 76-90.
- Mansuri, G. and Rao, V. (2004) *Community-Based and Driven Development: A Critical Review* [Online], Washington DC, Policy Research Working Paper 3209, World Bank, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=501663 (Accessed 2 May 2010).
- 'Maphamoli, L. (n.d.) Status of Co-operatives in Lesotho, *Conference and conference date not known*.
- 'Maphamoli, L. (2008) 'Co-operatives play major role amongst youth', *Lesotho Today*, 13-19 November 2008, p. 3.
- Mathie, A. and Ghore, Y. (2011) *Innovative types of formal member-based organizations (MBOs): Towards an analysis of trends and a guide to MBO potential*, Ottawa, IDRC, Final Technical Report.
- Matla, K. (2009) Closing Speech, *Youth Co-operative Forum*, Maseru, 14-18 December 2009, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operative and Marketing, Department for Co-operatives.
- Mayoux, L. (2006) 'Quantitative, Qualitative, or Participatory? Which Method, for What and When?', in Desai, V. and Potter, R. (eds) (2006), *Doing Development Research*, London, Sage.
- McGee, R. and Greenhalf, J. (2011) 'Seeing like a young citizen: youth and participatory governance in Africa', in The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (2011) (eds) *Participatory learning and action – Young citizens: youth and participatory governance in Africa - Participatory Learning and Action 64*, London, IIED.
- McGivney, V. (2003) *Adult learning pathways: through-routes or cul-de-sacs?*, Leicester, National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (England and Wales) (NIACE).
- McKay, J. (2004) 'Reassessing Development Theory: Modernisation and Beyond', in Kingsbury, D., Remenyi, J., McKay, J. and Hunt, J. (eds) (2004) *Key Issues in Development*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- McLean Hiker L. and Fraser, E. (2009) *Youth exclusion, violence, conflict and fragile states*, London, DFID.
- McNiff, J. and Whitehead, J. (2006) *All you need to know about Action Research*, London, Sage.
- Meinzen-Dick, R., DiGregorio, M. and McCarthy, N. (2004) 'Methods for studying collective action in rural development, *Agricultural Systems*, vol. 82, no. 3, pp. 197-214.
- Mills, C. and Wilson, M. (2008) *Co-operative Values Make a Difference in the Curriculum and the Governance of Schools*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. (2000) *National Vision 2020* [Online], Maseru, Kingdom of Lesotho. http://www.gov.ls/documents/National_Vision_Document_Final.pdf (Accessed 22 September 2009).
- Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. (2004) *Poverty Reduction Strategy 2004/05 – 2006/07* [Online], Maseru, Kingdom of Lesotho, http://www.gov.ls/documents/PRSP_Final.pdf (Accessed 22 September 2009).
- Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. (2001) *National Youth Policy* [Online], Kampala, Government of Uganda, <http://archive.k4health.org/system/files/Uganda%20National%20Youth%20Policy.pdf> (Accessed 1 March 2010).
- Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation. (1999) *National Youth Policy*, Maseru, Kingdom of Lesotho.

- Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry. (2008) *National Co-operative Development Policy* [Online], Kampala, Government of Uganda, www.ilo.org/public/.../coop/.../wpno18cooperativepolicyandlaw.pdf (Accessed 1 September 2009).
- Ministry of Trade and Industry, Co-operative and Marketing. (2009) *National Cooperative Policy*, Maseru, Kingdom of Lesotho.
- Mohan, Giles. (2008) 'Participatory Development', in Desai, V. and Potter, R. (eds) (2008) *The Companion to Development Studies*, 2nd edn, London, Arnold Publishers.
- Morgan, D. L. (1988) *Focus groups as qualitative research*, Sage, London.
- Mrema, H. (2008) 'Uganda: Starting All Over Again' in Develtere, P., Pollet, I. and Wanyama, F.O. (eds) (2008) *Cooperating out of poverty – The renaissance of the African co-operative movement*, Geneva, ILO.
- Msemakweli, L. (n.d.) *New Approach to Co-operative Development in Uganda* [Online], Kampala, UCA, <http://www.uca.co.ug/publications/coopdevelopment.pdf> (Accessed 21 June 2011).
