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**Creating Space to Understand school-based community development
within a Rural Malawian Community**

by

Martin Jamieson

Canterbury Christ Church University

**Thesis submitted
For the degree of Doctor of Education**

2018

**Creating Space to Understand school-based community development
within a Rural Malawian Community**

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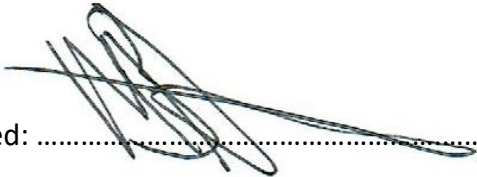
Declaration

I declare that, this thesis entitled:

Creating Space to Understand school-based community development within a Rural Malawian Community

is my own original work. It has not been submitted to any other institution of higher learning for the award of any degree or qualification.

Where I have used information from the published or unpublished work of other, I have acknowledged such sources, both in the text and in the list of references.

Signed:  (Martin Bruce Jamieson) Date:

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List of Acronyms

CGD	- Centre for Global Development
CPD	- Continuing Professional Development
CRECCOM	- Centre for Creative Community Mobilisation
CUREE	- Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education
DEM	- District Education Manager
DFID	- Department for International Development
DIAS	- Department of Inspection and Advisory Services
DPD	- Department of Population and Development
DTED	- Department of Teacher Education and Development
EFA	- Education for All
EGRA	- Early Grades Reading Activity
ESIP	- Education Sector Implementation Plan
FBO	- Faith-Based Organisation
GNP	- Gross National Product
IBRD	- International Bank for reconstruction and development
ICT	- Information and communication technology
IDP	- International Development Partners
INSET	- In-Service Education and Training
ITE	- Initial Teacher Education
IVAC	- Investigation Vision Action and Change
JCE	- Junior Certificate of education
JICA	- Japan International Cooperation Agency
LEA	- Local Education Authority
MASTEP	- Malawi Special Teacher Education Programme
MDG	- Millennium Development Goals
MIE	- Malawi Institute of Education
MIITEP	- Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme
MoEST	- Ministry of Education and Science (Malawi)
MTPDS	- Malawi Teacher Professional Development Support Program
MTTA	- Malawi Teacher Training Activity
MUSTER	- Multi-Site Teacher Education Project
NESP	- National Education Sector Plan
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organisation
NSTED	- National Strategy for Teacher Education and Development

OECD	- Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development
PD	- Professional Development
PEA	- Primary Education Advisor
PTA	- Parent Teacher Association
SACMEQ	- Southern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SIP	- School Improvement Project
SMC	- School Management Committee
TA	- Traditional Authority
TALULAR	- Teaching and Learning Using Locally Available Resources
TEMIS	- Teacher Education Management Information System
TDC	- Teacher Development Centre
TSU	- Teacher Support Unit
TTC	- Teacher Training College
TTISSA	- Teacher Training Initiatives in Sub-Sahara Africa
UBE	- Universal Basic Education
UNCSD	- UN Conference on Sustainable Development
UNESCO	- United Nations Educational Social and Cultural Organisation
UNESS	- UNESCO National and Education Support Strategy
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	- United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	- Universal Primary Education
USAID	- United States Agency for International Development
VDC	- Village Development Committee
WCED	- World Commission on Environment and Development

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Abstract:

Keywords: Self-reliance, sustainability, NGO, FBO, faith, community-development, education, training, dialogue, identity, participation, accountability.

The setting for this research is a rural community in the central region of Malawi. As a qualitative case-study it explores attitudes towards development as well as the processes school-based community development might go through to achieve a permanent increase in adaptability (Taylor, 2005). This adaptability is the ability of local communities to finance and maintain interventions and then adapt to changes in the social and economic environment. This thesis explores opportunities the community may develop to avoid dependence on outside control as they become increasingly self-sustaining. The research questions explore these processes and unpack shifts in community power relations while exploring the impact that faith-based organisations bring to the development process.

The research positions the researcher within the lived experience of those researched and uses research instruments developed from qualitative research typologies consistent with Berkowitz, and Srivastava & Hopwood underpinned with a philosophical framework drawn from the ideas of Freire, Chambers and Wells. This research considers seven non-governmental organisations (NGOs), six schools and various authority structures within the research locality to explore their roles and the tensions each brings to the other. Drawing on a constructivist epistemology it explores current thinking and practice regarding school-based community development. Additionally, the thesis looks at teacher professionalism and identity, arguing that for teachers to develop a professional identity a degree of autonomy is needed where self-regulation and opportunity to contribute to training is necessary.

This exploration is achieved by gathering data using research instruments that include semi-structured interviews, focus groups discussions and reflexive consideration from journaling and regular reviews with assistant researchers. Reflecting on the empirical data gathered to allow theory to emerge it triangulates research methods to increase reliability. I explore the processes, obstacles and hindrances to establish how self-reliance within school-based community development is approached by NGOs, and use the data to support the argument that NGO activity may be contributing to the erosion of traditional authority structures such as the community chief.

It is suggested that the creation of space in which to explore common ground between developmental actors is a first step towards the creation of an empowered community whose ownership of the processes is central to a permanently adaptive development.

CHAPTER ONE:

Designing Constructed Space

INTRODUCTION

A great deal of effort goes into creating programmes for developing countries that not only give assistance in times of difficulty but also stimulate local solutions to continuing problems of infrastructure deficit, and system failure. Education is a key component in community development guiding society to meet these challenges. Both the Millennium Development Goals and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development task education to equip the young for the demands of the future. To provide this a teaching workforce is needed that is well motivated, self-sustaining and capable of making critical responses to local needs.

The objectives of community development are ecological, economic and social benefits achieved through an integrated decision-making process (Emas, 2015) empowering people to own, and responsibly make the best use of their resources. As common ground is discovered through dialogue benefits are shared equitably and passed on to succeeding generations.

The process required to achieve these objectives involves an approach where space is created to bring together all stakeholders. Exploring the ground for this approach within the context of a rural community in Malawi this thesis considers the perspectives of both the teachers and the communities from which they come. It also explores the community setting, including the role of 'faith,' and asks how to create the necessary space for a Freirian dialogue that will reduce misunderstandings, suspicion and tensions while encouraging non-discrimination, respect and equality (Freire, 2005).

This chapter explores my background and defines sustainability and self-reliance. It also considers issues of positionality and considers how my faith, education and involvement in development may have influenced the research. Before focussing on the rationale behind the research, I present a reflection on the theology of development and consider the problems that foreshadowed the construction of the research questions. A structural outline of the thesis concludes the chapter.

Background Influences

Before further describing the study, it may be useful to examine the personal influences on the design of the research questions, the methodology for carrying out the research activities and the subsequent analysis of the gathered data. Research is never completed in a values-neutral vacuum, and the reader may need to consider the values and beliefs I have brought to the study before judging the results (Jones *et al.*). I am aware that the influences that have guided this thesis may make replication difficult, yet hope that by making them transparent, future studies may be able to make necessary adjustments. The three significant factors are my faith, education and relevant experience in teaching and development.

My Christian faith has shaped my outlook on all aspects of life and particularly as it applies to developing opportunities for equity, inclusion and respect for others. Experience of work overseas led me to question the place my faith should hold in such endeavour. It became important to explore how attitudes formed from faith positions either hinder or assist the construction of inclusive and equitable community interventions.

Education: What I understand about the realities faced by peoples of the 'south' will affect the approach I make to development, change and transformation. I have worked in three African countries in various positions. In South Africa and Zambia, I worked as a teacher trainer while in Ethiopia I was employed in the Ministry of Education overseeing the teacher training programme in that country's universities and colleges. Experience in each country may have led to a bias towards international development, and promote or hinder the potential for collaboration between myself and community members in the research.

Experience: As a teacher who has experienced professional development, and a teacher-trainer in three African countries, I have observed from first-hand the way in which people from various perspectives have approached the task. Arguably the three of the most significant associated terms are 'capacity development,' 'self-sufficiency,' and 'sustainable development,' and will be critical for many of the arguments presented in the thesis. More recently, issues about teachers' professional identity, as related to international development, further guided my thinking. Together these components frame the research questions and ask whether interventions may take place more efficiently if allied to a self-sustaining paradigm.

Having been a teacher for twenty-seven years, three as a teacher-trainer in an African context, and two working for the Ethiopian Ministry of Education overseeing a training programme for teacher-trainers, I wanted to continue promoting teacher learning in an African context. My interest in Malawi began in Zambia as a friendship with a young Malawian, Yunusu,

and his family. For eight years following the return to our home countries, we collaborated on several small development projects. My friends live in a rural area, around five kilometres from the nearest centre of population, and around thirty-five kilometres from the nearest town. Over the years, I helped my friend, now a pastor, start a pre-school, put a roof on the church, establish a village shop and dig three wells for the community. Due to regular visits, I was a recognised figure in the small village of Kwidzi, near the southern end of Lake Malawi. Here two group village headmen (Kwidzi and Kamphinda), are the Traditional Authorities (TAs) under Senior Chief Mbira. There is a population of around five thousand inhabitants in thirty villages. In the wider area used for this study, the population is around thirty-five thousand, three hundred people located in one hundred and eighty-four small villages.

After a failed attempt to establish an educational NGO in Ethiopia during 2012, a country I had lived in for two and a half years, I suggested the same thing to my friend in Malawi. I was a teacher, while he had received training in Zambia for community development - so we talked about education and development. Although unsure about what we wanted to accomplish, we focussed on education. We set up an NGO called 'Livingway Education'(LWE) with a Malawian board of trustees using a not-for-profit business model to sustain activities. In the long term, the business would provide sufficient funding so the trustees would not have to rely on donations to carry out activities. We planned to build a guest-house, having seen this strategy work successfully in the Zambian NGO where we had both worked previously. LWE began with a workshop on the 'language of inclusion' and explored educational ideas with teachers in Lilongwe. They were glad to attend because, in Malawi, most teachers learn their profession on the job. Initial college training usually only lasts for one year (Kunje & Stuart, 2003; Mulkeen & Chen, 2008).

The motivation for this research came about because I was concerned that the provision of teacher-support in Malawi by donor-supported, agency-led interventions did not reflect the interests and real needs of teachers in rural Malawi. These concerns led me to set up a local NGO in 2012, with local leadership, which would present an alternative paradigm for developing teacher learning support. During the following three-years I visited the NGO three times a year, encouraging an income-generation approach to funding activities. In this role I was the founding figure in the project injecting a philosophy of self-help. During this period, I was also financing the development of the initial infrastructure through a UK based charity (Viravaida and Hayssen, 2001), and in this way my role was that of principle donor. The research took shape around the development of the project and meant that my role included being the founder, donor and researcher for the project. The tasks in each role occasionally brought tensions to bear upon the direction of the project. It was sometimes difficult for collaborators in the project to

understand which role was dominant, and I struggled in the early stages to answer simple questions about what I was doing because I could not always discern whether the inquiry concerned the development project, the process of funding or the research.

The research involved visiting and interviewing stakeholders in community development. These included representatives from schools and NGOs as well as civic and traditional authorities. Others represented the Christian and Muslim faith. The research focussed on the work of non-governmental organisations, community development and the significance of faith in the process of development.

My thesis argues that sustainability should aim at creating self-reliance and this led me to explore the process whereby this might be achieved. This process involved creating a space where a non-discriminatory response to conflicting perspectives, founded on the inclusion of the many, could take place. Such dialogue will contribute to the growth of social capital which this thesis argues is the foundation for self-reliance (Nelson *et al.*, 2003). A further argument is presented to show that sustainability without the creation of self-reliance, provides an inadequate model for community transformation and that professional development for teachers requires a self-reliant paradigm if it is to overcome the lack of teacher motivation (Bennell 2004, Selemani-Meke 2013). Tackling these issues requires extending development theory regarding sustainability to include ownership of an intervention and the significance of faith (Ulleberg, 2009).

Using dialogue as a central component in the construction of meaning requires an approach that recognises, and places value upon a range of perspective. Looking at how children use dialogue to achieve understanding, Maine (2015) cites Bakhtin (1981), to develop the principle whereby the listener considers the meaning of an utterance and builds an empathic bond with the speaker. Humble reflection of another's utterance is how children can 'think together' to construct meaning accurately (Maine 2015 pg.19). This reflection is a principle from which adults can benefit. Dialogue demands humility, as Freire points out 'How can I dialogue if I am closed to – and even offended by – the contribution of others?' (Freire, 2005, pg.90). There can be no one person claiming the ownership of truth, as dialogue is founded upon 'love, humility and faith' (*Ibid* pg.91). The principle of dialogic communication (Freire, 2005), directed me to submit myself to learning more about cultural context (Stephens, 2008; Ebbutt, 1998) so that I could better appreciate the perspectives of others.

Positionality:

Funding for the building programme and initial activities came through a charity that I had set up in England. Being both a donor and researcher presents a potential conflict of interest and should there be significant discord between actors in the development the research process would require remedial action to reduce any compromise or integrity. To protect research integrity discussion took place regularly to ensure that the aims of the NGO were consistent with the research process. Yunusu and I decided that the funding for the NGO and the research would be entirely separate. As such it was agreed that the research assistants would be employed by LWE but that I would pay their salaries and expenses.

As I was the one funding the NGO's work as well as helping to direct it there was a potential difficulty were respondents to confuse these roles with my additional role of researcher. This would be noticed were they to respond differently to the research instruments. Responses to the semi-structured interviews were therefore scrutinized to determine whether any such impact occurred

Defining Sustainability and Self-Reliance:

To be sustainable implies the capacity to continue, but sustainability in development means something more. The definition used by the Brundtland Commission requires we 'meet the demands of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987, pg.43). This is what Emas terms 'intergenerational equity' (Emas 2015).

Sustainability may also involve creating linkages between production and consumption and examining trends and interaction (Strange & Bayley 2008). The essence of sustainability is said to be a long-term view leading through self-restraint to self-reliance (Chambers, 1991). The three central factors of sustainable development are suggested as being:

- i) **economic:** the ability to produce goods and services,
- ii) **environmental;** maintaining a stable resource base
- iii) **social;** promoting distributable equity, gender equality, accountability and participation

(Harris, 2000; Connolly *et al.*, 2013).

However, I do not think, as Chambers did, that sustainability and self-reliance are the same thing, but instead, they show development viewed at different points in time. While some

development agencies may see the long-term results of sustainability leading to self-reliance, the term is rarely used in this way. Self-reliance may be synonymous with self-help and imply that a community's vulnerability and reliance on external assistance has been reduced, enabling it to supply necessities from local resources (UNHRC 2005). This thesis suggests that sustainability in development needs to reduce the causes of need so that a permanent 'increase in adaptability' occurs. Anything less than this may not be sustainability but an invitation to further dependency (Taylor, 2013, pg.1).

While much development work in educational settings seeks to achieve sustainability, it often does so from the perspective of the northern or western partner. Arguably, instead of developing an approach to development that builds operational efficiency into the southern recipients, they unwittingly encourage thinking that resists self-reliance (Easterly, 2006; Calderisi, 2006; Moyo, 2009; Brehm, 2004). Even within the educational context arguments have been made to suggest that there have been "attempts to perpetuate dependency" to retain the northern partner's influence on curriculum matters (Mkandawire *et al.*, 2016, pg.62). To explore such a premise, I considered researching attitudes towards an educational intervention that supported the continuous professional development (CPD) of teachers within a rural African setting. The context is the broader field of NGO work and community development. While this is not a study of teachers' reflective practice, nor of their continuing professional development (CPD), the need for teacher learning was informed by recent findings that Malawian teachers are poorly motivated and do not derive much satisfaction from undergoing additional training (Selemani-Meke & Rembe, 2014).

False Expectations and foreshadowed Problems

My background and constructed theology have led me to attempt research with several pre-conceived ideas about development, faith issues, teachers' professionalism and cross-cultural power relations (Marshall and Batton 2004). As these arguably affect the present study, it would be foolish to ignore them once development or research commenced. Whether they are issues regarding access (Delamont, 1992), differences between those involved (Schell, 2004) or 'methodological dilemmas' in building relationships (Karnieli-Miller Strier and Pessach, 2009, pp.279-289), adjustments need to be made. Some of these pre-conceptions are the ill-formed ideas that may stem from my inadequate understanding of development, faith or culture in Malawian education.

When providing an initial framing for case-study research, Simons (2009) recommends using an examination of what may be foreshadowed. These are the issues or problems relating to the current study and my initial thinking on the subject. All pre-conceived matters need identifying and putting to the sword of the relevant literature while allowing a critical reflection of ongoing practice to reform the starting point of the research. Frequently mentioned are Malinowski's (1922) fore-shadowed problems that informed the passage of his work, identifying significant issues before the onset of activities. For Malinowski, the foreshadowed 'problems', or Simon's (2009, pg.32) 'issues,' reflect the research's conceptual and theoretical grounding and lead to the research questions. The problems Malinowski brought to his research were to be found in his cultural and experiential background, and would, through acknowledgement enable him to foster the habit of seeing 'facts in their bearing upon theory...' and moulding theory accordingly (Malinowski, 1922, pg.97). Such problems are the honest acknowledgement of my experience and the extent to which it leads to the work that follows. Unveiling these before the onset provides the reader with the necessary backdrop against which the tale told by the research may be evaluated.

My limited experience made me think that NGOs usually encouraged, albeit unwittingly, dependency through recipient passivity, and that self-sustainability would be unknown. Some of my earlier reading led me to consider all financial aid pejoratively (Sogge, 2002; Calderisi, 2006; Moyo, 2009). Some writers speak of 'aid' with regards to its proportion to Gross National Product (GNP). The proportion is a level of 'aid intensity' (Abuzeid, 2009). When this aid 'intensity' reaches ten percent, Bräutigam claimed that it encouraged dependency, corruption and discouraged good governance while encouraging financial risk-taking (Bräutigam, 2000, pg.11). The flow of aid to GNP in Malawi was fourteen percent in 1997 after a high of more than thirty-six percent in 1994 (Fig. 1.1)

Malawi's Aid Dependency (Aid/GNP)

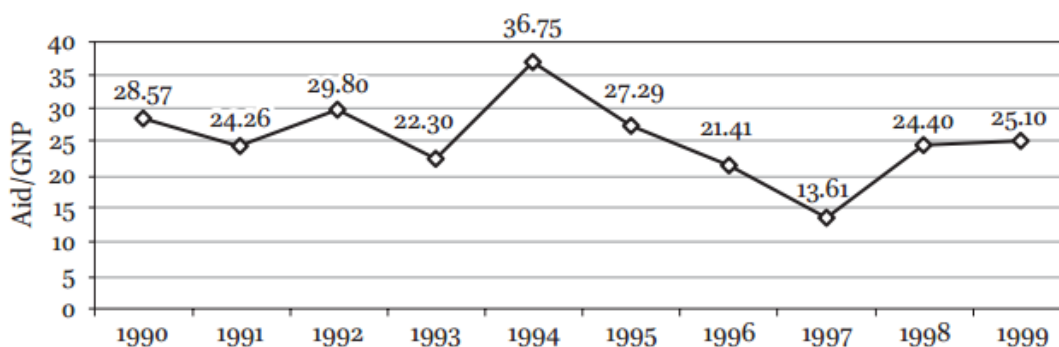


Figure 1.1 Net ODA received (%of GNP) World Development Indicators. (Bräutigam, 2000, pg.10)

For the first thirteen years of the new millennium, Malawi received a percentage input to its GNP that, in Bräutigam's view, exacerbated the struggle towards self-reliance and an independent economy (Bräutigam, 2000). The assertion that ten percent aid intensity would lead to dependency led me to believe that Malawi would be unable to take steps towards self-reliance.

Recent literature and my experience before the onset of the research disabused me of some of my more naïve notions but did not prepare me for a few unanticipated problems. After setting up a Non-governmental Organisation (NGO) in Malawi called 'Livingway Education' in 2012, I had hoped that it would become self-supporting within two years. I had intended to construct my doctoral thesis around changes in attitude towards NGO work among stakeholders and wrote my initial proposal accordingly. However, delays in the construction of the NGO site meant that Livingway Education failed to conduct planned activities and its ability to become self-sustaining was delayed. This led to my changing the research design after the trial had been completed (described in Chapter Three). However, what at first appeared to threaten the agenda shaping the research, turned into an opportunity to open other avenues of exploration, and centre the theory so that it not only interacted accurately with the data but also brought a richer vein of shared experiences (Fontein, 2014).

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development developed 'five principles for smart aid' that include promoting ownership, accountability and focussing on the simplification of local systems (OECD, 2005). These principles inform self-reliance community development initiatives (Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2003; Kim & Isma'il, 2013) and empower communities to author the path of development salvation. They are central to the significance of this study (Mayo & Craig, 1995; Samah & Aref, 2009).

Research Rationale:

The purpose for the research is to gather information about the way NGOs and schools participate in development work within the cultural context of rural Malawi while looking towards the establishment of a self-reliant paradigm of community-based solutions to perceived need. In this case, Livingway Education (LWE) would help to provide a professional development centre for teachers while creating a physical space for dialogue among other stakeholders. While this thesis uses teacher agency in professional development as an example of how empowerment might take place, it also presents a case for encouraging community transformation through locally generated income, rather than outside donation.