- Msemakweli, L. (2010) *Working with co-operatives in Uganda* [Online], Manchester, Co-operative College UK, <http://www.co-op.ac.uk/2010/12/working-co-operatives-uganda/> (Accessed 21 June 2011).
- Mtonga-Mukumbuta, P. (2008) *An Internal Review of the Youth Economic Empowerment through Co-operatives Project*, Kampala, SCC Regional Office for East Africa and UCA.
- Musinguzi, S. (2006) YEECO Project – Youth Economic Empowerment Through Co-operatives Project, *Building Co-operative Futures Conference*, (location not known) May 2006.
- Mwesigye, F. (n.d.) *The Role of Co-operatives in Development* [Online], Kampala, Government of Uganda, <http://www.mtti.go.ug/docs/The%20Role%20of%20Cooperatives%20in%20Development.pdf> (Accessed 10 March 2009).
- Nederveen Pieterse, J. (2010) *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*, 2nd edn, London, Sage and TCS Books.
- Nippierd, A.B. (n.d.) *Gender Issues in Cooperatives* [Online], Geneva, ILO, <http://www.oit.org/images/empent/static/coop/gender/genderissues.PDF> (Accessed 12 December 2011).
- Novkovic, S. (2008) 'Defining the co-operative difference', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, vol. 37 pp. 2168-2177.
- Nussbaum, M. (1993) *Quality of Life*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000) 'Capabilities and Social Justice', *International Studies Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 123-135.
- Okeyo, B. (n.d.) *Working with Co-operatives: a view from Kenya*, Co-operative College Briefing Paper No. 6, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- O'Malley, A.H. (2011) 'Critical Social Analysis and Development', in Veltmeyer, H. (Ed) (2011) *The Critical Development Studies Handbook – Tools for Change*, Canada, Fernwood Publishing.
- Ostrom, E. (2004) *Collective Action and Property Rights for Sustainable Development*. *IFPRI Focus 11, Brief 2 of 16 (February 2004)*, Washington D.C, IFPRI.
- Owen-Pugh, V. (2007) 'Theorizing sport as a community of practice: the coach-athlete relationship in British professional basketball', in Hughes, J., Jewson, N. and Unwin L. (eds) (2007), *Communities of Practice Critical Perspectives*, London, Routledge.

- Parpart, J. and Veltmeyer, H. (2011) 'The Evolution of an Idea: Critical Development Studies', in Veltmeyer, H. (Ed) (2011) *The Critical Development Studies Handbook – Tools for Change*, Canada, Fernwood Publishing.
- Pasteur, K. (2006) 'Learning for Development, in Eyben, R. (Ed) (2006) *Relationships for Aid*, London, Earthscan.
- Penrose-Buckley, C. (2007) *Producer Organisations: a Guide to Developing Collective Rural Enterprises*, Oxford, Oxfam.
- Platteau, J. (2004) 'Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development', *Development and Change*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 223-246.
- Polanyi, M. (1966) *The tacit dimension*, New York, Doubleday and Company.
- Pollet, I. (2009) Cooperatives in Africa: The age of reconstruction – synthesis of a survey in nine African countries, *Coop Africa Working Paper 7*, Geneva, ILO.
- Pryke, M., Rose, G. and Whitmore, S. (eds) (2003) *Using Social Theory, Thinking Through Research*, London, Sage.
- Punch, S. (2002) 'Research with Children: The Same or Different from Research with Adults?', *Childhood*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 321-341.
- Rainbird, H., Munro A., and Fuller, A. (eds) (2004) *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.
- Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. (eds) (2001) *Handbook of Action Research, Participative Inquiry and Practice*, London, Sage.
- Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (eds) (2003) *Qualitative Research Practice, A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, London, Sage.
- Robeyns, I. (2005) 'The Capability Approach: a theoretical survey', *The Journal of Human Development*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 93-114.
- Rowlands, J. (1997) *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*, Oxford, Oxfam.
- Samoff, J. and Stromquist, N. (2001) 'Managing knowledge and storing wisdom? New forms of foreign aid?', *Development and Change*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 631-56.
- SCC. (2007) *Annual Report*, Stockholm, SCC.
- Schwettman, J. (2011). 'Capacity Building for Africa's Cooperatives and Social Economy Organizations', *Expert Group Meeting Co-operatives in Social Development: Beyond 2012*, Ulaanbaatar Mongolia, 3-6 May 2011, New York, UN.
- Seers, D. (1969 [1979]) 'The meaning of development' in Lehman, D. (Ed) *Development Theory: Four Critical Studies*, London, Frank Cass.
- Sen, A. (1992) *Inequality Re-examined*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Sen, A. (1993) 'Capability and Well-Being' in Nussbaum, M. and Sen, A. (eds) (1993) *Quality of Life*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A. (2002) 'Response to commentaries', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 507-523.

- Sen, A. (2004) 'Dialogue. Capabilities, Lists and Public Reason: Continuing the Conversation, *Feminist Economics*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 77-80.
- Sen, A. (2009). *The Idea of Justice*, London, Allen Lane.
- Senge, P. M. (1990) *The Fifth Discipline: the Art and Practice of the Learning Organisation*, London, Century Business.
- Shaw, L. (2009a) *Draft Summary of Findings of Co-operative Colleges in Africa Research*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- Shaw, L. (2009b) Making Connections – Education for Co-operatives, *Co-operative College Paper 15*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- Shaw, L. (2011) 'International perspectives on co-operative education', in Webster, A., Shaw, L., Stewart, D., Walton J.K. and Brown, A. (eds) (2011) *The hidden alternative – Co-operative values, past, present and future*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Shaw, T. and Veltmeyer, H. (2011) 'International Relations in Development', in Veltmeyer, H. (Ed) (2011) *The Critical Development Studies Handbook – Tools for Change*, Canada, Fernwood Publishing.
- Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting qualitative data*, 2nd edn, London, Sage.
- Smith, S. (2004) *Promoting Co-operatives – A guide to ILO Recommendation 193*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- Smith, J., Puga, R. and MacPherson, I. (eds) (2005) *Young people Reinventing Co-operatives – young perspectives on the international co-operative movement*, Winnipeg, British Columbia Institute for Co-operative Studies.
- Spear, R. (2000) 'The Co-operative Advantage', *Annals of Public and Co-operative Economic*, vol. 71, no. 4, pp. 507-523.
- Stainton-Rogers, W. (2006) 'Logics of Enquiry', in *Doing Postgraduate Research*, in Potter, S. (Ed) (2006), London, Sage.
- Stake, R. E. (1995) *The art of case study research*, London, Sage.
- Stefanson, B. (2002) *Adult Educators in Co-operative Development: Agents of Change*, Saskatoon, Centre for Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan.
- Stewart, F. (2005) 'Groups and capabilities', *Journal of Human Development*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 185-204.
- Stiglitz, J. (1999) 'Scan globally, reinvent locally: knowledge, infrastructure and the localization of knowledge', Keynote address, *First Global Development Network Conference*, Bonn, December 1999, Global Development Network.
- Stiglitz, J. (2004) The Role of Co-operatives in Globalization, *Universita di Genova Working Paper 9/2004*, Italy, Universita di Genova.
- Taylor, S. (Ed) (2002) *Ethnographic Research – A Reader*, London, Sage.
- Tharamangalam, J. and Reed, A.M. (2011) 'Human Development in Theory and Practice', in Veltmeyer, H. (Ed) (2011) *The Critical Development Studies Handbook – Tools for Change*, Canada, Fernwood Publishing.
- Theron, J. (2010) Cooperative policy and law in east and southern Africa: A review, *Coop Africa Working Paper 18*, Geneva, ILO.

- Thomas, A. (2000) 'Meanings and views of development', in Allen T. And Thomas, A. (eds) (2000), *Poverty and Development in the Twenty-first Century*, Oxford, The Open University in association with Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, A. (2007) 'Challenging Cases', in, Thomas, A. and Mohan, G. (eds) (2007) *Doing Research Skills for Policy and Development – How to find out fast*, London, Sage.
- Thomas, A. and Mohan, G. (eds) (2007) *Doing Research Skills for Policy and Development – How to find out fast*, London, Sage.
- Thomas, N. and Percy-Smith, B. (2010) 'Introduction', in Percy-Smith, B. and Thomas, N. (eds) (2010) *A Handbook of Children and Young People's Participation – Perspectives from theory and practice*, Abingdon Oxon, Routledge.