The thesis further explores the attitudes to development, from the perspective of end-users, and analyses how this affects the surrounding community. It probes the responses of teachers towards development initiatives, including individual professional development. At the same time attempts to understand the constraints and limitations of the intervention will prevent complacency and encourage criticality.

This thesis is set at a point in time when the second-millennium development goal, 'to achieve universal primary education by 2015,' had stalled at ninety-one percent enrollment and eighty-four per cent completion of five years of primary education (UNESCO, 2015, pg.25). The failure to progress further indicates that UNESCO's Teacher Training Initiative for sub-Saharan Africa (TTISSA) was needed to strengthen initial teacher-training and give it a higher priority (Kunje *et al.*, 2003; World Bank, 2010). In 2011 the Malawi Teacher Professional Development Support Program's (MTPDSP) baseline study, conducted by USAID, indicated that an assessment of the 315 Teacher Development Centres (TDCs) was needed. The purpose was to scale-up the input to teachers' professional development (USAID, 2011c). This thesis considers whether increased autonomy increases professionalism leading to teacher-directed standards and increased motivation.

This study looks at the global discussion on partnerships between FBOs operating in northern and southern settings and the discourse surrounding the potential for such agencies to empower communities in development. Also, it critically observes work carried out from a faith perspective by an indigenous NGO working in the central region of Malawi and considers whether an FBO can act in an inclusive, non-discriminatory manner. The significance for other NGOs is that it will point towards a model of development that rejects colonialism and encourages equitable inclusion, entrepreneurial innovation and stakeholder ownership (Singh and Titi).

The Research Questions

The NGO I had founded was already working alongside neighbouring NGOs, the local education authority of the District Council, traditional authorities and community leaders before the research began so that research questions, already forming before the start of the thesis initially sought to answer the following questions:

- a) What does NGO self-sufficiency do to change the attitudes of participants in educational capacity development?
- b) How does working within a faith organisation affect NGO objectives for inclusive policies and ethno-centralism?

- c) How does north-south collaboration encourage self-sufficiency and sustainable educational development without furthering dependence mentality?

As a consultant to the NGO and a donor to an organisation proposing to work with teachers, I had to position myself carefully to avoid any conflict of interest. As the project progressed, and my knowledge of self-reliant development expanded to include all forms of community learning, I reevaluated the structure of the questions. The thesis moved towards asking the following questions consistent with a case-study approach:

1. How can a school-based community development exemplify attitudes supporting self-sustainability in the context of rural Malawi?
2. How can school-based interventions demonstrate self-reliance within the education community?
3. How can faith groups encourage self-reliance in community development?

To avoid having respondents answering questions they felt were expected, the research instrument that may gather reliable answers to these questions is a semi-structured interview (Galletta, 2013). This form of questioning will enable the respondent to decide what to say, and encourage responses that are likely to increase validity. Although the questions are intended to probe the respondent's view of NGO work, I hoped to discover insight on how a new paradigm might develop. The three research-questions are linked by the intention to discover the links between respondent understanding and the potential for change.

The first question requires further explanation as to what is meant by school-based community development and how this might be used to bring about changes in community participation in development. It would be necessary to determine the extent of community participation in interventions, and discover more about the underlying attitudes held regarding the processes governing their management. By positing that school-based community development consists of both the tangible building infrastructure that is a necessary part of satisfying the sustainable development goals 2030, as well as the intangible exploration of teachers' professional identity it may be possible to gauge the commitment to engage in such a process. Therefore, the first question probes the impact of teacher development in rural Malawi as well as the factors limiting its effectiveness. As the effectiveness of teachers' professional training has been shown to be subject to a variety of forces, understanding the significance of each factor might provide some insight as to how sustained development might be induced. Examination of these factors will lead to theory as to how each limitation may be overcome.

The second question is asking whether the current practice governing school-based development is meeting the needs of schools in two ways. The first includes tangible outcomes such as the construction of infrastructure and the second covers the intangible benefits of training and the professional development of teachers. With regards to the social and cultural context, there is not a one-size-fits-all attitude that will allow for the support of self-sufficient professional development for teachers. School Management Committees (SMCs) in Malawian schools might see growth as being a result of the investment, or they might believe it necessary to provide training to improve school performance. The respondent's answers may reveal further limit factors in the 'scaling- up' of development interventions (Edwards & Hulme, 1992, pg.87).

The second question also focuses on operational effectiveness and asks how attitudes guide or limit growth in development. As the provision and implementation of training are dependent upon the compliance of teachers, motivational factors that lie behind attitude formation need scrutiny. An examination of the contingent factors will lead to theory regarding the way negative attitudes form, and how active approaches can be engaged (Eisenhardt, 1989).

The third question acknowledges the way faith issues impact the motivation of development actors, and questions the capacity of faith actors to engage inclusively with others. It may be that an individual's faith leads to a sustained commitment to development, or it may aggravate sectarianism. The attitudes of all development actors, whether in schools or outside, are nonetheless instrumental in creating the 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986, pg.16) necessary to effect transformation, and these are often referenced to the faith of those involved. A consideration of the cultural and social context of intervention needs to acknowledge the values and faith positions present in the Malawian community.

The research questions deal with operational links rather than incidence or prevalence. They were formed by considering the changes occurring in the research field and the circumstances under which the research took place. They reflect the overarching concern for paradigm shifts in development, such as trading off economic growth for social justice (Schuftan, 2003), and the role research might take in establishing these shifts. This study offers an explanatory link between attitudinal stance and resultant behaviour with regards to approaches to self-reliance.

Summary:

This thesis comprises nine chapters. Chapter one sets out the introduction to the thesis. It begins by providing an outline of the research, explaining the context and background. It looks

at my faith perspective on education and development while foregrounding false expectations and foreshadowed problems experienced before undertaking this study. The introduction concludes with the thesis overview.

The second chapter reviews the literature relating to each of the three components informing the construction of the research questions. In doing so, it establishes the theoretical framework from which the initial research questions were forged. This prepared the research to yield theory around the issues of dependency and self-reliance (Eisenhardt, 1989). The study is placed within the context of previous research located within the discourse of the three interlocking subject areas of community development, the impact of NGOs and significance of faith. One section includes a philosophical basis for transformational development while another encompasses the theoretical and historical framework for teachers' professional development and describes the way the literature views the changes to theory and practice internationally and in Malawi.

Chapter Three presents and describes the methodology and research design. I present the context of the study and the rationale for a case-study research approach. I justify the sampling technique and describe the instruments and methods used in the study. The chapter ends with a consideration of researcher positionality and limit factors pertinent to the research.

Chapter Four covers the findings from the trial phase and provides some discussion on the suitability of the methods and instruments used to gather data. It explores some of the limitations and opportunities afforded by using indigenous data-gatherers as research assistants.

Chapter Five begins to locate boundaries for establishing self-reliant development by discussing the steps and the methods used to answer the first research question. It describes the difficulties some NGOs face when setting up sustainable development activities and uses evidence from the six iterations of the research instruments. Changes to the research process, necessitated by circumstances, are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Six continues to explore the boundaries for self-reliant development by looking at whether the present school-based infrastructure development, often initiated by community leaders, may be undermined by the action of external agency. The results of the overarching themes of infrastructure and teacher development are explored to see if there is any capacity for community-led development to move towards self-reliance.

The emphasis in Chapter Seven is upon issues of faith. To some extent, the chapter continues to explore boundaries by looking at the way attitudes may change practice in

development. The chapter also explores the capacity of a faith-based organisation to initiate self-reliance and build social capital.

Chapter Eight provides an overview of the purpose of the study and reviews the key findings from the previous three chapters. This chapter compares previous research and relevant literature to the present study to show how the results have furthered understanding of the issues discovered. The chapter reviews the limits and problems experienced during the study and presents some implications and recommendations brought by this case-study.

The final chapter draws conclusions from the discussion in the previous chapter and points to where future research might reveal a greater understanding of the self-reliant development paradigm. The chapter ends with a brief autobiographical evaluation and reflection.

CHAPTER TWO:

Exploring Self-Reliance

REVIEWING THE LITERATURE

The research on attitudes towards self-reliance takes place among stakeholders in community development, non-governmental organisations, schools and local authorities within a rural community in the central region of Malawi. It examines the effect of these attitudes on local infrastructure development and teacher identity and training while questioning the significance of faith. This review explores links between self-reliance, development and faith underpinned by theoretical positions explicated by Freire (1970) Chambers (2005) and Wells (2015). The three research questions focus on these areas.

The first section on development and self-reliance examines the issues impacting community development and is linked to the first research question:

- a. How can school-based community development exemplify attitudes supporting self-sustainability in the context of rural Malawi?

This section describes the ‘development’ intervention and the approach to ‘self-reliance, identifying factors such as equitable dialogue, ‘listening to the people (Freire, 1970, pg. 155) and a ‘critical understanding’ of present reality (ibid pg.104) that are required to underpin and demonstrate the processes. These are shown by Freire (1970) and Wells (2015) to explain that community transformation is advanced when development innovation is ‘with’ people rather than ‘for’ people, in a space created for inclusive dialogue privileging neither party.

After considering the role of non-governmental organisations, including those with a faith foundation, the section on professional development discovers links between the second and third research questions. By reviewing the current arguments, theories and issues that are shaping development for teachers in Malawi, and exploring links between teachers’ professionalism and self-reliance, the conditions under which self-reliance emerges in school-based development are explored. The section concludes by identifying factors necessary to answer the second research question:

- b. How can school-based interventions demonstrate self-reliance within the education community?

The final section in this review explores attitudes that shape development practice within the cultural context. The third question looks at whether a faith-bias mitigates against inclusive, non-discriminatory practice asking:

c. How can faith groups encourage self-reliant community transformation?

This might be problematic given that faith brings a certain 'historical' baggage to development that includes religious coercion, and even persecution (Kessler & Arkush, 2009, pg.2). To counter such difficulty the literature invoking an inclusive theology of development is also examined.

Development and Self-Reliance:

The terms self-reliance, self-sufficient, self-development and self-help are linked in that they describe a stance defined through action by the community. This 'self' may be an individual, community or nation working towards enhancing personal, local or national social, economic or political capital and moving towards independence. Each term places the one benefitting from the action at the centre of the enhancement process. They may be defined differently depending on the circumstances or the setting.

Self-sufficiency is the term used to describe the foundation for self-reliance whereby the community can supply essential needs whereas self-reliance is a term used to describe participatory approaches whereby the community can manage the economic and social environment and do without external aid (UNHCR, 2005). This is more easily claimed than made a reality (Chambers 2005). Self-development may describe actions that are intended to increase capacity, in either individual cases or larger community areas. At the same time, local 'bottom-up' action, where listening to a wider stakeholder group is poor, results in less effective development 'because of compulsory labour, contributions in kind exacted by force' (Chambers, 2005, pg.86). By labelling a programme, 'Self-help,' there is a suggestion that the actions of one party are being utilised to enable benefits to accrue for another. A 'self-help' programme may be a reaction against dominant programmes imposing assistance, or it may be a quiet declaration of an internal motivation to establish autonomy. All the terms imply that the central driving force is the beneficiary themselves although there may be external support in some form or another enabling continued activity. However, if outside help provides too much support, Chambers calls this 'featherbedding,' there may be subsequent failure in creatively overcoming problems (Chambers, 2005, pg.92). Help, from Chambers perspective, may have to stop at listening and understanding, but refrain from overmuch material support.

The principles of self-reliance will be explored by taking note of changes since 1980 (Tostensen, 1982; Hultin, 1985; Bridger & Luloff, 2001; Thomas-Slayter & Sodikoff, 2003; UNHRC, 2005 and Chinsinga & Kayuni, 2008). Significant concepts supporting self-reliance include; ownership; empowerment; participation; skills-transference and social-capital (Dinham & Finneron, 2011; Grimsley *et al.*, 2005). These provide markers along the road to any form of community development that wishes to become transformative. Looking at teachers' professionalism in this study as a case-within-a-case, it may be that it develops in much the same way as other community development. Kim & Isma'il (2013, pg.586) claim that self-reliance is 'a new blueprint for community development.' However, earlier moves within the development debate show that self-reliance is not a new concept (Eade, 2004; UNHRC, 2005). It has recently become an established principle of development, differing insignificantly from 'self-help' and 'mutual-help' (Tostensen, 1982, pg.25; Hultin, 1985, pg.11-13; Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2003, pp.196-219).

Tostensen saw the move towards self-reliance as a move away from vulnerability as a nation regarding trade deficits (Tostensen, 1982). Poor trade with neighbouring countries leads to national hardship and dependency on other nations, reducing the potential for national as well as individual self-reliance. On the other hand, Hultin anticipated the 21st-century discourse on self-reliance, and suggested that becoming self-reliant was a stepped process where '...care should nevertheless be taken not to carry a community beyond it's understanding'. As well as recommending various development needs Hutlin (1985, pg.11) echoes Freire's call for 'the radical' to 'listen' and 'enter into dialogue' with those who seek to transform their society (Freire, 2005, pg.39). This commitment to participation was needed and coupled to an understanding for sensitisation and induction (Hutlin, 1985). These included education and training for beneficiaries, active participation of stakeholders, and skills instruction to satisfy basic needs (*Ibid*). Hobbs described the definition of this mutually beneficial collective action, earlier identified by Bourdieu (1986, pg.21), as: 'social capital' (Hobbs, 2000, pg.1).

While Hobbs' review of the literature surrounding social capital and self-reliance highlights the action necessary to achieve self-reliance, Bridger and Luloff introduce five active dimensions of a sustainable community. In each case, the community boasts economic diversity, robust markets and production, cooperation and independence (Bridger & Luloff, 1999). They show that when social capital is created, it is likely that 'development' will lead to self-reliance. This is because acquiring social capital involves taking collective action, participation, and the building of networks – elements needed before self-reliance can occur (*Ibid*). By the turn of the century, it is clear the writers knew how self-reliant communities would perform but the relationship between sustainability and self-sufficiency was not explained. It

was still necessary to make sustainable development lead towards a measurable increase in capacity and community self-reliance (Chambers, 1991; Hailey & James 2003).

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHRC) defines self-reliance as a community's ability to meet essential needs of food, water, shelter and safety. This should be done: 'in a sustainable manner and with dignity...'. The definition includes a capacity to reduce community vulnerability, and disengagement from dependence on external assistance (UNHRC, 2005, pg.1). The process by which a community might become self-reliant would include achieving independence of donor support; increasing activities that built towards sustaining change while fostering active cooperation from all the community in development activities. Any community can apply the UNHRC ideology of self-reliance to their activities. It explains that for any community to grow economically there ought to be opportunity for employment and sustainable income (UNHRC, 2005, iv). The UNHRC 'Handbook on Self-Reliance' pointed to a required change in attitude if this were to take place (*Ibid*, xi) and acknowledged that they should become the catalyst in development rather than a dominant partner, as this would only lead to the creation of dependency (*Ibid*).

Taking ownership of an initiative is a further marker towards self-sufficiency for Nicola Smithers. Writing for the 'World Bank Institute Capacity Development and Results', she proposes that the strength of stakeholder ownership 'has probably become the most widely held principle of development in recent years' (Smithers, 2011, pg.8). She makes the point that aid-impact depends on the community's engagement with the process of change. However, community ownership of development should be planned for (Turcotte, 2012), and needs an African perspective (Tandon, 1991). The strategies Akyeampong alludes to include ensuring that communities buy into the philosophy surrounding the initiative. He clarifies this point by describing an initiative where the NGO ran the programme 'with a philosophy that seeks to make local participation and ownership an important ingredient in sustaining the programme' (Akyeampong, 2004, pg.3). Overcoming the drift towards a dependency relationship was identified as the challenge to long-term sustainability and overcome through the transference of the intervention's initial philosophy through a 'spirit of attachment' (Fonchingong and Fonjong, 2003, pg.216).

Dignity, as a spiritual goal can be linked to self-reliance (UNHCR, 2011). This is because being able to acquire food and shelter for one's family provides a dignified existence essential for robust spiritual health. In three stages, the UNHCR handbook speaks of 'strengthening livelihoods' and 'reducing vulnerability' and reducing 'reliance on external assistance' and provides practical steps to achieving the spiritual goods underpinning self-reliance (*ibid*, pg.15). In 2003 Fonchingong and Fonjong concluded that self-reliance rests on the 'yearning and aspiration of the community.' (Fonchingong and Fonjong, 2003, pg.216). Their conclusion

showed that by identifying what is needed in the community, and then creating a programme to meet it, practical self-sufficiency is practised. By identifying those who possess transferable skills and enabling them to assist others, such activity targets those whose capacity has already developed, and sets them to work with others less proficient. Long-term benefits that are likely to be felt by the community reach beyond temporal assistance towards a more permanent solution to the need expressed. Any material assistance should have time-limits built into the programme – in other words a comprehensive exit-strategy (UNHCR, 2011).

The factors shown in the preceding passages, essential for a move towards self-reliance, would appear to be the desire to:

- increase social capital. (Hobbs, 2000; Dinham & Finneron, 2011)
- Hold inclusive stakeholder dialogue, (Hultin, 1985)
- Take collective action, (Bridger & Luloff, 1999)
- increase business opportunities, (Viravaida and Hayssen, 2001)
- seek beneficiary ownership (Smithers, 2011; Turcotte 2012)

As the first research question examines how the self-development process might advance the tangible and intangible aspects of community development in terms of school-based community development, it is important to identify these factors in the data.

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

My study examines educational development in a Malawian setting (Rose, 2003; Davies *et al.*, 2003; Barnett, 2013). In doing so, it reviews others who provide educational intervention. Examples of international and national agencies contributing are USAID, UNICEF, the World Bank and UNESCO. Also, FBOs such as World Vision, and academic bodies such as the International NGO, 'Training and Research Centre' (INTRAC) are providing an alternative approach to educational development.

The following section will draw from the literature to show the NGOs range of impact and the contribution of FBOs within the wider field of international development. First, I examine the literature describing NGO operations in what is now described as the 'least developed countries' (UN, 2015, pg.35), and then present factors shaping their present contribution. Examination of this literature particularly references self-reliance (*first research question*) and is linked to the emergence of professionalism within teacher learning development (*second research question*). As I am considering the potential for collaboration

between NGOs with and without a faith-base, I question the way this discourse has changed in recent years (*third research question*).

Of primary significance to my study is the role of the local NGO within community development (Cernea, 1988), and the possibilities for action by what has been argued to be the most useful type of NGO, the faith-based organisation, or FBO (Olarinmoye, 2012a). Despite the concern that FBOs will use humanitarian activities to proselytise (Goldsmith *et al.*, 2006; UNDP, 2014), Ogbonnaya believes FBOs in Africa play ‘a very important role in the sustainable development of Africa’ (Ogbonnaya, 2012, pg.1). James admits that: ‘Faith has always had an intense, but uneasy relationship with development’, but still concludes that FBOs make a ‘significant contribution’ (James, 2011, pg.111) and reach the poorest, provide efficient development services and encourage civil-society advocacy. Nevertheless, concern remains over the perception of FBOs. Criticisms of FBOs include poor organisational capacity, displays of inflexibility when values are challenged, and failure to create confidence among non-faith-based agencies (Goldsmith *et al.*, 2006).

African NGOs

To place this study in context it is necessary to examine NGO involvement in Africa first, and then Malawi. African development is covered in numerous documents from Kadzamira and Kunje’s (2002) clinical evaluation through to Lewis and Kanji’s historical description of their genesis and evolution (Lewis & Kanji, 2009) and on to Moyo’s (2009) pejorative description of Aid as a ‘silent killer’. Explaining her view, Moyo claims that ‘Aid’ not only stifles internal development and growth, but it is also ‘chokes off investment’ and fosters corruption (Moyo, 2009, p.48-68). Despite this, NGOs have been central to the way in which emergency relief is carried out, humanitarian aid is distributed, and economic, human territorial and sustainable development is initiated (Bellu, 2011). The development paradigm since the end of the Second World War has been where governments build relationships abroad through not-for-profit, or ‘voluntary’ NGOs, and develop civil society at home (Lewis, 2007).

If there is to be a paradigm shift, Pieterse suggested that the three instrumental ‘spheres’ of objectives, methods and agency would have to be significantly altered (Pieterse, 2009, pg.13). If the approach to development that promotes self-reliance is to be considered a ‘paradigm-shift,’ Pieterse’s ‘three spheres’ would have to demonstrate change (*ibid*, pp.44-59).

In the 1980’s a new wave of NGOs, with a new definition, came to see sustainable development, rather than poverty reduction, to be the primary aim (WCED, 1987). The new

definition included the condition to “meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (*ibid*, pg.16). To accomplish this, the ‘notion of a partnership with beneficiaries’ replaced the ‘development project model’ (Miller-Grandvaux, Welmond & Wolf, 2002, pp.65-69). However, since the introduction of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established in 2000 at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations, poverty reduction has again become predominant in development thinking alongside sustainability.

Although this was arguably a new paradigm for development, in that the objectives were changing to reflect the Brundtland definition, there was a considerable encouragement to foster partnerships to achieve specific targets. The primary objectives, methods and agents arguably remained the same.