- Thorp, R., Stewart, F. and Heyer, A. (2005) 'When and How Far is Group Formation a Route Out of Chronic Poverty?', *World Development*, vol. 33, no. 6, pp. 907-920.
- Tsoukas, H. (2002) 'Do we really understand tacit knowledge?', *ICTs in the Contemporary World Seminar*, London, 14 June 2002, London School of Economics.
- UCA. (n.d.) *YECCO training manual*, Kampala, UCA.
- Uganda Bureau of Statistics. (2006) *Demographic and Health Survey* [Online], Kampala, Uganda Bureau of Statistics <http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/FR194/FR194.pdf> (Accessed 1 June 2012).
- Uganda Bureau of Statistics. (2011) *Demographic and Health Survey* [Online], Uganda Bureau of Statistics <http://measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/PR18/PR18.pdf> (Accessed 1 June 2012).
- Umsobomvu Youth Fund. (2003) *Research Report – Youth participation in co-operatives in South Africa*, South Africa, Umsobomvu Youth Fund.
- UN. (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child* [Online], Geneva, UN, <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/child.html> (Accessed 1 July 2009).
- UN. (2003) *World Youth Report 2003 – The global situation of young people*, Geneva, UN.
- UN. (2007) *World Youth Report 2007 – Young People's Transitions to Adulthood – Progress and Challenges*, Geneva, UN.
- UN. (2010) *Co-operatives in Social Development*, Resolution adopted by General Assembly, A/RES/64/136, Geneva, UN.
- UN. (2011) *World Youth Report 2011: youth perspectives on the pursuit of decent work in changing times*, Geneva, UN.
- UNDP. (1990) *Human Development Report – Concept and Measurement of human development*, New York, UNDP.
- UNDP. (2011a) *Human Development Report – Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All*, New York, UNDP.
- UNDP. (2011b) *Lesotho Information* [Online], New York, UNDP, <http://www.undp.org.ls/Lesotho/default.php> (Accessed 1 July 2012).
- UNDP. (2012) *About Uganda* [Online], New York, UNDP, www.undp.or.ug/ (Accessed 1 June 2012).
- UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund). (2005) *The Case for Investing in People – as part of a National Poverty Reduction Strategy*, Geneva, UN.

- UNICEF. (2011) *The State of the World's Children 2011*, Geneva, UN.
- Unterhalter, E. (2003) 'The Capabilities Approach and Gendered Education: An Examination of South African Complexities', *Theory and Research in Education*, vol. 1, no. 7, pp. 7-22.
- Utas, M. (2005) 'Agency of Victims, Young Women in the Liberian Civil War', in Honwana, A. and De Boeck, F. (eds) (2005) *Makers and Breakers – Children in Postcolonial Africa*, Oxford, James Currey Ltd.
- van Blerk, L. (2006) 'Working with Children in Development', in Desai, V. and Potter, R. (eds) (2006) *Doing Development Research*, London, Sage.
- van Donge, J. L. (2006) 'Ethnography and Participant Observation', in Desai, V. and Potter, R. (eds) (2006) *Doing Development Research*, , London, Sage.
- Vangen, S. and Huxham, C. (2003) 'Nurturing Collaborative Relations: Building Trusts in Interorganizational Collaboration', *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, vol. 39, no. 5, pp. 5-31.
- Veltemeyer, H. (Ed) (2011) *The Critical Development Studies Handbook – Tools for Change*, Canada, Fernwood Publishing.
- Vicari, S. (2008) 'Understanding co-operatives potential in fighting global poverty in a human development perspective', *ICA Research Conference*, Riva del Garda, 15-18 October 2008, ICA.
- Walker, M. (2006) 'Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making', *Journal of Education Policy*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 163-185.
- Wanyama, F.O., Develtere, P. and Pollet, I. (2008) 'Encountering the Evidence: Co-operatives and Poverty Reduction in Africa', *Journal of Co-operative Studies*, vol. 41, no.3, pp. 16-27.
- Wanyama, F.O., Develtere, P. and Pollet, I. (2009) Reinventing the wheel? African cooperatives in a liberalized economic environment, *Coop Africa Working Paper 1*, Geneva, ILO.