Whether the MDGs represented a paradigm shift or not, some writers considered them to be a flawed yardstick for measuring development, where the values were, ‘lost in translation’ (Nayyar, 2012, pg.9). This led to calls for a new paradigm to govern the post-2015 development agenda to create what Higgins has called a ‘more inclusive consultation and development process’ (Higgins, 2013, pg.9). Calling for private sector development, including employment creation, the European Commission encouraged more consultation, more participation, and more collaboration with the various actors in developing countries to help create an integrated intervention (European Commission, 2014). Set in the context where such paradigm-shifts are expected, my study examines the expectations and attitudes among stakeholders who have faced disappointment in the recent past and are hoping for a ‘people-friendly’ approach to development (Pieterse, 2009, pg.13).

Faith-Based NGOs (FBOs)

FBOs are NGOs that approach development work while reflecting a faith position (Muhammed, 2014). They have become a more active force within international and local development in recent years (UNFPA, 2014), moving from ‘estrangement to engagement’ (Clarke & Jennings, 2008, pg.2). There is a growing body of research pointing out the significant contribution faith can play in development issues.

This thesis examines the attitudes needed in Malawi to create a self-reliant intervention. Practical and evaluated theories (Davidson *et al.*, 2012; Creaby, 2013; Banda, 2014) are applied

to the Malawian context (MoEST, 2011; Randolph & Harvey, 2011) while referring to the recent developed-world literature.

There are various definitions of FBOs in the literature (Muhammed, 2014; Ferris, 2005) whose descriptions and history place capacity building and foreign aid in tension with their theological positions of development. While this approach reveals significant divergence in practice and typology, there remains agreement that no one description fits all FBOs (Ferris, 2005; Nwaiwu, 2011).

FBOs may be affiliated to a religious body, have a mission statement with explicit reference to religious values, accept support from a religious source and may adopt a governance structure where the selection of trustees is based on the religious beliefs of the founding body. Evaluating the successful impact of FBOs various writers (Nwaiwu, 2011; James, 2009) suggest either a charismatic leadership (Clarke, 2006) or a large membership base (Ferris, 2005) as causal factors. FBOs base their decision-making processes on religious values, but this may only increase impact in an area where local people share the same values (*ibid*).

The diverse and often contradictory aims and objectives of FBOs are recognised by most writers and this, James concludes, means that other agencies should become faith-literate (James, 2011). Other writers concur that definitions need to take account of the complexity of the FBO sector (Nwaiwu, 2011).

Some FBOs are linked directly to churches, and others are not. Some are represented internationally, while the majority are local organisations meeting a specific community need. Some evangelical organisations ‘combine humanitarian and development activities with a fervent commitment to winning converts to the faith.’ (Clarke, 2007, pg.83). It is from this perspective that secular development agencies will seek to distance themselves. The problem lies in the perception agencies have of the FBO’s approach to development. FBOs will be viewed sceptically if they act with the intention to pass on their worldview. Mixing humanitarian aid and a religious world-view is perceived as insensitive, divisive and regressive (James, 2011; Muhammed, 2014). However, the contribution of FBOs to the field of development provides an opportunity to explore the ‘alternative perspective’ solutions to those presented by non-faith-based organisations (Clarke, 2007, pg.81).

Professional Development (PD)

The professional development of teachers represents a case-within-a-case as it is an example of how self-reliance can be applied to a specific area of development. Professional

development is often referred to as CPD, though there are many other ways of describing teacher learning (Timperley *et al.*, 2007; Cordingley and Bell, 2012). Many papers describe the characteristics of this learning but relatively few record the spectrum of related activities. Two that do this are Gray (2005) and Kennedy (2005). Gray's research into the spectrum of teacher learning activities outlines seventeen approaches in four areas while Kennedy compares nine separate activities from a range of international literature. A more comprehensive list of activities and evaluation of outcomes in schools across twenty-three participating countries are provided by OECD across nine separate activities (OECD, 2009). The different activities indicate separate purposes underscored by changes in key theory discussed in the next section. These include issues about the relevance of autonomy, agency and professional identity relevant to this study. These set a stage for how teacher development may be considered from the perspective of self-reliance.

Changes in Key Theories Regarding Teacher Development:

The necessity for teachers' professional development is almost universally accepted although some of the key theories surrounding its provision divide opinions. Tensions occur because providers of training have different objectives in mind. Most writers suggest that teacher learning should focus on enhancing pupil learning and propose a variety of secondary purposes (Mizell, 2010). It may be helpful to distinguish between the two by considering 'CPD' to be the primary means of adding to initial training and equipping teachers for the task of improving pupil performance, and 'Professional Development' as a means to enhance career progression and salary enhancement. Sometimes the literature does not distinguish between these two purposes of training.

Differences between PD and CPD may lead to questions about professional identity (Gaible and Burns, 2005). In more recent years the key theories surrounding teacher learning have centred around the structure of teachers' professional identity, coupled with teacher agency in programme design. While these questions lead to a variety of shifting paradigms creating, and exacerbating, tensions over the provision of training in countries where technological advances are easily accessible (Harrison, 2010), the debate lacks clarity in countries, such as Malawi, where there are fewer resources.

Autonomy, Agency and Profession Identity:

The ways in which teacher learning impacts their professional identity has also attracted recent attention (Wilkins, Mohamed & Smith, 2011). Creaby describes the case for CPD as being a significant 'central' factor in the moulding of teachers' professional identity (Creaby, 2013, pg.1). Professional identity is said to be constructed in pre-teaching experience (Calander, 2004), during training and induction, while in the classroom and during activities set up to ensure the relevance and efficiency of their practice. Further claims suggest that for teachers to build a positive professional identity, they should become increasingly active in the process of planning training activities (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Walter and Briggs, 2012).

Adding to this argument for professional autonomy Field called for the 'empowerment of the profession' (Field, 2005, pg.75). This would happen, he believed, when teachers took part in and conducted action research.

This engages with the first research question by considering the effect self-sufficiency would have on attitudes and motivation were teachers able to control the process, direction, and their development as professionals.

Concurring with the view that it is not sufficient for an external agency to construct teacher identity, Creaby suggests that teachers should be complicit in structuring their identity as professionals, saying that exercising 'agency' in identity construction involves being self-directed (Creaby, 2013, pg.2). Underscoring this, Bolam suggests that this is the 'essence of professional development' because independent practice, professional values and accountability should be linked together (Bolam, 2000, pg.272).

It is argued that the issues of teacher autonomy and professional identity are linked (Taylor-Webb, 2002), and that increases in autonomy build teacher motivation. Rather than setting conditions for teacher compliance against externally set standards, Taylor-Webb suggests conditions for teacher learning should be created to enable teacher power, or agency, in pedagogical matters (*ibid*).

If teacher identity builds on knowledge and belief, interaction with colleagues and their reflection on goals and experience (Castañeda, 2011), then the purpose and results of training will need to be defined in terms highlighting these outcomes. At present, partly because of a comparison between the pre-employment expectation regarding autonomy, and the reality found in schools, teachers may infer that a passive role is required of them and 'professional'

identity is threatened (Taylor-Webb, 2011). In short, they experience less autonomy than expected and find training that is labelled 'professional development' to be a thinly veiled vehicle for activities designed to exercise control and resist accountability (Caena, 2012). When teachers are held accountable for mandated programmes they had no part in designing, 'the struggle is evident' because the objective, Taylor-Webb contends, is to eliminate their professional autonomy (Taylor-Webb, 2011, pg.48)

Agreeing with Taylor-Webb on the matter of autonomy being key to professional identity, Gereluk *et al.*, (2015) point out that the creation of teacher identity 'is embedded in the complex socio-cultural concepts of identity and professional practice'. (*ibid* pg.3). They go on to explicate this construction and link it to core values and principles 'that drive the individual's commitment to the teaching profession' (*ibid* pg.3). By striking a balance between complete teacher agency and an imposed agenda, it may be argued that teachers' professional identity is co-constructed with other professionals. Such a balance suggests that collaboration by teachers in constructing learning opportunities is a vital element in the formation of teacher identity and true professionalism (Wilkins *et al.*, 2011).

Teachers' Professional Identity in Malawi:

In Malawi, many of these arguments are overlooked in favour of questions regarding the content of the training, the place and time allowed and whether adequate allowances or salaries are given (Selemani-Meke, 2013 & 2014).

These three main issues surround the provision of CPD in Malawi and are well covered in the literature. There is a fourth, arguably less well covered to do with ownership. The first surrounds the question of what the purpose of CPD in Malawi should be (MoEST, 2011; Selemani-Meke, 2011). The second issue covers where CPD should take place (GoM, 2004; Haynes, 2000; Steyn, 2008; Moon *et al.*, 2005). The third issue involves looking at the factors inhibiting the provision of CPD (USAID, 2013; Selemani-Meke, 2014)

The fourth issue of ownership has been covered sparingly by some of the documents reviewed (Kunje & Chirembo, 2000; USAID, 2011; Mpahla & Okeke, 2015). However, this thesis supports the idea that it may be of greater significance if teachers were to have more input to the CPD used to guide changes in the education sector. Teachers approved of CPD when it was deemed to be relevant to organisational needs, and implemented with regards to their professional development (Hustler *et al.*, 2003) while Caena further contends that ownership is promoted among school staff who participate in its provision (Caena, 2011). USAID's evaluation of the 'Teacher Professional Development Support Program' in Malawi includes ownership

issues and states that the programme was supported and accepted at the grassroots and Ministry levels (USAID, 2013). However little evidence is presented to support the claim.

Focussing on the professional identity of teachers, Adagiri recommends that 'More emphasis should be placed on the importance of teaching as a profession' (Adagiri, 2014). Coupled with an earlier suggestion that teachers should have the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications this hints at the necessity to promote the concept of teaching being a profession, even if the reality is that most teachers in Malawi are insufficiently qualified.

The research findings in Selemani-Meke's study identified a gap between what teachers prefer, and the way CPD programmes are carried out (Selemani-Meke & Rembe, 2014) and called for CPD programme designers to pay more attention to the needs of teachers. Current research in Malawi does not discuss teacher agency, accountability, and professional identity.

In relation to the second research question, my expectation as a researcher was that the data might help me to understand the ways in which a process was beginning to develop in areas where the factors, described in these last sections, could be observed. For tangible interventions the most significant were:

- paradigm change (in the objectives, methods and agency) in development (Pieterse 2014)
- inclusive consultation (Higgins, 2013)
- integrated intervention (European Commission, 2014)

For the intangible teacher learning the significant factors leading to self-reliance were:

- teacher agency in structuring identity (Creaby 2013)
- accountability (Bolam, 2000)
- autonomy (Taylor-Webb 2002)

If these factors are present, then it might be possible to claim that school-based interventions were moving towards self-reliance. They may also point to how teacher identity is perceived and whether the development of the teacher training programme, within the rural Malawian context, could be said to be building professionalism.

Faith's Role:

Where the post Second World War period saw a withdrawal from acknowledging religion in development, due in part to the colonial connections its earlier history has brought,

faith in development since the early 1990s has been looking for a rapprochement where models for cooperation could be explored.

James (2016) points out difficulties in joining faith and development calling the mixture 'at best incompatible; at worst highly combustible' (James 2016, pg.1). However, despite acknowledging the difficulties, he suggests that because faith is the foundation for many societies, aid agencies wish to support a shift towards engagement with FBOs.

The World Bank helped to bring FBOs on to the central development stage (Hill, 2011; Haynes, 2012). During the 1990's they emphasised the need for faith and secular organisations to collaborate (Haynes, 2008). Even after research showed that the World Bank temporarily withdrew support from this trend after the end of the tenure of James Wolfensohn as president in 2005 (Haynes, 2012), the momentum continued to build under his successor, Paul Wolfowitz. The significance of the 'faith-factor' in development was further highlighted after the launch of the Office of 'Faith-Based and Neighbourhood Partnerships' under the Barack Obama administration (White House, 2010).

Wrigley (2011, pg.7) cites Goulet (2006, pg.176) as saying "Development is above all else a question of human values and attitudes" and goes on to support Wolfensohn's view that if the values of the poor are ignored "we cannot improve even their material condition" (Wolfensohn *et al.*, 2000, pg.11). Faith-groups can contribute efficient services, reach large numbers, provide a legitimate base upon which to base development work and to provide a sustainable long-term presence (James 2009, pg2). This thesis, by suggesting that 'Faith' can bring benefits to local development interventions (Chapter Seven), highlights the reason why the contribution of FBOs became central to the World Bank strategic planning (Marshall & van Saanen, 2007; UNFPA, 2014). The Pew Research Centre's (Pew, 2012) supported this stance by showing that eighty-four percent of the world's population identified with a faith position. Then in 2013, the Guardian pointed to the 2009 report from the Woolf Institute which claimed that: 'when it comes to efficiency or building bridges with local communities, faith-based NGOs can teach their secular peers a thing or two.' However, the report also suggests that despite challenges caused by 'historical baggage,' the benefits FBOs bring to development should be 'maximised over the disadvantages' (Scott & Anyangwe, 2013, pg.2). This research explores the potential for this advantage by exploring the significance of faith in local development.

A high level of commitment is required to make engagement with faith-based groups work, aid agencies need to see FBOs as equal partners, work towards 'faith literacy' (James, 2009, pg.1) and build understanding so that personal assumptions and prejudices are removed in search of common ground and shared values. Rowan Williams called for 'rules of engagement'

to include respect for others, understanding of other faith positions and a readiness to accept difference (Williams, 2009). This was what James called an “open, constructive discussion” over the issues that divide (James, 2016).

The third research question is looking for evidence that processes, supporting self-reliant community development, are being discussed by faith-groups. The factors indicated by the literature above would appear to be:

- Development of ‘faith literacy’ (James, 2009 pg.1)
- Readiness to accept difference (Williams 2009)
- ‘Open constructive discussion’ (James, 2016, pg.1)
- Collaboration with others (Haynes, 2008)

Constructing an Inclusive Theology of Development

Early in the twenty-first century development agencies are ‘engaging’ with faith-based organisations (FBOs)(Marshall and van Saanan, 2007, pg.149) and claiming a much broader understanding of the value of faith, and the engagement of faith communities, in the overall objectives of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNDP 2016; Tveit, 2016; Boender *et al.*, 2011). The work of DfID and USAID since 2004 has been characterised recently by growth of engagement with FBOs as they seek work closely with communities where faith is significant to emergent civil society (Clarke, 2007; UNDP, 2014). The intention is to validate the spiritual values of people by increasing the ‘mutual respect and understanding’ (DfID 2012 pg.6) that Freire explains is the way people ‘can more wisely build the future’ (Freire, 1970, pg.84).

The variety of belief structures held by FBOs mean that any generalisations regarding service delivery can be misleading (Tadros, 2010, pp.22). Constructing a theology of development that can attract a large support base has been a significant topic of discussion in the recent literature. What is needed may be summed up as rules of engagement that might mitigate concerns over perceptions of FBO exclusiveness. The Anglican Communion’s former Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, articulated similar suspicions but described universal benefits FBOs should contribute (Williams, 2009). He suggested three rules for a successful dialogue. The first involves the willingness to identify with the religious culture within which work is carried out, and acquire a greater ‘religious literacy’, presumably from a multi-faith perspective (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh & Ager, 2013). This would require both a respect for the other’s culture and a willingness to listen (Freire 2005). Secondly, if I am to disagree, I must ‘have arguments with respect,’ and avoid using a language of opposition, prejudice and

exclusion. This would involve Freire's position on developing a 'critical understanding' of reality that pulled together the 'interacting constituent elements of the whole' (Freire, 1970, pg.104). The third would have me demonstrate, through a dialogue that empowers (Freire 1970), the cultural awareness that would discern from where human good might arise (Williams, 2009). As I wish to present a Christian view that incorporates these rules of engagement I turned to the biblical text to construct my initial theological framework.

Constructing an inclusive theology of development from a biblical view is somewhat different to claiming that there is only one possible perspective. However, as a Christian, I desire to construct an active aid protocol consistent with biblical principles in much the same way that aid agencies such as 'World Vision' (Lansley, 2013), and 'Christian Aid' have (Clifford, 2010). The protocol must avoid the ethical tensions where poverty is approached with a 'bible in one hand and food in the other.' I reject any position where aid is made conditional on accepting Christian faith (*ibid*, pg.6) as this is a form of oppression.

There is little difficulty in constructing a biblical case for engaging with the task of poverty reduction as the biblical narrative reminds me to 'Defend the weak and the fatherless; uphold the cause of the poor and the oppressed. Rescue the weak and the needy; deliver them from the hand of the wicked' (Psalm 82:3-4 NIV) and 'Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute. Speak up and judge fairly; defend the rights of the poor and needy.' (Psalm 31:8-9 NIV). These, and other like passages, provide a universal humanitarian principle enshrined since 1991 by the United Nations that 'humanitarian assistance must be provided following the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality' (UN General Assembly 1991). In this document I am encouraged to follow the Freirian principles of 'dialogical education' (Freire, 2005, pg.97) to bring people: 'rich and poor, men and women, global north and south, people of all faiths and none,' together in a dialogic space to fight for justice and the erosion of poverty (Christian Aid, 2012, pg.4). In Freirian terms, this is where listening leads to understanding because the people themselves organise activity according to 'their view of the world' (Freire, 2005, pg.109). Following this participatory approach Wells, using Tiongco and White's typology for development, presents the distinction between 'working-for', and 'working with' the poor (Wells 2015). When 'working-for,' Wells intimates that differences between the giver and receiver leads the latter to acquire 'a reduced sense of self-worth' (Wells, 2015, pg.104). On the other hand, 'working-with' considers both partners in development as being equal and contributing to the eventual transformation through an educational process Freire terms conscientization. Wells explains this as being where the one bringing the intervention, the 'animator' provides a 'framework' for 'creative participants' to

find solutions for common problems by coming to understand both themselves and the causes of poverty (Wells, 2015, pg.110).

Discussing the 'causes of poverty' Kates and Dasgupta identify 'a heritage of colonialism' that has left a problematic legacy for infrastructure, the economy, health and education (Kates and Dasgupta 2007, pg.16748). Challenging the causes of poverty, rather than tackling the initial framing, would be a better way to put an end to a condition that limits a community's capacity to function. For some, the search for justice, itself another biblical invocation, is the motivation for humanitarian action rather than from any proselytising intention (Ferris, 2005). Action with those who suffer is not just to comply with a biblical command but a consequence of recognising that 'poverty is an outrage against humanity' (Clifford, 2010 pg.9). Focusing on equity and inclusion, the World Bank called for 'a social contract' where the poor would be made a priority in creating shared prosperity (World Bank, 2015, pg.7). Another view is that the poor are right-holders and should not be objects of charity. Perhaps Sepúlveda was correct in saying that people who have been oppressed, marginalised and neglected need liberation and not developmental condescension (Sepúlveda, 2014). Liberation occurs, according to the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire, once those who understand their position take ownership of the process of change and 'intervene critically in the situation which surrounds them' (Freire 2005, pg.67). They become subjects rather than objects. Freire goes on to explain that assisting the oppressed can either take place on their behalf, 'for' them or alongside, 'with' them (*ibid*, pg.67). White and Tiongco draw similar distinctions between 'working for' the poor in development and 'working with' suggesting that 'being poor' means being 'excluded from positions of power' (White and Tiongco 1997, pg.14). This distinction suggests that 'working for' disempowers those for whom the benefit is intended while 'working with' seeks to inject agency. Taking up the ideas of Freire and White and Tiongco, Wells (2015) speculates that a reason why development sometimes fails in its objective is that the interventionalist fails to; 'trust the oppressed to become the agents in their own liberation' (Wells,2015, pg.110). Freire explicitly states: 'The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption' (Freire, 2005, p.54) which suggests that liberation from want first requires a release from dependency on others. Power, it seems, must change hands.

The Wheaton conference in 1983 saw Wayne Bragg provide the concept of 'Transformational development,' (Bragg, 1984), but since engaging with the ideas of Freire, 'self-reliance' became my understanding of transformational development. By conflating Freire and Bragg's ideas, along with those suggested by White and Tiongco and expanded on by Wells, a new framework for understanding development from a perspective of faith began to take shape. It is an alternative development theory because it is achieved through empowering the poor in

their communities (Myers, 2009) rather than imposing a power from outside. These ideas are further illustrated by Sen's 'human development paradigm' which encourages me to explore people's capabilities to accomplish adequate function (Sen 1989 pg.44). Sen provides the fundamental prerequisites for a self-reliant approach to development issues, that I first encountered when reading Freire, and following this example built my practice. The first involves mobilising community agency, the second raises the concept of personal well-being, and the third focuses on gender equality and human rights (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). My theological framework, based on the belief that God welcomes and calls all of us to the table, adds inclusion as the fourth prerequisite for self-reliance, something that is achieved by creating a non-discriminatory space that welcomes dialogue between all agents in liberation.

Summary:

The literature demonstrates linkages between development, self-reliance and the value of faith in the process of achieving self-sustaining communities capable of managing their resources and preserving them for generations to come. While considering the first research question the principles of active participation, ownership and accountability appear to be prerequisite in the formation of attitudes that are necessary if self-sufficient communities are to form. A new paradigm appears to promote self-reliance over mere sustainability, resisting dependency by holistically engaging communities in non-sectarian dialogue to secure community transformation.

With regards to the way NGOs have already changed their development paradigm and pointing to changes envisioned by a self-reliant approach, the literature suggests that encouraging stakeholders to partner with the aid agencies increases the likelihood that the interventions will have a deeper impact on community lifestyle and the growth of social capital. In turn, this links teacher professionalism and autonomy with self-reliance and accountability which is the subject of the second research question. It is significant that teacher identity may be linked to reported demotivation in teachers working in Malawi (Selemani-Meke, 2013), and particularly relevant to whether teachers can use calls for professionalism as a springboard to greater autonomy. Although this is referenced in the literature to development leading to self-guided career progression, and the establishment of professional standards, the reality in Malawi is that teachers lack initial training and have problems accessing sufficient deficit training. Other factors also appear to limit growth towards professionalism.

The resurgent significance of faith-based organisations has placed both the benefits and latent dangers of engaging with FBOs in development enterprises, under intense scrutiny by both end-users and aid agencies, requiring even higher levels of accountability.

CHAPTER THREE

Unpacking the Case

METHODOLOGY

I chose a qualitative approach for this study because I wanted to understand the meaning people gave to the events they experienced in ‘their natural world’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pg.3). Also, because the ‘how’ and ‘why’ nature of the research questions for this case-study are better answered through a qualitative approach (Yin, 2009). The case-study is a useful means of exploring the ‘relatively bounded phenomena’ of self-reliance (Gerring, 2004, pg.342) as it enables an in-depth contextual analysis regarding specific issues (Hamilton, 2011).

In this chapter I explore how the respondents experienced educational development, by asking the following ‘how’ questions: 1) How can a self-reliant development-paradigm advance community transformation in the context of rural Malawi? 2) How can school-based interventions support self-reliance within the education community? 3) How can faith groups encourage self-reliant community transformation? As a qualitative study this allows the researcher to explore phenomena such as approaches to development, and explore the feelings or thought processes that accompany them. The research questions probe the respondent’s perceptions of development through their recent experience. This would be difficult to extract through quantitative research methods (Mason, 2012).

In this chapter, I describe review my positionality before presenting the context of the study, the choice of subjects and the research approach. This is followed by a justification of the qualitative paradigm and the research approach known as ‘Case-Study.’ The case itself and the phases of the study are explicated against eight markers for case-study (Table 3.1). To demonstrate reliability, I describe the methods used including an explication of the sampling technique, the methodological framework and the use of triangulating instruments and methods. Before summarising the chapter, I consider researcher-positionality and reflect on the limit-factors pertinent to the study.

Despite frequent visits to Malawi, I was researching in a culture that was not my own, so I needed assistance in gaining access, overcoming language barriers and understanding cultural limitations. Employing Rose and Dudley as local research assistants (RAs) helped me save time and come to understand the local culture. To ensure effectiveness I spent additional time on training and regular discussion (Centre for Global Development, 2016). Another reason

was that this contributed to obtaining alternative viewpoints during first-level analysis (Weber-Pillwax, 2004) thus increasing accuracy in the results (Marshall & Batton, 2004). In addition to my principal gatekeeper, Yunusu, they helped with translation, gathered data and often explained what I would otherwise have missed. They also helped the respondents by explaining the informed consent they were giving. They were given practical training in qualitative research, ethics (Bryman, 2008), the semi-structured interview (*ibid*), focus-groups (Remenyi, 2011) instruction in the use of audio recorders, method of transcription, coding (Delamont, 1992) and the use of a research journal (Ortlipp, 2008). After this a programme for the case-study was drawn up (Table 3.2).

The advice from the 'Centre for Global Development' surrounding the use of RAs covers using a gender mix, ensuring that rates of pay are equitable, and being generous and respectful. Emphasis is placed on the importance of providing an opportunity to practice the skills taught (*ibid* 2016). From the start, I set aside time to ensure that my RAs could reflect on their experience. This initial training was then backed up by email instruction and tested by trialling the research in a neighbouring area. Although my use of RAs saved time, I still had to check the translations to ensure that important material had not been overlooked.

Context:

The research site is a rural location in an African country (Malawi). It draws respondents from six of the eighteen primary schools in two zones (of twelve) in Salima District, seven NGOs operating in the area as well as representatives of various 'authorities' (religious, civil and traditional). All eighteen schools in Ngodzi and Chipoka zones were visited to explain the objectives of the NGO. Also, various presentations were made to the District Commissioner and his Council. The District Education Manager was also consulted, as were the zone's Primary Education Advisors.

As the research aimed to obtain an in-depth understanding of how attitudes to processes of development were constructed, I chose a research design that would allow me to explore stakeholder insights regarding teacher development from the perspective of an insider. As a teacher who had been a frequent visitor to schools in the area, I hoped to be viewed as a colleague. As many schools had Christian headteachers, I thought that my coming from a Christian NGO would enhance insider status. As one who had been involved in supporting development in the area, I hoped to be perceived as a 'friend' to the community. I could be seen, in some significant ways, to be an 'insider' during the research process. Of course, I was still a foreigner, white, and one whose understanding of the customs, culture and language was

rudimentary, so in these respects, I would still be treated like an ‘outsider.’ Being part insider and part outsider, I hoped to occupy a ‘space between’ the two (Louisy, 1997, pg.200; Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, pg.60).

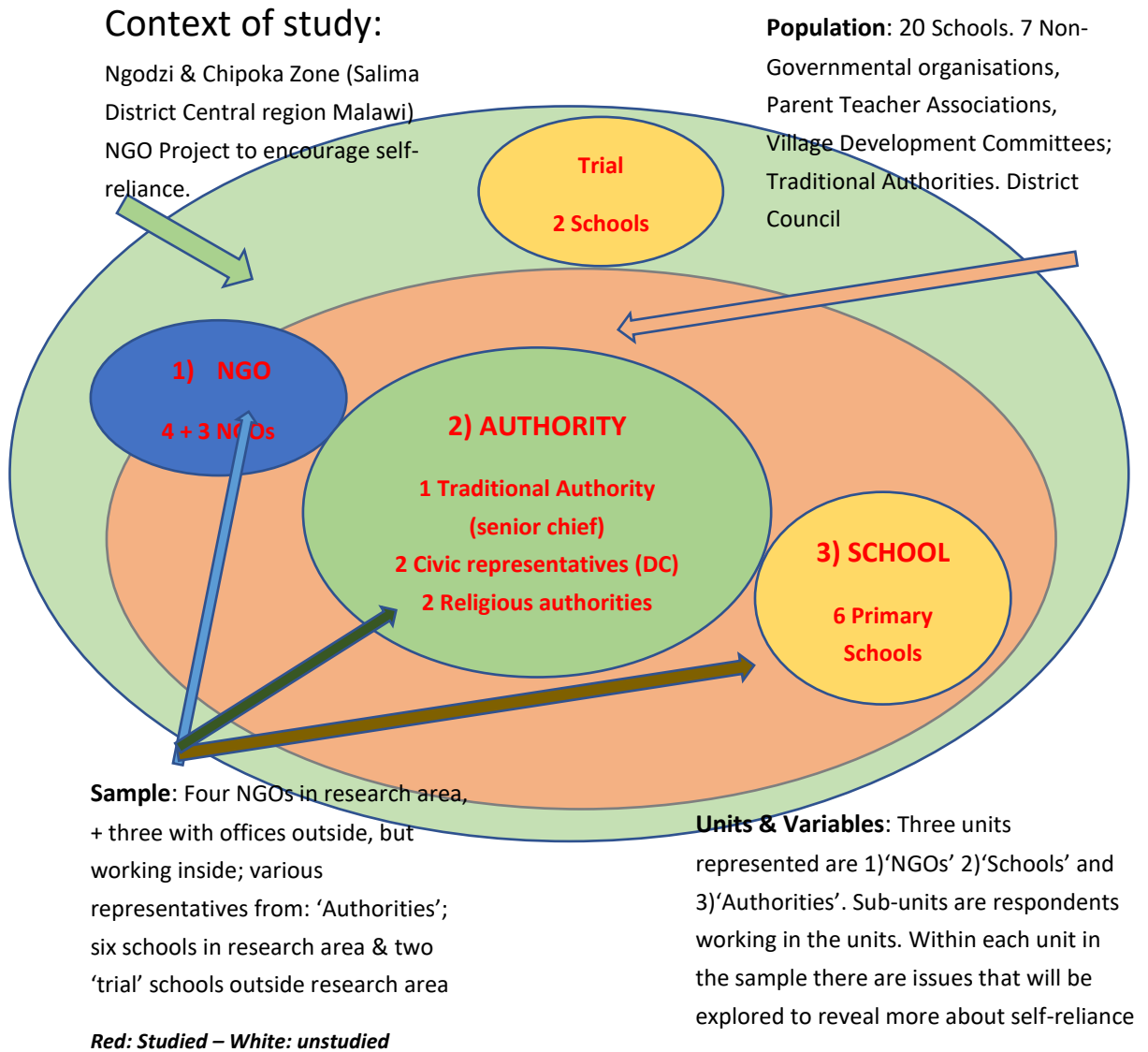


Fig. 3.1 Context of the study

There were already several NGO interventions in the research area. To the south, there was an American charity focussed on providing orphan support and Bible training. Another, to the north, was a Chinese organisation demonstrating advanced methods of farming. To the south was a Canadian medical charity, offering a range of medical services, including AIDS counselling. The focus of our intervention was to run courses for teachers that would enhance the professional development courses already provided by the District Education Office. Livingway Education, one of the four NGOs with a physical presence in the area, becomes

instrumental in the case to be researched as it provided space for development to be discussed. Seventy-two people in the area who are involved in education or have worked with NGOs became respondents for this research.

Sampling

As the setting for the study was to be determined by my involvement in the area, the choice of those with whom I was going to engage in the research became clearer. Rather than use a form of random sampling I chose respondents purposively for the unit of study (Merriam, 2002). It is essential to record how the sample for the study was drawn, not only for honesty and reflexivity (Delamont, 1992) but also to enable a clear judgement of the limits found later in the study.

A word of caution about sampling is given by Delamont who suggests that careful thought is given to selection and recruitment (*ibid*). Before coming to the field, I was not sure how to choose the schools to sample and initially wanted to interview respondents from each of the eighteen schools. However, as I progressed from the analysis of the trial to negotiating access for the research phase, it became clear that if I were to present an in-depth study, about 'issues of central importance,' purposive sampling would be required (Patton, 2002, pg.230). In this way, I could reveal a 'close-up,' practical, and pragmatically determined view of the phenomenon of self-reliance (Mason, 2002, pg.124).

Of the eighteen schools in the two zones involved in the research, some were near the tarmac and others some distance away; some schools were headed by female and others by male headteachers. I wanted to choose schools for the study that would reflect the diversity of the area and reveal important shared patterns. The findings would derive significance from the diverse character and types included (Patton, 2002). The respondents were therefore chosen to reflect a representative selection from the research field as they met the characteristics relevant to the study (Patton, 2002; Palys, 2008).

To take schools from one zone, and leave the other untouched, or to choose schools at random, would leave specific differences between the zones, and schools, unexplained. Conversely, to take all the schools would be beyond the scope of the study and the time available (Mason, 2002; Bryman, 2008).

However, some element of opportunistic sampling occurred. When the first school chosen for being in a remote area was unable to accommodate my schedule, another similar school was chosen to replace it. A further variation of the 'types' of purposive sampling chosen is how individual respondents were chosen. I chose the head-teacher in the schools after which the headteacher selected one or two teachers, an SMC and/or a PTA member. This was also

opportunistic but intended to achieve maximum variation as the headteacher was asked to gender-balance the selection and include representation from the wider school community.

All the NGOs working in the area were chosen simply because there were very few of them but the choice of respondent was opportunistic as it depended on individual availability. Each would be able to provide expert views on sustainable development, community involvement and the potential role of NGOs in the growth of social capital, but together they would provide a wider understanding.

Representatives from the District Education Office were asked to participate, along with representatives of traditional authorities. As issues of faith are discussed during the interviews, both Christian and Muslim respondents were chosen to reflect the faith diversity within the community. The 'type' of representation was still purposive, though opportunistic, and intended to provide depth to the findings. This arguably increases validity by enabling triangulation using data from various sources (Patton, 2002).

In the schools, all nine interviews in the trial, and twenty in main research were conducted by my two Malawian assistants in Chichewa. I conducted twenty-three interviews in English. There were sixteen interviews with NGO personnel of which I conducted eight. Dudley conducted seven interviews, and Rose, one. There were a further five interviews with 'Authorities,' of which I conducted three, and Dudley, two. In all, there were seventy-two interviews. Respondents were given a choice over which researcher interviewed them.

Choice of Subjects

The choice of subjects (the sample) for my case-study was made both pragmatically and opportunistically. In the first place, this was due to their 'keyness' to the study. Yunusu was my principal gatekeeper, and together we made choices of school or NGO after a brief phone call. For the trial phase, Yunusu was given instructions to find schools from outside the two zones where the main research was to be located, and he chose accordingly. I also gave instructions to ensure gender equality among respondents. In the main research (see Fig 3.1), the first 'unit' lies under the heading 'NGO,' and consists of those working for an NGO. The second 'unit' is positioned around schools, containing headteachers, teachers, School Management Committee (SMC) members and parent-teacher association (PTA) members. A third, much smaller 'unit' is labelled 'Authority' and includes those who hold authority in either a civic, religious or traditional capacity.

Philosophical Approach:

The starting point for the methodological choice lies within a constructivist approach that would entail me listening to the experiences of those who are involved in NGO work and allowing this to suggest theory, rather than testing the hypothesis of a supposed fixed reality. Just as an unwary observer at a crime scene can contaminate it by leaving their DNA, a researcher will contaminate the research field by bringing a cultural bias, subjective intent and various assumptions about what might be found. If the crime-scene investigators know about the contamination they can eliminate it during analysis, and so can the researcher. In qualitative research though, some of the 'contamination,' particularly the context brought by the researcher, can be beneficial. Therefore, by acknowledging my preconceptions, experience, cultural blind-spots and other 'baggage,' brought to the field, my reflective appraisal of them should serve to increase internal validity during the analysis of the data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Delamont, 1992).

The interpretivist/constructionist posits that the nature of reality is socially constructed and as varied as the society from which it is drawn. The description of reality will change as the respondents change it. Studying an individual, or a phenomenon within the setting would involve an interactive link between the researcher and respondent, each affecting the other.

Justifying the Qualitative Approach:

The qualitative approach was chosen for the following reasons. In the first place, qualitative research methods unravel a phenomenon by locating meaning in the experienced events (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Fossey *et al.*, 2002). Secondly, the setting for conducting qualitative research is the real-life context of human activity, requiring answers from empirically gathered data (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). A third reason for using qualitative research methods is that they can draw on critical theory and constructivism while resting on the interpretivist assumptions I wanted to apply to the data (Esterberg, 2002; Remenyi, 2012).

When the nature of the research questions requires an exploration (Starman, 2013), or a description of a phenomenon, and the researcher intends to gain an in-depth understanding of what is going on, the qualitative approach that is most suited to achieving the research objectives is the 'case-study'. It is said to be the most flexible of all research designs (Schell, 1998), 'comprehensive' (Yin, 2009, p.13), 'challenging' (Kohlbacher, 2006, pg.4) and 'versatile' (Remenyi, 2012, pg.6). 'Case-study' possesses these qualities because it can be used inductively to create theory and generate further research questions (Eisenhardt, 1989)

Qualitative research is suited to answering 'how' questions (Yin, 2009, pg.7) It does this by discovering the meaning that people give to events they experience (Schell, 1992; Denzin &

Lincoln, 2000) through research methods such as ethnography (Delamont, 1992), grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) or case-study (Starman, 2013; Remenyi, 2012) where the researcher has little control of events. In each of these methodological paradigms, the theory is generated to draw meaning from the data. In using a qualitative approach, it is possible to allow the research questions to evolve as the data informs the study (Punch, 1998), as opposed to setting the research questions before the design of the study, then testing a preconceived hypothesis.

Paying attention to the context is critical if the meaning is to be derived from the data. To embrace the context means to take account of the culture, the backstory of individuals who are close to the phenomenon of interest, and to acknowledge that, even as an observer, the researcher-self brings their positionality, and back-story, to the setting. As the research setting is described, and the phenomenon interpreted, both the observed and the observer provide meaning. The result is an interpretation that remains open to critical reflection.

The Case- Study

In considering the 'morass' of definitions regarding case-study, Gerring (2004, pg.342) proposes that the case-study is 'an intensive study of a single unit for understanding a larger class of (similar) units.' This is a definition that encompasses the idea of a 'bounded system' (Merriam,1988, pg.28) such as the concept of self-reliance (defined in the previous chapter) and observed at work in a discrete period. This definition fits the case of self-reliance that I propose to study as it can be observed in discussion with respondents from a population in a spatially bounded area (Fig. 3.1). The 'population' consists of both the studied and unstudied cases. The studied cases put together constitute the 'sample'. In this study, the seven NGOs, six schools and representatives of various authorities form the 'sample,' and separately they are 'units' within the sample (*Ibid*, pg.342).

It may be accurate to claim that: 'Case studies are misunderstood as a type, as well as a method, of qualitative research' (Gerring, 2004, pg.341). While Gerring is describing 'case-study' as a method of qualitative research, it can also be used within a quantitative paradigm of research (Yin, 2009; Remenyi, 2012). Case-study is rather like an empty box that needs to be filled. If the box were a suitcase, it would be filled with clothes pertinent to the destination the owner wished to go. For the researcher, case-study is not just a method of study, but rather an opportunity to choose methods from the qualitative research toolbox which match the objectives of the study. What all case-studies may have in common is that they are designed to describe a contemporary phenomenon empirically, in a setting where the activities are not

controlled by the researcher and where the considerable variables, drawn from multiple sources, may not automatically gain the researcher's attention. (Yin, 2009).

	Features of Van Wynsberghe & Khan's 'Redefinition' of case-study (2007 pg.4)	Features of the 'Creating Space' case-study
1	<i>'Small Number'. Intensive and in-depth focus</i>	Restricted Sample. Six out of eighteen schools and seven NGOs as well as two local authority respondents. Fifty-five respondents across three research domains
2	<i>'Contextual detail.' The sense of being there.</i>	Contextual detail. Interacting with those who are experiencing NGO intervention before during and after the research.
3	<i>'Natural Settings'. little control over behaviour, organisation, or events in complex settings</i>	Natural Settings. The object of the research was to discover the attitude to development held by people in the research area.
4	<i>'Boundedness'. Case studies provide boundaries enabling researchers to develop hypotheses</i>	Boundedness. The specific temporal and spatial boundary of the study was the Ngodzi and Chipoka zones within the district of Salima during 2014-2016.
5	<i>'Working Hypothesis and lessons learned'. Working hypotheses leads to new lessons based on what is uncovered or constructed.</i>	Evolving theory during iterations. The analysis of data from the iterative process generates theory with regards to local development. 'Progressive-focussing' informed the direction of the research process.
6	<i>'Multiple Data Sources'. Lines of inquiry facilitate triangulation</i>	Multiple Data Sources. Data from interviews & focus-group discussions triangulated with team discussions and analysis research journals.
7	<i>'Extendibility'. Readers experience of the phenomenon extended.</i>	Extendibility. The object of the study extended to observe opportunities leading to self-reliance.
8		Case-Study protocol. Training of RAs underpins the iterative process by which the case-study was conducted. Protocols mapped out the process. Focus is Identified needs defined.

Table 3.1 Eight Markers for a Case-study

One description of case-study shows that it is not a method in and of itself but instead suggests it to be a framework accommodating a 'number of methods' (Starman, 2013, pg.32). This

enables the case-study to become whatever it will, dependent on the purpose, approach setting and context of the study. Stake agrees when he states that case-study is 'not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied' (Stake, 2005, pg.443). I chose a 'case-study' method to focus on what can be learned from the various perspectives of the phenomenon. From the outset, I wanted to allow the data to suggest the theories rather than test theory with the data acquired.

As a way of reducing tension between the roles of founder, funder and researcher I shared the story of how, and why, the NGO was set up with those who were sharing the journey with me. It was further explained why I felt it was necessary to do research. As researcher, assistants and respondents collaborated, we would bring cultural and faith 'baggage' into the field but I hoped that by understanding the process each person's story would interact with the way the research unfolded increasing their understanding of the development moves of which they were part. This required that I position myself as an insider, in at least some respects. The research would use qualitative methods to view the contextualised life of each respondent from 'multiple perspectives' (Simons, 2009, pg.21). The case-study can provide an instance of something else (Levy, 2008). This might be an event or events, a singularity, or class of events, around which the study is made (*Ibid*; George & Bennet 2004). The case I describe places thought about self-reliance, and the class of events that surround this thinking, as central to local development. The class of events includes the positive and negative attitudes about the concept; participation in activity leading to self-reliance and having a theoretical perspective on the concept. Until I set out the methods used to describe this study, the case remains undescribed, empty. While the case may be filled in many ways, there is no set outline to 'a case-study'. Each case-study needs to set out its stall to identify how the study will be conducted and will consist of several similar elements. I have used eight elements to frame my study drawn from the model presented by Van Wynsberghe and Khan's (2007) I have shown how this model correlates to this study (Table 3.1).