- Webster, A., Shaw, L., Stewart, D., Walton J.K. and Brown, A. (2011) 'The hidden alternative?', in Webster, A., Shaw, L., Stewart, D., Walton J.K. and Brown, A. (eds) (2011) *The hidden alternative – Co-operative values, past, present and future*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Welsh Government. (2010) *Learning Pathways 14-19* [Online], Cardiff, Welsh Government, <http://wales.gov.uk/topics/educationandskills/pathways/?lang=en> (Accessed 1 February 2012).
- Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of Practice - Learning Meaning and Identity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger, E. (2006) *Communities of practice a brief introduction* [Online], USA, Wenger, E., <http://www.ewenger.com/theory/> (Accessed 10 January 2012).
- White, S. and Choudhury, A. (2007) 'The Politics of Child Participation in International Development: The Dilemma of Agency', *The European Journal of Development Research*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 529-550.
- White, S and Choudhury, A. (2010) 'Children's participation in Bangladesh – Issues of agency and structures if violence', in Percy-Smith, B. and Thomas, N. (eds) (2010) *A Handbook of Children and Young People's Participation – Perspectives from theory and practice*, Abingdon Oxon, Routledge.
- Wilson, G. (2006) 'Beyond the technocrat? The professional expert in development practice', *Development and Change*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 501-523.

- Wilson, M. (2008) Youth and Student Co-operatives – *Building the Future of the Co-operative Movement in Lesotho* [Online], Manchester, Co-operative College UK, <http://www.co-op.ac.uk/lesotho2.htm> (Accessed 5 March 2009).
- Woodhouse, P. (2007) 'People as Informants', in Thomas, A. and Mohan, G. (eds) (2007), *Doing Research Skills for Policy and Development – How to find out fast*, London, Sage.
- Woodin, T. (2011) 'Co-operative education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: context, identity and learning', in Webster, A., Shaw, L., Stewart, D., Walton J.K. and Brown, A. (eds) (2011), *A The Hidden Alternative - Co-operative values, past, present and future*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Woodin, T. (2012) 'Co-operative schools: policy, vision and practices', *An Alternative for the 21st Century?*, Manchester, 3-5 July 2012, Co-operative College UK.
- World Bank. (1998) *World Development Report 1998/9 - Knowledge for Development*, Washington DC, World Bank.
- World Bank. (2007) *World Development Report 2007 – Development and the Next Generation*, Washington DC, World Bank.
- World Bank. (2008a) *World Development Report 2008 - Agriculture for Development*, Washington D.C., World Bank.
- World Bank. (2008b) *Uganda* [Online], Washington D.C., World Bank, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/UGANDAEXTN/0,,menuPK:374871~pagePK:141159~piPK:141110~theSitePK:374864,00.html> (Accessed 8 July 2012).
- World Bank. (2012a) *Lesotho: Country brief* [Online], Washington D.C., World Bank, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/LESOTHOEXTN/0,,menuPK:356039~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:356029,00.html> (Accessed 1 June 2010).
- World Bank. (2012b) *Uganda: Country brief* [Online], Washington D.C., World Bank, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/UGANDAEXTN/0,,menuPK:374947~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:374864,00.html> (Accessed 1 June 2010).
- World Bank. (2012c) *Lesotho at a glance* [Online], Washington D.C., the World Bank http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/lso_aag.pdf (Accessed 1 June 2012).
- World Bank. (2012d) *Uganda at a glance* [Online], Washington D.C., The World Bank. http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/uga_aag.pdf (Accessed 1 June 2012).
- Yeo, S. (2003) What Value do Co-operative and Mutual Enterprises in General, and the Co-operative Movement in Particular, Add to the Citizenship Agenda?, *Co-operative College Paper 1 - Co-operative Learning and Responsible Citizenship in the 21st Century*, Manchester, Co-operative College UK.
- Yin, R. (2009) *Case Study Research – Design and Methods*, London, Sage.
- Young, M. (2004) 'Conceptualising vocational knowledge: some theoretical considerations', in, Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro A. (eds) (2004) *Workplace Learning in Context*, London, Routledge.
- Young, L and Barrett, H. (2000) 'Adapting visual methods: action research with Kampala street children', *Area*, vol. 33, no.2, pp. 141-152.