The Case-Studied:

My first task is to identify the case. As the 'case' must be a case 'of' something, the logical focus for the case I am studying is the issue, or phenomenon, of self-reliance within community development. This includes construction of infrastructure; school blocks (classrooms); teachers' housing; alternative education and other skills-sharing exercises that build social capital. It is a case 'of' an approach towards development and can be viewed in various settings such as schools, non-governmental organisations and various local leaders who

make decisions regarding the direction of development. Nested within this definition are the instances where the attitude towards, or at variance with, the phenomenon, might be observed. This is relevant when considering the impact self-reliance may have on issues relating to the teachers' professional identity. An example of such a nested event, or variable, could be a practical instance where an attitude towards development has, through action, demonstrated self-regulation.

The Six Coils:

There were two phases of the research (see Table 3.2). The first phase (described in Chapter Four) trailed the methods and instruments used in the study and made an initial exploration of issues connected to school-based community development. The trial informed the main research predominately with regards to the methods used, and effectiveness of the research protocols (Appendix II). The main phase further explored those issues by breaking it into six parts or 'coils.'

The research consisted of six data-gathering exercises I am calling coils because the data from each informs the subsequent coil (see Fig. 5.1). Each 'coil' had two parts. The first part of each 'coil' involved carrying out semi-structured interviews in two locations. The first was a school and the second was with an NGO or a representative of local authority (civic, religious or traditional) (See Fig. 3.1). The second part was a focus group consisting of the respondents from the first part. By calling them coils, it may be understood that the analysis of each data-set is connected and progressively informs the structure of the research.

Phase	Timing	Design and Purpose:
1	June 2014 to August 2014	<i>To trial the methods for data-collection. The Purpose was: To provide an opportunity to assess the research protocols. To gather data that would be useful in focussing on specific elements of development</i>
2	March 2015 to November 2015	<i>There were six iterations (coils). The purpose was: To focus progressively throughout each coil. To probe questions regarding the intersection between theory and practice. To gather data for analysis that would lead inductively to the building of theory regarding future development practice. To explore conceptual foundation for self-reliance.</i>

Table 3.2: Timetable for the Research

Each coil produces a data-set drawn from a 'School', and either an 'NGO' or an 'Authority'. Each data-set informed the subsequent coil concerning the themes so that the iteration occurring from coil to coil progressively increased understanding. Each coil is connected to the one preceding it. The connection was established through the iterative process present in each coil. This includes the themes of the interviews, the structure of the focus-group discussion and the methods of analysis used to answer the research questions. Analysis helped to develop theory around the conceptual foundation for self-reliance.

I have interpreted the data from the first phase to determine the extent the RAs could provide an insider perspective (Chapter Four) and on how the current development paradigm, experienced by those in education, is affecting infrastructure support and professional training (Chapter Five). Also, how school-based interventions provide for the needs of the education community and learning opportunities for teachers can be used to enhance the teachers' professional identity (Chapter Six). This leads to how faith groups can overcome differences and work together for the benefit of community development (Chapter Seven).

Methodological Framework:

Qualitative analysis involves the researcher continuously interacting with the data and the research instruments, while thematic analysis involves breaking up the process into stages or phases (Folkestad, 2008) to 'highlight explicit or implied attitudes' towards the phenomenon (Ely *et al.*, 1991, pg.150).

The research field was visited on three separate occasions. The first visit was to take place in early April 2014 and last until early September 2014 followed by a second visit nine months later. The final visit would be informed by the needs of the research, asking following-up questions after the initial analysis, and reflections and discussions with Dudley and Rose about the processes used. However, the programme was delayed before the plan could be implemented when I had to return early due to a family illness. The first visit was put off until August to coincide with training opportunities among the eighteen schools in September. The second visit was insufficient, and the third visit was extended to allow completion of research activities. (The schedule for the research can be viewed in Table 4 Appendix IX). The protocols established for the trial were followed in the main phase (See Appendix II). The questions were adjusted to account for the changes in the research questions and divided up into four sections 1) Questions about the Person, 2) Questions about NGO work; 3) Questions about Community Development and 4) Questions about Faith (Appendix V). The respondent answers for each section were placed in three columns. The first column suggested possible opening questions

while the second column provided choices of follow-up questions. The third column suggested an appropriate probing or clarifying question. The RAs were encouraged not to stick slavishly to the questions suggested in the grid (Mason, 2002, pp.62-67). The protocols were reviewed after the trial, but changes were not considered necessary.

I used a type of analysis referred to as a 'framework' approach (Richie & Lewis, 2003; Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009, pg.76). Using this approach, data is repeatedly examined to allow the thematic structure contained in the data to emerge (Appendix, X: Fig.1). The framework creates a pattern, or thematic framework, from which greater understanding may be gained of the specific issues identified (Appendix, X: Fig.2). The framework for the iterative analysis (Fig 3.3) has five stages (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009). The first design stage, covered earlier, is sampling (1a). The second involves coding the data-set and identifying themes (2a). The themes captured important factors for the research questions to explore (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The constructivist approach is data-driven and meant that meaning was inductively drawn. Continual checking, annotation and the generation of multiple themes (3a) occurred (see Fig. 3.2). During this stage, the major themes were tentatively identified (Miles and Huberman, 1994). A further stage checked that the codes assigned were free of researcher bias and had not been misinterpreted. Along with my RAs, I read and re-read the data assigning codes to arrive at a consensus over naming and domain assignment. At this stage (4a), thematic reduction took place. As the codes were subsumed under more general headings, thematic direction was perceived (5a), and a new level of coding took place to validate and challenge earlier conceptions (5b). During coils 2-6 the previous coil's data would be used as a comparison and to determine progression (4.1). Further patterns emerged through triangulation with focus-group data allowing conclusions to be drawn leading to the generation of theory.

Instruments and Methods:

The qualitative research tools I used were: purposive sampling (Merriam, 2002, p.12), semi-structured interviews (Harrell and Bradley, 2009; Galletta, 2013), focus-group discussions (Wilson, 1997; Romm, 2015; Knodel, 1995), researcher reviews, journals (Ortlipp, 2008) and concurrent data collection and data analysis procedures (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussion were chosen because they were the best way to 'delve deeply into a topic' and gather information about the attitudes people hold that

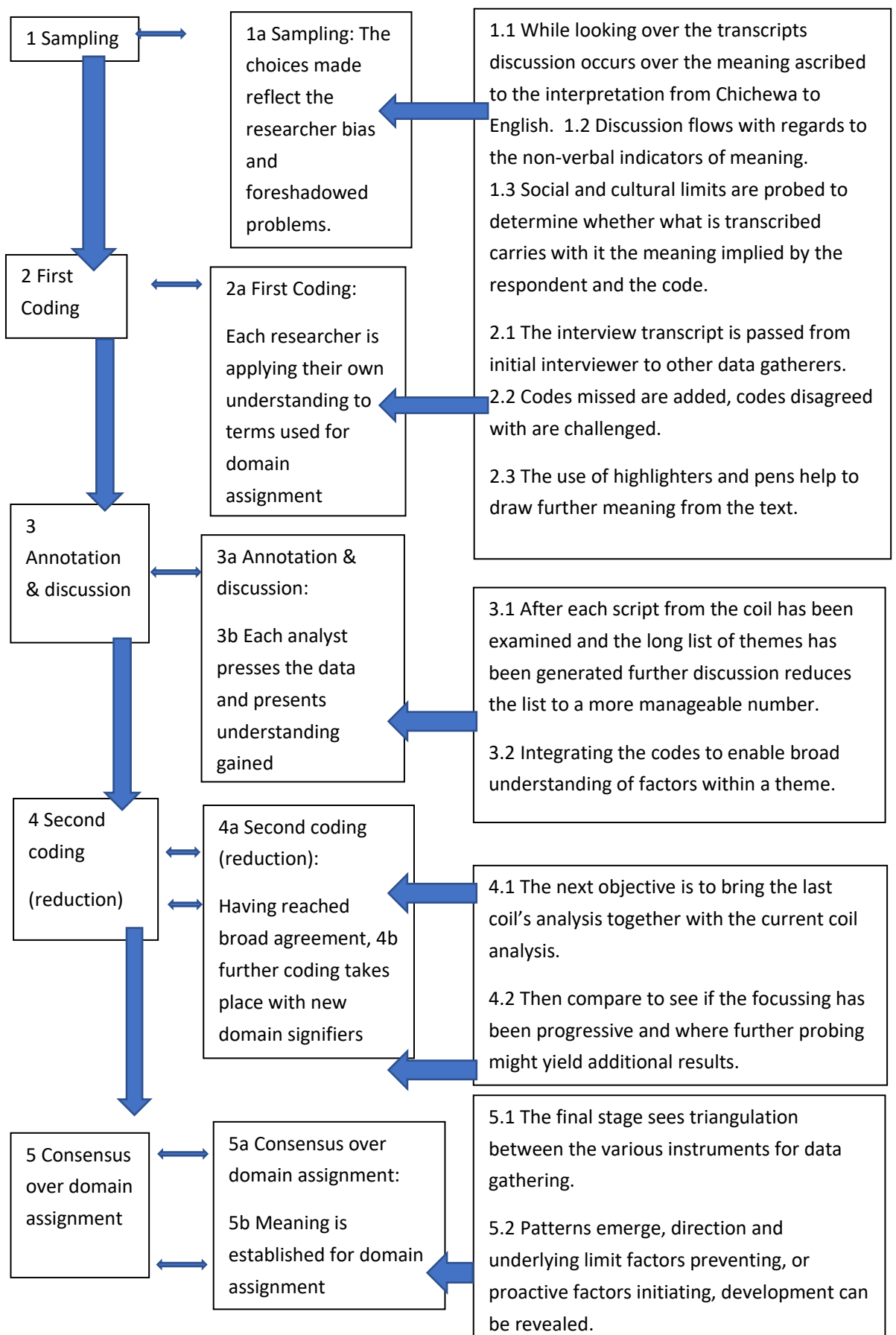


Fig. 3.2 Stages of Iterative Analysis

pertain to the potential for increasing self-reliant sustainability (Harrell and Bradley, 2009; Edwards and Holland, 2013). The same instruments were used to gather data in both phases of the research. More specifically an iterative framework allowed progressive focussing to occur throughout the research (Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009). A thematic analysis method (Harding, 2013) looked for commonality and difference while establishing relationships between respondent's perceptions and experiences with regards to the way community action, self-reliance and faith issues interacted and affected development. Triangulation and the training of RAs were also methods used in this study. Each of the methods and instruments yields results relating to the research questions and are shown in the next four chapters.

Case-study Protocols

It is necessary to make the procedural protocols explicit, make the study reliable, minimise errors and bias (Yin, 2009; Maimbo & Pervan, 2005). These helped shape and direct the study by laying out the bounds and processes that were necessary to gather the data (Yin, 2009). The case-study protocols were reviewed before and after the trial of the methodology, and then periodically reviewed (Appendix II). The main ethical issues and research questions were explained to my data-gatherers before data collection, although many of the consequential changes were not. The protocols included: details on how the data were to be gathered, instructions to guide the declaration of respondent rights, how to behave with respondents and what to say before and after interviews. There were further protocols for the focus-group meetings that reiterated the respondent rights and researcher roles (Appendix II). The protocols ensured that the respondents understood the voluntary nature of their participation, and their rights to drop out of the study. Despite the reiteration of this right, no one withdrew. The programme for the interviews was displayed in the research field-office. This provided a guide for the completion of both the interviews and the analysis that followed.

Gaining 'Insider' Perspective

Using two local RAs helped provide the African perspective (Tandon, 1991), and challenge the emergent theories and explore foreshadowed problems. Using non-educationalists as assistants in the research helped to make what was strange to one set of eyes become familiar through discussion with the other (Delamont, Atkinson & Pugsley, 2010). My Malawian assistants had a 'better standpoint' and helped me 'fight familiarity' (*Ibid* pg.4). In reverse, their familiarity with the Malawian setting can be offset by my 'better standpoint' as an outsider. One method of tackling the insistent familiarity of the setting includes 'studying

learning and teaching in formal education in other cultures’ and ‘taking the viewpoint of actors other than the commonest types...’ (*Ibid* pg.5). To do this I visited each school before the research, sitting in classes as a child to view the setting from the standpoint of the child-learners and their teachers.

Mixing the ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ research positions, and championing a team approach allowed considerable depth to be brought to the analytical process (Whitehead, 2004). The benefits, when ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ team members ‘capitalise on the strengths and compensate for the weaknesses’ of one another, include the building of rapport and trust while enabling the construction of a richer, ‘thick’ description (Whitehead, 2004, pg.23 also Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, pg.59). Those seeking to present a ‘holistic and comprehensive’ description, explicating the phenomenon, need to take advantage of cultural insiders and outsiders to ensure variable interpretation of data (*Ibid*, pg.22).

Team discussions may have led to interpretive uncertainty in some incidents, but also provided opportunities to clarify issues raised during interviews. It also helped to explore ideas related to the themes identified during earlier readings of the data. While those discussions contributed to exposing methodological difficulties, there may be a greater need to consider the tensions regarding the positionality of indigenous local data-gatherers.

It was partly to meet this challenge, and partly to ensure consistency in applying the methods, that my assistants were given informal training in qualitative research methodology before they began gathering data. As well as explaining the qualitative research and how I wanted the data gathered, interviews transcribed, translated, coded and analysed, the training included conducting semi-structured interviews, making observations, giving instructions on how to conduct the focus-group and following ethical protocols.

I emphasised the protocols (Appendix II) and modelled the practice. After analysis of the trial data additional training was given to ensure that the motivation for doing the research was linked to the quality of the questions (Jamieson, 2016).

Despite the training, my assistants made errors of judgement, and I felt they lacked motivation. This led to my providing literature germane to the research topic and then critically discussing development issues with my assistants. These ‘classroom’ activities took place concurrently with research events. I considered this transfer of a philosophical underpinning for the research essential as it contributed to my assistants constructed understanding of the data (Jamieson, 2016).

The Iterative Inductive Technique:

The connection between the constructivist paradigm and the iterative inductive technique used in this case-study may be intra-relational. Arguing that reality is socially constructed, Mertens (2005) shows that an inductive interpretation of reality is contingent on the views of the respondents, combined with a reflexive understanding of the researcher's own previous experience (Cresswell, 2003). Theories regarding the perception of newly formed reality are generated inductively throughout the research process. As the current research gathered data through a cyclic process that progressively focussed on aspects of that emerging reality, it was also internally reconstructed by the research itself.

Continually returning to data is iterative. A 'tactic for generating meaning' is the employment of an examination and re-examination of the data that will enable conclusions to be tested for their validity (Miles and Huberman, 1994, pp.245-262). As a reflexive process, iteration provokes a catalytic reaction 'sparking insight and meaning' that connects the parts of the emerging research story. Berkowitz claims establishing a 'loop-like pattern of multiple rounds of revisiting the data' enables the material to be understood at an ever-deepening level (Berkowitz, 1997, pg.2). In the words of Srivastava, this is 'progressively leading to refined focus and understandings' (Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009, pg.77). The iterative framework is both a means of ensuring reliability in the process of collection and analysis, and a means by which the analysis may be 'systematic and intensely disciplined' (Berkowitz, 1997, Ch.4 pg.2). By repeatedly returning to the source of the data I could ensure what was being understood through the analysis, and reflect on it. At the same time, adjustments could be made to the stimulus questions in the interviews so that the transcript could be better understood. For example, when respondents were initially asked about 'faith' in the classroom, they often interpreted my meaning to be 'teacher confidence' and responded accordingly. The Initial analysis enabled reiterating the phrase in such a way so that 'religious-faith' was understood to be the subject of the question.

Progressive Focussing

The trial determined the effectiveness of the data collection method. The subsequent research enabled progressive focussing on the object of the study over six iterations (loops or coils) of data collection. In each iteration, the questions would be modified in the light of ongoing analysis and used in the next round of interviews. The first-level analysis of the data in each coil would frame the focus-groups discussion that followed. In this way, the iteration was of both the data collection and the analysis. Once one coil was complete, the subsequent coil

would begin until all were complete. By repeatedly returning to the first data-set, then collecting new data, the phenomena was brought into sharper focus. This pattern was maintained throughout the research. The focus-groups allowed respondents from different domains ('School', 'NGO' and 'Authority') to interact and examine ideas suggested in the focus-group discussions. The iterative and progressively focussing process was one form of triangulation, building reliability into the results. This is fundamental to understanding how theory and data interact (Sinkovics & Alfoldi, 2011; Eisenhardt, 1989). The 'reflexive, iterative and dialogic processes' provide a series of informed discussions about the analysis and is used to address the research questions (Agee, 2009, pg.446; Gephart, 2004) until 'saturation' is achieved, and there is no further 'incremental learning' to be gained (Eisenhardt, 1989, pg.545).

Triangulation:

The approach I followed allowed a variety of qualitative research methods to interact with one another to triangulate the data received. Triangulation is often used in this way to enhance understanding and corroborate research findings while testing data for validity. However, in this case, I am using triangulation with qualitative methods that work well together, to produce a richer account that develops a 'thicker' description of the phenomenon. Tensions over positionality were reduced during the process of triangulation and allowed for a cooperative stance to produce data from the researcher as well as from respondents. Subsequent triangulation improved validity and encouraged methodological reliability (Kohlbacher, 2006; Yeasmin, 2012; Torrance, 2012).

Researcher Positionality:

Some ethical concerns arise from my approach to the research field, and other concerns are connected to my positionality within the research, and the methodology employed. Furthermore, the relationships between myself as the researcher and others whose cooperation I depended on may present markers against which the findings of the research can be tested.

Funding and managing a development project, and researching to uncover underlying motivation and attitudinal forces, are two elements of my work that are intertwined. Separately, and together, they give rise to tensions regarding positionality and the intention to minimise unequal power relations (Shakouri, 2014; Sultana, 2007). Conflicts of interest and the potential for one element to reduce validity in the work of the other, further complicated matters.

As the donor for LWE it might be expected by respondents that research activity would precede funding, and that careful responses to questions should be made so as not to limit potential benefits. As the director of the NGO I might be expected to visit potential sites for the distribution of aid, or provision of grants, or to review previous work and that answers to questions should be given with reference to needs or to indicate expectation. The inclusion of 'researcher' to the above role may not have made as much difference to respondent perception but may have influenced the direction of the interviews and subsequent analysis.

One tension is to do with the separate roles I am playing. I am an educational consultant to the NGO co-founded with my Malawian partner. Secondly, I am also the donor via a UK charity. Thirdly, as a doctoral student, I am researching the attitudinal effects of NGO activity in the area, among teachers within schools and the surrounding community, evaluating changes to those attitudes caused by NGO intervention (Miller-Grandvaux, Welmond & Wolf, 2002; Savolainen *et al.*, 2012).

Respondents need to know whether they are talking to the one funding the intervention, its developer or the researcher. The response to one may be entirely different from the response given to another. It was, therefore, necessary to reflexively consider where I stood with regards to the research to reduce threats to the validity of the research findings. Power relations between researcher and assistants, and research team and respondents need critical re-examination to determine appropriate research processes (Sultana, 2007). There are also points regarding faith and education where a shared understanding, experience and purpose between myself and the insider research group may have led towards a congruency of opinion that others, outside the group, may not have reached. Although I took great care, my interests may have influenced the findings of the research. On the other hand, having established a long relationship with people in the community I may have mitigated against much of the potential harm (Marshall and Batton 2004).

Approaching the Field

There are ethical issues within the current research relating to interactions between myself and the RAs, respondents, local leaders and stakeholders in the local community. These issues are covered by the ethical standards provided by Canterbury Christ Church University. Clearance had to be obtained before the commencement of the research. Furthermore, as the research was being carried out overseas, an Overseas Ethics Declaration (Appendix 1) had to be submitted. The respect I have for the rights of each group from the start of the research through to the design, implementation, analysis, publication and dissemination of the findings had to be made clear, theoretically and practically, when conducting this research. This included the

following five ethical standards. The need for informed consent meant that I made sure that the respondents were fully informed about the purpose of the research. This meant ensuring anonymity using culturally sympathetic pseudonyms and giving assurances of confidentiality, providing options to withdraw. I considered the impact of the research and took steps to minimise the risk of future harm. Pseudonyms were selected from a list of Malawian names to ensure that all respondent identities are kept private (Van den Eynden *et al.*, 2011). To provide for this level of protection consent forms were read, and signed by, respondents. A local language interviewer was available for all the interviews held in schools. I also set a scale for remuneration to compensate for time spent providing input and for out of pocket expenses (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012).

Admitting Limits

There are many limits to the conclusions from the findings made by this study, the first being that the small sample restricts generalizability. Secondly, researcher positionality will complicate reflection and any reflexive analysis, while the lack of a sustained presence throughout the two years might challenge the choice of research method or analytic choices. There may also be further objections to the validity of the study due to the types of purposive sampling chosen. The potential for the research to interfere with the process of social-capital growth and development is another area where caution is needed when interpreting the findings.

Conclusion

The methodology has been selected to present as little interference as possible to the process from the semi-structured conversations to the socially and culturally acceptable focus-groups. The groundwork for participatory community development occurred through discussion with other local actors in development. However, further consideration of ethical issues needs to ensure there is no potential for 'harm'. The way in which people have been included in the work from the beginning may lead to a more distributed notion of ownership and shared vision for the future. However, it still needs to answer the research questions without the undue bias resulting from an insufficient understanding of the multiple overlapping identities present in the researcher's positionality (Bourke, 2014, pp.1-9). 'Harm' can be caused, or felt to be present, even if measures taken to reduce such threat are taken (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012, pg.4) The researcher still needs to be cognisant of, and critically explore, the way each factor may affect the findings of the research. It is not just the work itself that needs to be owned by respondents and local stakeholders, it is also the research process as an integral

part of the transformative process. Without this kind of ownership, the rigour, validity and credibility of the findings would be questionable.

In the next four chapters, I will present the findings of this case-study. Those findings will be discussed in Chapter Eight. This will lead to the conclusions of the research with implications for the theories underpinning community development concerning self-reliance and further research.

CHAPTER FOUR

Trial and Method:

EXAMINATION OF TRAINING

During this chapter, I hope to explore ethics and protocols, when using indigenous research assistants (RAs)(Hudson *et al.*,2016; CGD, 2016). Before the research methods were applied in the main section of this study, RAs trialled the methods and instruments and later transcribed and translated the gathered data. This chapter describes how the insider data gatherers help to reveal attitudes held by the local community that might have been withheld had the interviewer been an outsider. Thirdly this chapter considers how conducting a trial enabled me to resolve difficulties found in the methodological design.

The trial was carried out in two schools in a zone other than the one where the main study was to take place but within the same district. The trial interviews and a focus-group discussion took place in June and August 2014. The review of the trial objectives took place early in September. The interviews were carried out successfully, and any difficulties the RAs experienced were discussed so that corrections could be made for the main research.

Synopsis of the findings

The training that was given to the RAs before the trial, discussed in the previous chapter, was evaluated soon after my return to Malawi in August 2014. The main result linked to this method was that the data-gatherers conducted the focus-groups effectively on their own and produced a report discussing the interaction between respondents in a way that demonstrated a critical understanding (Research Journal, 2016). During the research, their capacity for self-criticism increased as evidenced in their journaling and discussion (Chisakala field-notes, 2014).

The case-study protocols, discussed in Chapter three (Appendix II), as given to the RAs provided a uniformity and rigour to the research. The main result of this method is the uniformity of data gathering and level of respondent co-operation. Following the protocols encouraged the RAs which, in turn, put respondents at ease while active in the research.

Aside from determining the effectiveness of the RAs training and the usefulness of the research instruments, the findings from the trial also described the way the respondents related to the traditional process of development. Some believed the process of development to be moving from a position of dependency to one of self-reliance (Kim & Isma'il 2013). Several issues related to community development in a general way, and some that indicated a special interest in education, were explored along with links between faith and development (Marshall & Van Saanen, 2007).

One other significant result of the trial is the extent to which the training has impacted the RAs after the completion of the research they were assisting in. As it is one of the intentions of this study to explore the capacity for self-reliant activity, it is worth noting that since the completion of this research one of the RAs has continued to plan and conduct research on the way in which self-reliance has been understood by community members (Chisakala & Jamieson, 2016).

Gaining Access:

At the start of the trial, my principal gatekeeper had arranged access to the schools who would participate in the trial. Access was initially gained through the contacts made with the Primary Education Advisors (PEAs) attached to the District Council's education office at Salima. After permission to approach the school had been granted a letter explaining the purpose of the study was provided to the headteachers. The letter introduced the primary gatekeeper and the RAs as employees of a local non-governmental organisation conducting a trial for a future piece of research. The letter may have led to inaccurate expectations from the school as they would be aware that NGOs often used such research as a strategic step before providing material assistance.

The gatekeeper had to deal with the struggle between what the data-gatherers thought they had to do, and his understanding of the protocols. During the trial, the data-gatherers found that the respondents were viewing them as NGO representatives, rather than researchers. While the school welcomed the team and their intention to conduct interviews, they may have misconstrued the purpose of the research. The gatekeeper was a pastor and an NGO director who may have explained his position inadequately to the headteacher before the start of the research. The letters of introduction (Appendix III), indicated a research purpose, but discussion with Kamulomo (School-2 headteacher, 1/10/14) indicated that schools might have expected a development initiative. Schools are encouraged by the District Education Office

to contact NGOs in the hope that they might assist in building school blocks, and the headteacher may have inferred that this was the ultimate objective of the research.

The data-gatherers report on the interviews shows that the respondents were 'looking at LWE as an organisation which is going to help in developing some areas of their schools' (Field-notes, Chisakala; Trial, 6/8/14). While little was said directly to the research team about possible 'help' that might be given, the impression the data-gatherers gained from their conversations was that this is where the schools felt they were being led. In answer to one question about community development, Bomani, the deputy headteacher, explained his hopes.

Interviewer: *'What do you believe community development to be in your opinion?'*

Bomani: *'Our hope (with regards to) to your NGO is to do with our area - is to build school blocks as learning areas ... teachers houses (are also needed). Here at this school, we have bricks and sand.'*

(Coil-6 Interview with deputy headteacher)

As the third research question (see pg. 22) originally asked whether north-south collaboration could encourage self-sufficiency without encouraging a dependency mentality, answers like this appeared to indicate why such collaboration might be counter-productive (Chambers, 2005). Later the question became focussed on what faith-groups could do to support developmental processes and the second question looked at potential changes the community could make to encourage self-reliance.

The Interviews:

Before the trial, I had discussed the research protocols and so that the RAs would have something to refer to and later put them in writing. During the training phase, I had emphasised the voluntary nature of the respondent's contribution, and the necessity to obtain informed consent. After the training was completed, and I had returned to the UK, I sent the necessary forms for the RAs to use. However, the forms were not received before the trial took place. While this presented an initial problem for the RAs, their training indicated that such a form was still required. They independently researched what such a form should look like and produced one that was more than adequate. The form was then signed or marked by all respondents. The independent production of the consent form is evidence of an understanding of the

protocols, and beyond that, of the ethics behind them. It also demonstrated that self-reliance was present in the RAs approach to the research.

The senior RA, Dudley, commented during the review of the trial that he had struggled with the questions because the respondents only provided short answers. He did not know how to get the respondents to speak more about what they knew. He tried once or twice to use probing questions, but this was not always successful. In one place where this did work the respondent began to explain more of the motivation behind the NGOs work:

Interviewer-DC Can you think of any other NGOs

Roozani There are many well-known developments by the NGOs working in this area

Interviewer-DC Can you give me an example?

Roozani One of them is providing good sanitation as I told you and another is working on forestation activities.

Interviewer-DC Can you elaborate, please?

Roozani The NGO working to provide knowledge about afforestation is playing a role in controlling wind speed, which has been causing havoc in the area to the extent of blowing off roofs of houses and schools blocks. Previously there have been no control measures for the wind speed

(Interview with PTA Chairperson in trial)

This exchange revealed that a connection between the knowledge provided by the NGO promoting afforestation, and the problems the community felt with regards to the poor provision of teachers' houses had been understood. The respondent recognised the need to link different development objectives and appreciated the value of providing specific conditions for teacher housing. In each school, the management committee would have members capable of understanding these issues, something I had not considered before. Dudley quickly established rapport with the respondents in a way that would have been difficult had I, as a foreigner, tried to do so. By using local RAs, data was gathered exhibiting a greater depth and richness than would otherwise have been possible. The strategy greatly increased the validity of the data as there were few signs that respondents were holding back with their answers.

It appears that for some of the interviews Dudley proceeded through the questions, one after the other, without appearing to have considered the answer. In these cases, the interviews yielded very little. They did provide an opportunity to reflect on how to best to help the respondents to speak more openly, unlike the interview with Makwangwala below:

Interviewer-DC **What NGO development is there in the area?**

Makwangwala I know of USAID and UNICEF in this area.

Interviewer-DC **Have you ever worked for an NGO?**

Makwangwala No.

Interviewer-DC **How do you know of these NGOs?**

Makwangwala I came to know of these NGOs since I was a child. Some of the NGOs are improving education standards in the area by providing learning and teaching materials

(Interview with teacher in trial)

Many interviews were short and rarely probed beyond the surface. They were a good experience for the RAs in using the voice recorders, listening to the respondents after the interviews and transcribing the exchanges. The experience also gave Dudley considerable confidence for the next round of interviews. After initially being quite shy in talking about the experience he later reflected on the problems he had encountered. He said at one point: "It felt as though I was just saying 'and here is my next question', and the respondent just had to answer yes or no." (Field-notes September 2014). This capacity for self-criticism was further evidence that data could yield valid findings.

After the interviews, further discussion took place between the research team members. At first, there was some difficulty in identifying problem areas due to the RA's belief that this might reveal his inadequacy, and encouragement to locate these limits had to be given. When the RAs knew that they would be given credit for identifying limits they were willing to document and discuss such issues. The RAs then identified weaknesses in questioning technique, positioning respondents in the interview setting, length of interview and difficulties in translating colloquial expressions. The initial data was affected by these limitations, reducing both their quality and validity. However, critical evaluation allowed further deficit training to take place allowing a critical reflection on the interviews that would later increase the validity of the findings.

The changes made included setting the length of the interview to a period of under thirty minutes, and ensuring that the interview setting was free from distraction. The interview questions were revisited to provide initial inquiries that were followed by questions probing the respondent replies. When translating responses in colloquial Chichewa, a collaborative approach was used to explore the possible meaning of respondents. When I acquired more familiarity with the language, I was also able to challenge some translations and provide an additional dimension.

The Focus-Group:

An early analysis of the interviews, before the focus-group discussions, would have helped to direct activities, but this opportunity was lost as the interviews were not transcribed in time. If interview transcripts are not provided to respondents before the focus-group discussion, the reliability of the data drawn from the translation may be compromised. While there is a further issue with the respondent's capacity in literacy, some attempt needs to be made to ensure that what is written, reflects an accurate representation of the interview. Another challenge was that while the RAs literacy in Chichewa appeared to be adequate, this was not always the case with the translated English. Nevertheless, the elements of development that had begun to emerge during the visits to the two schools became clearer during the focus-group when respondents from both schools were together. For example, respondents said that they believed community development to be the building of schools, hospitals, professional learning centres, good roads and providing boreholes. The understanding was that the NGO goes about its business of 'provision' while the community has the responsibility 'to make sure that the project is carried out accordingly and to ensure that there is security' (Trial Focus-Group).

The respondents felt that the development agencies were supposed to benefit the community, 'improve the living standard of people' provide employment, 'potable¹ water and toilets. The views expressed by respondents were focussing on development as a 'done to' exercise rather than one that was 'working with' (Wells, 2015, pg.23). One respondent had some insight into what might be the problem: -

'Many NGOs which are working in Malawi are helping in development of many communities, but the little problem they have is that they don't consult the villages about the most needed development.' (Trial Focus-Group).

Another respondent stated that there was 'No contact with people responsible for development.' Although it might seem unlikely, it was suggested that people did not realise the need for development, nor did they know whom to ask for support. They said that they believed that 'someone will come and do it for them.' The community, in one respondent's view, 'plays a very minor part like bringing in river sand and the provision of ready bricks.' The attitudes to development shown by the respondents indicated they were passive, content to rely on others and made little attempt to take ownership of the process. The frank exchanges between members of the focus-group may not have occurred if an outsider had been present. The

¹ Drilling a borehole and pump to provide drinking water. From the Latin 'potare' meaning 'to drink.'

respondents were expressing views in their language in a way it may not have been possible to hear correctly had they been required to conduct the discussion in English.

While the data collected in the research trial was supposed to be of secondary importance to an analysis of the way the methods had been used, revealing insights began to appear with regards to the research questions. Although the questions being asked in the trial (table 4.1) had little to do with teacher identity and training, there was some reference to the impact this might have on the formation of attitudes towards self-reliance.

Summary - Findings for the Trial

The data supported the view that the use of local data-gatherers as RAs is useful in obtaining a vivid and culturally sound data-set (Mack *et al.*, 2005). When using indigenous data-gatherers, there is a potential for obtaining data containing a richer description because the connections between data-gatherers and respondents are much closer. The chosen methods for the research also indicated that the gathered data would demonstrate attitudes and actions of community members and reveal the potential for self-reliance as a development strategy.

This first data-set suggests that attitudes towards development are likely to play a significant role in whether educational community development could demonstrate self-reliance. Any desire to be involved in the planning of development is unlikely if the community is ignorant of development needs, or if they consider that they are only responsible for securing development materials when an NGO calls for them. Lack of involvement will reduce the likelihood of any feelings of ownership. One respondent boldly stated that it would be better if NGOs were to '...ask what we wanted.' The attitudes of stakeholders were being shaped by the behaviour of the NGOs, who, as the respondents testified, did not consider it necessary to consult the community for their input on needs.

The trial showed that changes would have to be made to both the research questions and the questions used in the interviews. It further showed the necessity to step up the training of the data-gatherers and to insist that they keep reflective journals of the research process. Specifically, the training should justify to the RAs the rationale behind the research and link this to the needs of the community (CGD, 2016). The data suggested that if the RAs are insufficiently skilled, then more time in preparation should be spent to reduce the loss of meaning while moving from recording to translation. Difficulties in translation and transcription were significant and, if not corrected, would threaten validity.

Changes would have to be made to the structure of the interviews, though the protocols and ethical considerations had ensured that I could feel justified in continuing to use the RAs for the rest of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

Locating the Boundaries of Self-reliance

NGO ACTIVITY:

The fourth chapter presented the significance brought to the first phase of the research by the use and training of RAs while this and the following two chapters present the findings, as they are related to the research questions. They are set out chronologically through the methods, to frame the study, both in terms that demonstrate the way understanding may be limited and where it may be progressed. This was done by 'inscribing discourse' in such a way as to reduce confusion while providing examples of emergent themes (Emerson 1995, pg.4).

The second phase begins to build upon the analysis of the first by restructuring the research questions so that the semi-structured interview questions focus on the emergent issues. In this way new connections were explored, leading to a deeper understanding of what was being said (Berkowitz, 1997). The steps and methods used to gather and analyse data are given before exploring how the data leads to the emergent theory.

The data and discussion in this chapter explore the extent to which the current development paradigm contributes to a capacity for transformation through government and NGO intervention. The data is also used to explicate links to a shift in the development paradigm towards self-reliance. This chapter's overarching theme explores the realities of local contextual factors affecting the current paradigm for development through a rural Malawian perspective. Arguments regarding the effectiveness of such a shifting paradigm are also further scrutinised to discover whether stakeholder capacity increases.

The literature review identified the importance of sustainability in development and consistently argued the importance of facilitating community participation in development. This chapter explores, by reference to the data, how communities adopt different pathways, towards self-reliance through the process of ownership and accountability (Cronin & O'Regan, 2002).

Steps and Methods Used:

The first six steps:

- a) **Approaching the field:** I had spent the previous year visiting the schools that would become the focus for my study and prepare the ground for this case-study research.
- b) **Gaining Access:** My principal gatekeeper was well established in the area. This led to initial visits to the schools in the study and a successful application to the District Council to conduct research (Ely 1991). This led to a degree of familiarity, reducing to some extent, any 'terror of entering the field' (*Ibid* pg.18).
- c) **Familiarisation:** While the RAs were familiar with the Malawian culture their experience of research methodology was limited. I needed to familiarise the RAs with all aspects of the study and reduce 'culture shock' through training (Delamont 1992 pg.100). Initial analysis of the data identified central issues (*Ibid*), correct any deficits extant within the research protocols, and to fine-tune the analytical method.
- d) **Data exploration:** The examination of the data-informed choices over the revised set of interview questions.
- e) **Domain Identification:** Initial examination data helped give shape to the emergent issues and the primary analytic domains. These provided a point of reference for the conversations held in the interviews.
- f) **Protocol adjustment:** The findings from Chapter Four pointed to necessary adjustments within the data collection methodology and strengthened claims for methodological validity. Deficit training took place in areas where the research protocols had not been fully applied

Analysis by Coil:

As explained in Chapter Three the structure of the research consisted of six parts or 'coils.' Each part consisted of interviews and a focus group discussion. Each iteration followed the research protocols and method, and was informed by subsequent analysis (Fig. 5.1). The first 'coil' took note of the findings from the trial and used those findings to set the stage for the main study. At the end of the first coil (interviews and focus-group discussion) subsequent analysis enabled the re-setting of questions asked in coil-2. This process continued through each iteration. The analysis by coil took place in each of three domains; a) school-based community development, b) faith-based organisations moving through sustainability towards self-reliance and c) how faith is a significant issue (see Fig. 5.2). The findings are covered in this and the following two chapters.

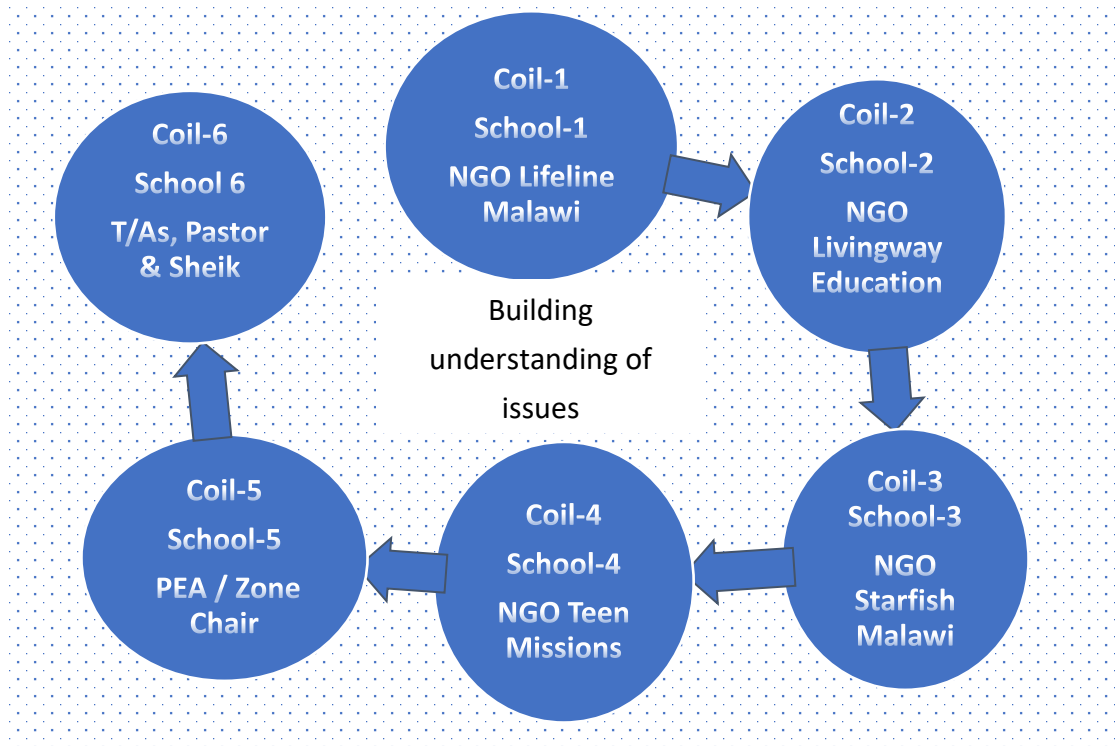


Fig. 5.1: Six Coils

The coding framework, described in Chapter Three, recognises both *a priori* domains and emergent issues and was applied to the interview transcripts. Coding used numerical and textual codes to identify data that corresponds to specific themes. Some of these themes will have been implicit in the researcher's questioning and are *a priori*. Other themes, having no connection to the researcher's questions and are labelled 'emergent.' (Appendix, X, Table 2). While all the data yielded results, it is relevant to consider its limits by considering an incident highlighting significant data deficiency (see: Loss in Translation).

Using the Iterative Coils:

This method allows questions about 'what I want to know' to interact with the question asking: 'What does the data tell us' (Hopwood & Srivastava, 2009, pg.78). By constant referral to the data, and holding discussions as to the direction they were taking I could also consider how the data 'felt.' It was not only the themes and categories that were clarified. I became increasingly aware of what the respondents were telling me despite the complex and 'messy' nature of each data-set (Bechhofer, 1974, pg.73; Bryman & Burgess, 1994, pg.3). There were many discussions regarding both the process surrounding the interviews, as well as the meaning behind respondent conversation in-between transcription and translation. Initially, I was often unsure as to what the respondent intended, and this was where the indigenous

assistants were invaluable, as they could not only articulate what was said but also provide a culturally sensitive interpretation, that may have more accurately interpreted respondent utterance.

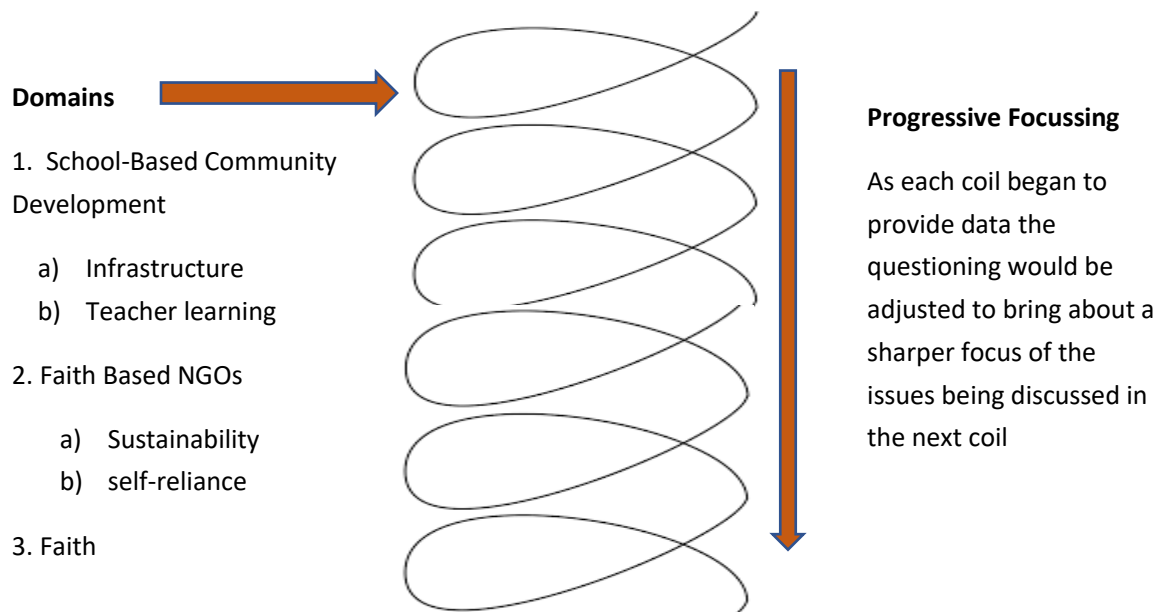


Fig. 5.2: Iterative Coils 1-6 showing three analytical ‘domains.’

Miles and Huberman (1994) state that cross-case analysis is of value because it enhances generalisability and deepens understanding in explicating the phenomenon. In this research design, building on Srivastava and Hopwood (2009) each of the six coils (Fig.5.1) presents a data-set drawn from interviews and focus-group discussions from schools and either an NGO or an authority. Analysis of each coil progressively added to my understanding of the themes in each of the three domains (see fig. 5.2). The objective is to allow each data-set to inform the subsequent coil concerning the themes so that the reiteration occurring from coil to coil progressively increased understanding.

The themes were then given a code and the transcripts were subjected to a second analysis, marking the agreed codes on the final copy. After the themes were identified and coded in the transcripts, I created three long lists of themes under each domain heading. Later this was condensed. Appropriate quotes went alongside the coded data to enable a consensus for the second round of coding. This led to fewer themes emerging from the data-set and a better understanding of the significant issues.

One result of the approach was that it helped to identify where the research questions needed to be adjusted (Hopwood & Srivastava, 2009). By the end of the early stages of analysis, several themes had been identified from the transcripts and could be placed into an order of importance that would reflect the frequency of response.

Progressively Focussing:

The progressive focus on the issues was a reflexive process, guided by the additional questions, grown out of insight. Results found in the data were repeatedly revisited to increase understanding. For Srivastava (2009), results of progressive focussing come about by bringing reflexively formed emergent questions to bear on the data. As the answers to those questions stimulate further questions, a further round of analysis occurs. In this, new connections emerged as a better understanding was achieved.

For example, the interview transcripts from the first coil were interrogated to discover how NGOs conduct school-based community development. The results were then used in the following coil to examine attitudes about development and how the essential attitudes that support self-reliance were formed. Instead of only re-visiting the data from the first coil in successive loops (Berkowitz, 1997), the dataset was refreshed with a second data-set (Coil-2), where re-formed questions were used to 'identify gaps in my understanding' (Srivastava, 2009, pg.80).

The first level of analysis occurred after the transcripts were coded. The data labels were then used to construct an abstract term to include various identified themes. For instance; 'Co-operation' (school-based community development), 'Benefits' (non-governmental organisation) and 'values' (Faith). The use of certain words/phrases in respondent interviews indicated an interpretation at respondent level regarding the object of their speech. The challenge was then to assign a category for this pattern of speech.

Loss in Translation:

The example below taken from coil-1 gives an example of where difficulties in translation may occur. For future research, it may be necessary to consider the idiomatic nature of the original language input, to establish where meaning might be lost in translation. The presence of words that have no direct translation into English caused difficulty for those translating. The phrase '**chondo phweteka**' meant: 'very painful' or 'much trouble' but became 'pains most.' Later in the same conversation, the respondent wanted to explain that the scheme of work was difficult to put into practice because of the large class size, but this was missed due

Chechewa	Google translation	Research assistant Translation
<p>Mmm..., makamaka kwa ana amapindula chifukwa amakhala nthawi yaitali akuphunzira ngakhale kuti amafooka</p> <p>koma kwa ineyo chimakhala chondo phweteka</p> <p>chifukwa ndimatopa maka kuchuluka kwa ana amene ndikuphunzitsao ndiye chimakhala chiphwinjo kwambiri chifukwa chakuchuluka kwa ana.</p>	<p>Mmm..., especially children benefit from having a long time to learn despite getting tired.</p> <p>But to me it is very painful because I get tired of the number of children I am teaching, and then it is very frustrating because of the number of children.</p>	<p>Mmm..., mostly to the children they benefit if they have a long period for learning even though they get tired.</p> <p>And this also pains most as I also get with this big of children</p>

Table 5.1 Loss in Translation

to the use of the more colloquial ‘**chiphwinjo**’ indicating ‘a challenge beyond capacity’. In the context of the sentence, it pertains to the difficulty in coping with the demands of putting the scheme into practice. Translating using ‘Google’ reveals that this caused frustration, but the research assistant translated this as ‘get with this big.’

Chechewa	Google translation	Research assistant Translation
<p>Mavuto nthawi ina <u>tikapita</u> kuchipatala amatiuza kuti tizilemba <u>ana</u> onyetchera</p> <p>koma akapita kuchipatala amawabweza ndiye anthu aja amatidandaulira, izi zimaoneka ngati ifeyo ngati tanena <u>zabodza</u> pamene lamulo linachoka kuchipatalako.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">29 words</p>	<p>Problems sometimes when we go to the hospital tell us to write sweet <u>children</u></p> <p>But when they go to the hospital they are back then those people complain about us, it seems like we were <u>lying</u> when the law came out of the hospital.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">44 words</p>	<p>The problems we encounter sometimes is that when <u>we</u> (<i>underClinic volunteers</i>) are told to go in the village and get some children who have got a problem with their nutritional health, so that they can be given soya porridge, they (<i>service provider – Chipoka Health Center</i>), sometimes send them back as if we have <u>lied</u> to them and this pains us most.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">61 words</p>

Table 5.2 Adding meaning to Translation

The lack of contextual understanding simplified the phrase providing an inadequate translation. The result was that the data might not have accurately reflected the meaning intended by the respondent. Another example from coil-1 shows how local knowledge enables the respondent’s utterance to become more meaningful.

Although I had assumed that when fewer words were used in translation, there would be a loss of meaning, this was not always the case. Frequently the translation was successful despite the lower word count. When the translator used local knowledge to explicate the situation (often placed in parenthesis in the transcript), meaning would increase. In the example (Table 5.2), villagers were accused of repeatedly presenting the same children to get

additional food fraudulently. The respondent reports that they were then upset by the subsequent unjust accusation. The respondent says the accusation of corporate wrongdoing 'pains us most' but this does not appear in the original transcript, only in the translation. The data-gatherers 'felt' that the respondent was hurt when he said: 'it seems like we were lying.'

It was only after the research had been completed that I discovered that there were differences between what was said and what Dudley thought had been meant. This discrepancy may have changed the emphasis of the findings in the initial analysis (field-notes, 10/10/14). These difficulties in extracting meaning from the transcripts led to longer periods being needed to complete translation. Future research involving translation should allow for additional time to explore colloquial expressions and cultural idioms.

Triangulating the Data:

The methods used to add integrity include both within and between-method triangulation. Discussion during initial analysis between the research team members enabled reflexive and critical judgements to be made regarding the data and helped to corroborate or question initial interpretations. The research questions were answered through co-relating focus-group discussion and comparing interview transcripts. This increased understanding of respondent participation in development, their attitudes towards authorities and the possible process of change. To ensure that the themes identified by individuals using the iterative coils method were yielding valid results, an exploration of the themes emerging from discussions with my RAs, as well as those arising from focus-group discussions, also took place. This provided a reliable way to assess the significance of each emergent theme.

The journaling process and initial analysis led to discussions about the focus-group activities. In turn, this led to the construction of questions to be presented to the combined group of school and NGO respondents. Once this stage was complete, I asked my assistants to come up with questions for the focus-group in line with our discussions, and we worked together to ensure that an appropriate Chichewa translation was constructed for the focus-group (Appendix VIII).

Introducing the Themes for NGO Activity:

The iterative coils, progressive focussing and the triangulation of data-streams made me aware of the overarching themes found in the data for the NGO activity. Collectively the themes

interrogate the current development paradigm about capacity to build transformation from the grass-roots level.

Data was collected over the six iterations of the research and gathered evidence in four themes related to factors identified in the literature:

1. **communication and consultation** (Factor - increase in social capital)
2. **interventions and assistance** (Factor – inclusive stakeholder dialogue)
3. **principles of sustainable development** (Factors - collective action, business opportunities)
4. **community involvement in interventions** (Factor - beneficiary ownership)

Communication and Consultation – Social Capital

During the interviews with Coil-1 respondents, several key issues emerged. NGO activity was discussed in a way that indicated that consultation with the communities rarely occurred. A second issue that emerged from the interview data highlighted ‘problems’ experienced by the community related to development activities (Fig. 5.4), while lack of finance appeared to be a prominent example of tensions between donors from northern NGOs working with southern NGOs difficulties experienced by the community.

Interviewer-MJ What is your experience of NGOs?

Odala We have the WFP (World feeding Programme) NGO which has helped us build a storeroom as well as a feeding shelter and even a kitchen.

Interviewer-MJ Right. How do they get involved

Odala In terms of what?

Interviewer-MJ Well do they come to you or do you go to them?

Odala No, they come. It started sometime back before I came here but these buildings, the infrastructure they have constructed during my time. Yeah. But at that time, they came and asked the people if they are willing to participate in what they are intending to do. So, these people agreed. Sure.

(Coil-1 Interview with headteacher)

Consultation with beneficiaries may only involve the NGO telling the people of their plans and then asking if they agree. This is where Odala reports ‘these people agreed. Sure.’ And it appears to reflect the ‘false generosity of paternalism’ that Freire condemned (Freire, 2005,

pg.54). Participation, where it occurred, only involves the community agreeing to the NGO plans and then moulding the bricks necessary for construction.

The data support the view that government-led development, and some NGO led development, is often provided without sufficiently consulting the community. It has been pointed out that for the most part the only participation that appears to be expected, from either the NGOs or the community, is for the community to mould and bake bricks, and at times provide additional security for the site of development. The problem appeared to be the direction from which the intervention was coming. The data consistently returned to this point. However, a repeated desire for greater involvement was made, and some commitment to holding stakeholder dialogue was noted.

Interventions and Assistance:

In Coil-3 the interviews indicated that respondents were focussed on what might benefit their community. They spoke of construction, assistance and benefits, providing examples of development they had observed in the surrounding area, such as the school feeding programme and the 'nature and forest preservation initiative'. Outside NGOs initiated all these interventions. They offered several examples of health development interventions including an under-five clinic.

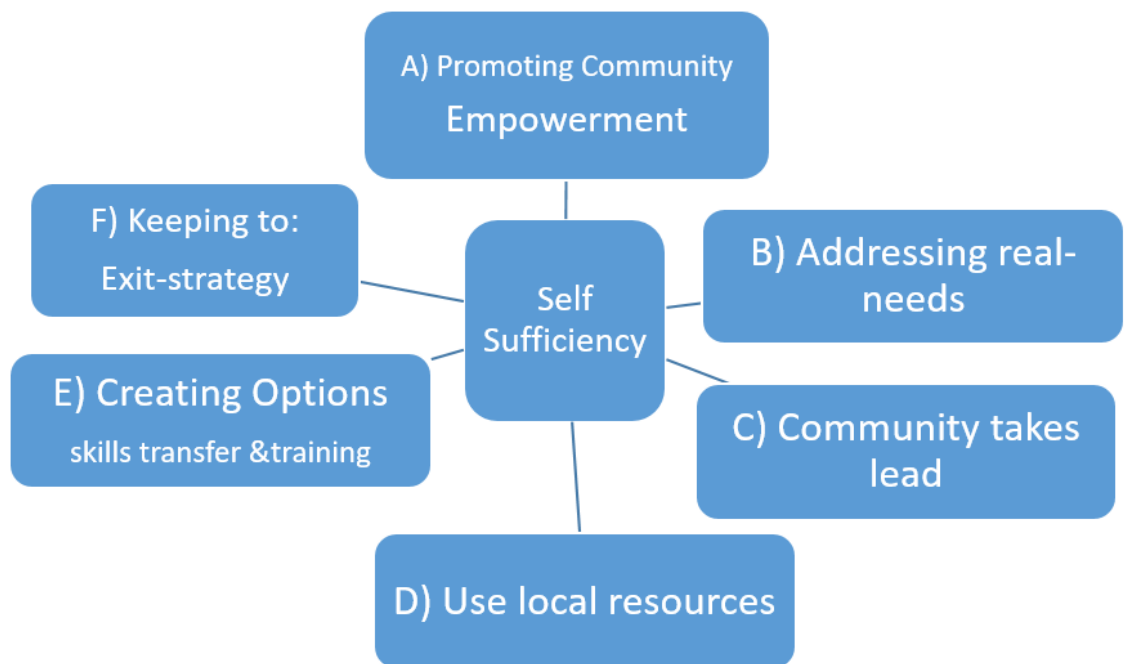


Fig 5.3 Coil 1: Elements of Self-sufficiency

(Constructed from presentations given by participants during Coil-1 focus group discussion)

Coil-1 respondents identified factors they believed were relevant for self-sufficiency to take place (Fig. 5.3) but also acknowledged struggles with NGOs that hindered progress. Respondents provided examples which included misunderstandings, ignorance and times when development failed to achieve stated objectives. In the case below cross-cultural tensions were exacerbated when expected materials, from outside the area, failed to become available.

Interviewer-DC **What was your responsibility at MASAF?**

Mizozi I was a member of project committee

Interviewer-DC **As a member, what was your duty?**

Mizozi Helping the leading of project work.

Interviewer-DC **What were the problems did you encounter during your work?**

Mizozi Oh, there were many problems. Sometimes when we go in town to buy, when we have found the needed materials. When we call and ask, they told us they have them.

Interviewer-DC **What do you mean by them?**

Mizozi They're the Indians, the shop owners they told us that they have the materials in stock, but actually they haven't.

Interviewer-DC **How does this affect your program?**

Mizozi It was delaying our program. For example, if we are looking for cement and cement is not there, we had to wait till we get it.

(Interview Coil-3 with PTA member)

The focus-group discussion during Coil-3 built very little on the understanding of how NGOs encouraged dependency, showing that the community expected the NGO to decide on the programme, inform the community and report to the government. There was only a limited understanding that the community could, or should, initiate the process. There was, however, an expectation that the community would be expected to participate collectively.

During the Coil-4 it was noted that respondents had a wide range of experience of NGO work. They spoke of individual self-worth, motivation and the need to work together. Some considered the necessity for external agencies to empower stakeholders and for the community to be held accountable for development. However, only one respondent from the NGO linked to this coil attended the focus-group, so discussion rarely extended the conclusions already reached. The group did extend the perception of stakeholder participation, in the examination

of community responsibility for transparency and accountability, by pointing out the need for it to be generated from local capacity (respondent-1). Coil-4's view of self-sufficiency contains four elements (see fig.5.4) essential if sustainability is to lead to self-reliance. The need to report ensures that accountability and transparency take place while maintaining resources allows for intergenerational equity.

Interviewer-DC **What can the community do to attract some NGOs to implement development work in their areas?**

Respondent-1 Community must start working on their own without NGOs with locally available resources, e.g. using hoes for constructing road, moulding bricks for school development, collecting sand soil

Respondent-2 They must show transparency and accountability on the uses of the materials already provided by NGOs ('A' in fig. 5.4)

Respondent-3 They must take care of already available resources ('C' in fig. 5.4)

(Focus-group Coil-4)

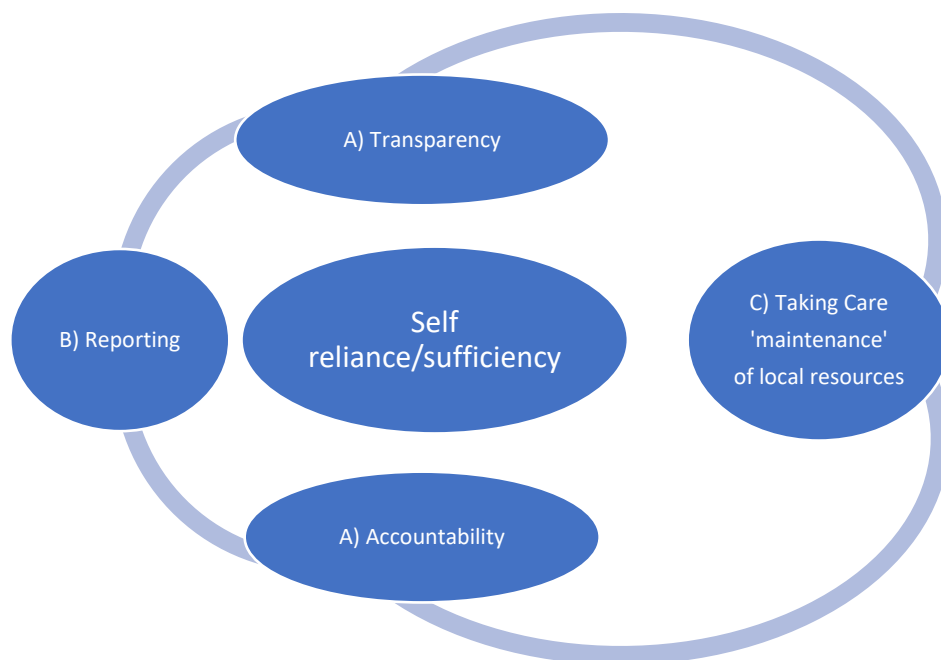


Fig. 5.4: Coil-4 View of Self-Sufficiency

(Constructed from presentations given by respondents during focus-group discussion)

In this instance, there was an expectation of community initiating development rather than waiting for external assistance. In the same vein, while the *level* of accountability was not touched on, community care for available resources was encouraged, along with dialogue surrounding the way development should be initiated. This example and the recognition of a

reporting process enabled me to reach a better understanding of how accountability might become significant in the development of ownership in a development project.

The themes explored by the fourth coil were also covered by the fifth. Here there was an acceptance that even with an empowered community, the government ‘should still be able to intervene.’ There was also emphasis being placed on the ‘mutual understanding’ that would have to be present before an intervention could begin. Perhaps this understanding would prevent the tensions, identified earlier, between stakeholders.

Questioning the relationship between community responsibility to bring development, and the government’s plans, respondents considered the tension between the two. In the following excerpt, it appears that the respondent understands the cause of the problem between community and NGO (lack of consultation) but not why the desired development is refused. The result is a passive acceptance (*you cannot deny*) of the NGOs offer.

Interviewer-YB **How can an NGO introduce development without disturbing the government’s plans for developing and make it profitable for the community?**

Zabodza I think these NGOs first must consult the teachers, and the community about the development they want to introduce at the school. Yes, and because sometimes it becomes difficult when the school is really needy, maybe they need a (classroom) block, but, it can be difficult, or sometimes the difficulty is too great. The NGOs, they say: “we will fund the programme”, that is: “here is a toilet,” yet you need a (classroom) block. So, you just accept, you cannot deny. But they should have, they should ask the problem the school is facing.

(Interview Coil-5 Deputy headteacher)

Whether development is begun by the NGOs or the government, it appears that the community is often the one with the least power in the development. However, they cannot deny the ones with the power, and so passively agree to the giver’s development. While this lack of power is not in itself a threat to development, it is a threat to the eventual outcome of seeing the community take ownership of the objectives, the process and the eventual direction of the intervention

The problems preventing self-sufficiency, identified during the interviews in coils 1-6 (Fig 5.5), were revisited by the respondents during the Coil-6 discussion. The purpose of revisiting this area was to re-examine the flow of development. Instead of flowing from the concerns of

NGOs, or even government, the respondents from Coil-6 were suggesting that development should flow from the 'real needs' of a community empowered to articulate what was wanted. One deputy headteacher, Mlamba, also had the role of Chair of the School Development Committee and his task was to oversee the needs of this school regarding development. When asked about this role he was quick to explain that getting teachers houses built was a priority as the lack of accommodation contributed to poor attendance of both teachers and pupils.

The range of threats identified by Coil-6 respondents regarding development (see fig. 5.5) suggests an acceptance of fault by the community. Little blame was attached to the way NGOs carried out their work. A further conversation brought an additional understanding of the limitations faced by schools looking to initiate development.



Fig 5.5 Coil-6 Threats to Development

(List Identified by respondents in focus group discussion)

Interviewer-MJ So, your expectation is that the NGOs are going to come along and help you?

Ungwe Yes.

Interviewer-MJ You don't feel that it is the responsibility of the council to do these things?

Ungwe No, it's the responsibility of the headteacher, because as far as I am concerned I am in charge of this place, so I am the engineer – what shall I say - I am the head of everything, even the School

Management Committee, you need to be in front of them so that they should work hard; without you, the headteacher, they can't work; you need to say: "oh you School Management Committee, you have to do this this." You go to the TA, you go to the DC, and ask for this assistance. Yes. But if you are quiet, everything is also quiet. They say: Oh, this headteacher is dull." You see?

(Coil-6 interview with Headteacher)

This exchange appears to suggest a power play between the headteacher and her deputy, but also a struggle to enthuse others was also present. During the interviews, ideas were being suggested as to what self-sufficiency would look like (Fig. 5.6). Instead of only having vague notions of what the concept would be, the group began to explore what would happen if greater numbers were committed. They had moved from a suggestion that there *should be* an involvement, to stating that the community in its entirety *must be* involved, shaped by research and guided by an elected committee. Two groups were asked about how self-reliance would manifest itself practically. For one group being "involved with development work" was most important while "conducting meetings" was the element where ownership was demonstrated. The second group made several telling points. In the first place, it was not just holding meetings, but they had to be held "frequently". The issue of ownership was covered through taking



Fig 5.6 Coil-6 Shape of Self-Sufficiency

(constructed from contributions from Coil-6 respondents)

responsibility for “reports of ongoing development.” This group also saw self-reliance as requiring that they reflect on “already done work” and that they were “transparent when doing things.”

While Coil-4 brought an understanding of what self-sufficiency would look like (Fig. 5.4), Coil-6 added the two newly emergent dimensions of responsibility and collaboration (Fig 5.6). The data appears to support the view that the discussion concerning development is shifting from attempting to locate the presence of assistance from outside, to where there was an opportunity to explore ways in which the process of change might come from within themselves. This change in direction is still at an early point as self-reliance begins to become the goal of sustainability achieved through collaboration and responsibility.

Principles of Sustainability – Collective Action/Business Opportunity:

Respondents voiced a range of problems. Some were practical and to do with the availability of volunteers to participate. Other problems included a lack of finance, even from the government, insufficient connections with NGOs, and low motivation to engage with development, as Odala explains in this exchange:

Interviewer-MJ What is the biggest thing that prevents community development?

Odala One, lack of materials. When I talk of materials we have financial resources, we have material resource, and that is also labour. Sometimes people, when it is rainy season they don't want to work – they are busy in their fields.

Interviewer-MJ What are the difficulties in moving things along?

Odala Some... are not willing to work with others, so these are some of the challenges, and some say, “Ah no, we don't want to work we are going to pay money”.

(Coil-1 Interview with Headteacher)

It was not just that community members did not see the interventionist's development as valuable and thereby withheld their labour, they appear unable to go beyond what appeared to be more valuable in the present and apparently offer to pay money rather than become involved in the development work requested by the chief. Even if a major principle of sustainable development is the ability to protect the future (WCED, 1987) the attitudes of respondents did not explicitly suggest that this was their concern. Instead, they pointed to a

need for further cross-party dialogue concerning the aims of the development. Three respondents during the first focus-group made suggestions as to how this might be possible.

Interviewer-DC **How can NGOs and government be partners in empowering communities to seek solutions, rather than just supplying them with their needs?**

Respondent-1 Teach people about self-sustainability.

Respondent-2 Community should be taught how they can end their community problems.

Respondent-3 By encouraging people to organise community development committees.

(Coil-1 Focus-group discussion)

Another respondent, Mwandida (Coil-1 teacher), believed that the purpose of community development was to achieve self-reliance. Self-reliance had not been used at any time in the conversation so at this point it became an emergent theme.

Interviewer-DC **What do you think the purpose of community development?**

Mwandida It's for people to be self-reliant in their community.

Interviewer-DC **Who do think is responsible for development?**

Mwandida The community should have a responsibility for developing their own area.

Interviewer-DC **How does development benefit communities?**

Mwandida The benefit of development in a community is this; the people in community have an access to use the things they can afford with their own money. For example – schools

(Coil-1 Interview with teacher)

These respondents appeared to see themselves as the recipients of teaching about sustainable development. They did not feel they had the knowledge necessary to deal with social problems and adopted a passive stance, acknowledging the NGO to be the senior partner in the process. The last respondent tentatively offered a different approach and showed that the result could see the community organising their solution. Tension seemed to exist between those who viewed development as something the government, or NGOs should take responsibility for, and those who wanted to see the community take, or be given.

Overall, the data confirm the view that principles of sustainability are being questioned by community members. This is particularly felt when the intervention does little to move the community towards transformation and self-determination. The data appears to suggest that the community desired greater involvement in the process of development.

Community Involvement in Intervention – Beneficiary Ownership:

During the interviews at school-2, the headteacher spoke of what he considered to be the significant development of his school’s infrastructure, carried out by at least three NGOs. He also described the involvement of the community.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Interviewer-MJ | What is community development in your opinion |
| Kamulomo | Hoping to develop the school by one moulding of bricks helping with the cooking of the porridge, |
| Interviewer-MJ | Yes |
| Kamulomo | It is the community that is doing that work – cooking porridge putting up the fences around the school learning centres standard one up to standard four – they go in the afternoon – in those centres it is the community that is looking after those centres. |

(Coil-2 Interview with Headteacher)

The pupil/teacher ratio at this school was the lowest of the schools in the research group (1:43), yet the school appeared to have more resources, and more teachers, than was usual for schools in this area. The headteacher was comfortable about the part the SMC played with regards to NGO involvement as the NGOs funded, guided and followed up all the proposed works. The contribution of the SMC was reduced to applying for assistance, having nothing to do with guiding the process.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Interviewer-MJ | So, there’s a co-operation between the community |
| Kamulomo | Yes, there is a co-operation between the community the donors and the school |
| Interviewer-MJ | Can you explain a bit more about that? |
| Kamulomo | That’s what I’ve said, when choosing, sometimes we call for a meeting, PTA meeting, parent teachers association. We sit down and discuss issues concerning the school after that we come up with one point we want to do. But the meeting is |

called by the School Management Committee, through the headteacher. And the Chiefs they also can be there.

(Coil-2 Interview with Headteacher)

Evident in the data was a desire for community participation in the process of development. In the above instance, the recipients of aid had the opportunity to discuss the issues but had little power to shape the direction. In other development initiatives, respondents expressed scepticism over the way NGOs handled the process. They spoke of corruption experienced, and suspicion that leaders had misappropriated funds. Nevertheless, while the people are benefiting were 'done-to,' rather than encouraged to play a participatory role, there was some agreement that stakeholders *should* take part in the process.

From Coil-1 a teacher, Buluzi, is emphatic about the desired response of the community:

Interviewer-MJ **What is the responsibility of the community with regards to the development in the community?**

Buluzi Community should participate. Community should participate. Are you getting me? Community should participate.

(Coil-1 Interview with teacher)

While the first coil suggested how self-sufficiency could work, the second coil focussed on the need for consultation between stakeholders. The link between the TAs (Chiefs) and the project appeared to be minimal with the role of the community reduced to merely facilitating NGO intervention.

Interviewer-RS **Have you ever communicated with any NGO or Government to give your views about development that you need in this area?**

Teacher - Muli Ah, many developments, we just receive it without communication with them, so we don't have choice for choosing development..., the problem is that it begins from top officials to stakeholders instead of stakeholders to top officials.

(Coil-1 Interview with teacher)

The discussion at the focus-group confirmed the current tendency for the community to allow the NGOs to take the lead role in development. They accepted, as normative, the idea that NGOs would follow government guidelines, rather than seek the real needs of the

community. Nevertheless, the group reinforced a critical view, anticipating a time when the community would take ownership.

Interviewer-DC **How can development work involve all members of the community, and how can it be carried out correctly?**

Respondent-1 People should know how to take care of the development work

Respondent-2 People should be self-dependent and know their responsibility towards development.

(Coil-1 Focus-group discussion)

The traditional development process is one where the headteacher initiates, the chief mobilises, and the NGO utilises the community effort to complete the programme they have decided to do. The apparent view was that people should already be aware of their responsibilities, and be willing to take part. It appeared that the respondents believed in the traditional process of development as it had been explained to me. The impression given is that there are no hindrances to community development, however, when respondents were asked a question about interest in development it was revealed that problems do exist.

Interviewer-DC **Does it matter if a community has little interest in development work? If so, what practical steps should be taken?**

Respondent-1 The community does not have essential development materials, for example, for schools and hospitals.

Respondent-2 When the community does not have good hygiene no healthy people can be found.

(Coil-1 Focus-group discussion)

The question as given is ignored by the respondent to highlight difficulties causing the lack of interest. Respondents appeared to be saying that they believed that lack of infrastructure prevented an adequate discussion. The second respondent followed up by adding further reasons for the failure to become involved. No practical suggestions were made to increase interest. Whether this was because the respondents believed community members lacked interest in development, or whether they assumed everyone was interested, was not explored.

The data appears to be supporting the idea that at least some community members were looking for is a full partnership in the dialogue leading to the development, or at least an equitable partnership in an agreed process.

Summary of Findings on NGO Activity:

The data covering NGO activity seems to suggest that sections of the community in the research field considered that most government and NGO led development, is provided without sufficient consultation. For the most part, the only participation that appears to be expected, from either the NGOs or the community, is for the community to mould and bake bricks, and at times provide additional security on the development site. Secondly, the discussion concerning development appears to be shifting from a position where assistance is sourced from outside the area, to one where the guidance of the process of change is internally led. This change in direction is still at an early point as 'self-reliance' is mentioned more frequently than 'sustainability'. Thirdly, the underpinning principles of sustainability are coming under scrutiny because it is failing to bring the community any nearer to transformation. Finally, what the community is looking for is a full partnership in the dialogue leading to the development of educational infrastructure.

However, four of the five factors identified in the literature (Chapter Two, page 30) appeared throughout the data suggesting that community desire for change may precede a move towards self-reliance. Furthermore, the frequent gathering of various committees to discuss development increases social capital and NGOs appear to encourage stakeholder dialogue and encourage communal action. Further evidence of there being advances towards a self-reliant paradigm can be seen in discussion regarding ownership of intervention, evidenced by PTA gatherings and community building programmes arranged outside of NGO or government programmes (Field-notes February 2015).

The next chapter examines the data about school-based development. It covers both tangible infrastructure and the intangible aspects of development relating to teacher development.

CHAPTER SIX

Exploring the Boundaries of Self-reliance

SCHOOL-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:

The fifth chapter located the boundaries of self-reliance and explored the data to see how rural communities were becoming involved in the process, accepting the need for accountability and demanding accountability of others. Increasingly, the data appeared to suggest that for this to happen external agency should reduce control of the process and empower the community thus limiting the incidence of passivity.

The present chapter continues to explore the boundaries of self-reliance by examining whether school-based infrastructure development still retains the capacity for community-led responses without any side-effects. The data is explored for the way professional identity is constructed by both the teachers themselves and local government. Infrastructure development and teachers' professional identity are overarching themes found in the data and discussed in this chapter. The data is explored to determine the extent each theme remains in the hands of the beneficiaries to shape or control events.

The literature in Chapter Two identifies significant issues in low-level educational infrastructure development that negatively impact teacher motivation in the classroom, as well as directly influencing teacher professionalism. What is not explored to any great depth is whether factors other than pay and conditions are influencing levels of motivation. Links between low motivation and effects on teacher identity have not been thoroughly examined in recent African literature, tending to focus instead on the inadequacies of pay, allowances, resources and infrastructure (Selemani-Meke, 2013; Selemani-Meke & Rembe, 2014). This chapter presents data that goes some way towards exploring how teacher identity may be constructed at a professional level.

Two Overarching Themes:

The first of the two overarching themes explore the present practice leading to infrastructure development and considers whether it is sufficient for the current demands of local communities. As the Malawian population is expected to rise significantly in the coming

years (DPD, 2012), government capacity may be insufficient to construct enough school buildings. Communities that rely on government and NGO intervention may risk contributing to the breakdown of the way traditional authorities manage the processes governing community development. The second overarching theme explores whether forced transfer of teachers and lack of sufficient training leads to disempowerment and a lack of professional identity.

The methods used to explicate NGO activity were analytically applied to the data drawn from the six iterations to consider the overarching themes for school-based community development. The data gathered from the full data-set (six iterations) cover five issues that are significant to the provision of both infrastructure and teacher education and the factors identified earlier in the literature:

1. Construction of infrastructure – concerns ownership/dialogue and stakeholder inclusion (Factor – paradigm change)
2. Dialogue – between stakeholders over the process of development. (Factor - inclusive consultation)
3. Concern – for the traditional process for development (Factor – Integrated intervention)
4. Training – constructing professional identity (Factors – teacher agency & Autonomy)
5. Transparency - DC, TAs and community leaders informing others (Factor – Accountability)

Construction – Paradigm Change:

The first coil presented various ideas for community development, particularly where it concerned either school improvement, health or food security. There were indications during the discussions that the respondent's concerns were wide-ranging and critical of both the outside agencies and their role. It involves the question of whether there is any evidence of a paradigm change evidenced by either a change in ownership of the intervention, increased dialogic encounter and stakeholder inclusion.

Problems common to the process were explained by Osokosa, a teacher from the first school. He explains how those who are experiencing development see the process. The lack of information from school and village development committees is at first attributed to the 'selfishness' of local leaders.

Interviewer-DC **“Which development is most needed in this area?”**

Osokosa “We are looking for clean water here; some more school blocks
good roads.”

Interviewer-DC **“What are the factors that hinder development in this area?”**

Osokosa “This is so due to the selfishness of our leaders; they don’t consult local people when deciding to start development work. Sometimes they choose people who they think they can push around, and this increases corruption. It would be better if the VDC (Village Development Committee) were more involved.”

(Coil-1 Interview with teacher)

Osokosa spoke about whether the needs of the community were understood by the giving agency and expressed an opinion that the NGO should listen. He is not saying that they never do, but there is some implication that it does not happen enough. He suggests that this only allows the community to ‘hope.’

Interviewer-RS **“What do you expect an NGO to be able to do for your community?”**

Bokosi “Building school blocks and houses can feel good... because many teachers come from a far distance and renting, and if we build we can move and settle them here.”

Interviewer-RS **“What do you expect an NGO like LWE to be able to do for your community?”**

Bokosi “Yes. We can say like that when they come we explain our problems to them. As I said already, that we need school block and houses for teachers, they see that we are suffering, but they did not give any promise, but we believe that they can assist us.”

(Coil-3 Interview with trainee teacher)

Many of the respondents referred to the building of school blocks as this was an obvious need that all but one school in the two zones experienced. Housing for teachers was less frequently mentioned. Some partnership was involved but usually cited as being between government and an NGO rather than with the community. Respondents often gave the impression that they felt that the assistance given was inadequate, but the main criticism remained the lack of consultation.

Very few schools in the research area had recent building work completed, so the new school buildings in Coil-2 were a source of considerable pride for the headteacher. There were notices on the walls of the school to explain the role of the NGO responsible for the funding, but nothing indicating community participation. Despite the obvious achievement, the headteacher could tell me little about the process that led to the development. Even the School Committee chairperson, who was closest to the process, struggled to explain what had happened. This may indicate that local stakeholders were insufficiently involved.

Interviewer-DC **“Who donated this development work (building school blocks)?”**

Mulezi
(School
committee
chairperson)

“These are there is a certain white man we call..... a white man who came his name is I have forgotten a bit a certain man he was from Germany who built two school blocks. Another one came and built these toilets, only that I have forgotten these donors who built these other blocks.”

Interviewer-DC **“Who built these other blocks?”**

Mulezi

“Oooooo...this block was built by a certain white man we call.....”

Interviewer-DC **“Or what was the name of their NGOs?”**

Mulezi

“They were not NGOs but were just donors they came to ask us about our problems that we were facing at this school, and they took our problems and got a solution, and that is how we came with these new blocks.”

(Coil-2 Interview with teacher)

The question about partnership and ownership brought interesting insights into the process. Kalulu (Coil-4) describes the tension between NGOs and other partners.

Interviewer-RS **How can NGO and government, be partners in empowering community development?**

Kalulu

Yes, if the NGO come in and sensitise the community we can do something different apart from waiting for the government or NGO to provide some resources or materials.

Even in the communities we can have needs and can work out ways to generate resources. The NGO has brought

capacity. They can come and share ideas how to generate resources.

Also, if we've started self-developing our community then other NGO, even government, they can come and help us... I mean compliment areas.

Then NGOs come and help to bring new ideas and constructive ideas and some skills to generate some resources and (show us) how to come up with development rather than somebody come in and help us.

(Coil-4 Interview with teacher)

The interviews had shown that although community mobilisation was anticipated, it was expected to follow the lead from the donors. Several factors anticipating successful community development were mentioned in interviews and were later discussed in the focus-group. There is an acknowledgement that 'self-development' of the community had already begun and that 'developing resources' was more than possible. An integrated approach to the intervention is evidenced by reference to the community, NGO and government participation.

Communication – Inclusive Consultation:

The need for schools to make proactive contact with NGOs stems from the fact that the Local Development Fund (LDF) was only able to provide funds to construct four buildings in the district during a school year. Most communities did not realise that following the traditional route to development by baking bricks would not automatically result in the construction of a school building. Few seemed to realise this, and the Director for Public Works admitted that there ought to be a greater level of transparency over the issue.

Interviewer-MJ **“Do you think the council is as transparent to the communities as it would like to be?”**

Limbani “I should think if it is not as transparent to the communities as it should be in the sense that the things are done here in the district and then the communities out there actually they are sort of like (pause) unclear.”

Interviewer-MJ **“...they are not consulted?”**

Limbani “They have not been given the classroom block...they say, ‘we submitted a proposal for a classroom block, but you have not responded’ Maybe to go back to them to say, ‘this is the situation...’ I think there’s that gap ... it is not always that they

are given feedback to say, 'we have this number of classroom blocks and we have only completed in areas 'A' and 'B' because of A, B,C.' ... I think there is the challenge – they don't get feedback.

(Interview – Director of Public Works 11/06/15)

From these responses, it appears that further dialogue was needed, not only with the chiefs but also with community representatives. While 'dialogue' was not frequently mentioned, the sense of needing consultation was. It was linked to the concept of 'good' community development and Freirian principle to set 'faith in people' as an 'a priori' requirement for dialogue.' (Freire 2005, pg.90). Limbani understood the 'gap' in feedback and had outlined a significantly inclusive consultation between civic and traditional authority. This indicated a move towards community ownership that was intended, even if it was not successfully applied.

Interviewer-DC **“As an individual, what could you do to help bring development to your area?”**

Mlamba “It is by having a dialogue, sitting down together and talking about how best the community could help solve the problems. Then you may decide to ask support from the DC (District Council) and other NGO' s through project proposals.”

Interviewer-DC **“What stops people from getting involved?”**

Mlamba “It is just ignorance as some (believe) that because they don't have any position within the development team, forgetting that they are the same people who may enable you to have a position, so, it is important to take part.”

Interviewer-DC **“What is a good example of community development?”**

Osokosa “The good community is the one which can involve the village committees when running it as this build a spirit of ownership, unlike the one which can just be imposed without consulting the community.”

(Coil-6 Interview with teacher)

From the respondent voice, 'good development' appears to be built on the principles of consultation, any other form of development considered to be less than helpful because it does not lead to empowerment. Such development appears to be considered an imposition. Mlamba appears to be suggesting that to achieve the 'spirit of ownership' people must 'sit down together,' without privileging one over the other. The assumption is that they can then discuss what is the 'best' for the community.

Concern for Traditional Process – Integrated Intervention:

The traditional process for obtaining development assistance was explained to me many times by the respondents. Current practice is for the chief to give the community responsibility for baking bricks (Dekker, 2010; Barnett, 2012). When the bricks are ready, they are used by the community to press for assistance from NGO or local government. The assistance expected is usually in the form of cement and tin for the roof. The expected results from this model were becoming less likely, and as a result, confidence in the process appears to be dissipating. The focus-group discussions confirmed this, adding several statements indicating where improvements 'should' or 'must' take place. They reiterated the need for more school blocks, teachers' houses and other school buildings. They were, however, rarely critical of the traditional process because they knew that on occasion it still worked.

Respondents from School-3, who had already seen the process bear fruit, pointed to the need for the community to take responsibility for development.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| Respondent-1 | "The community must take part in development work instead of just receiving." |
| Respondent-2 | "They should know that they are the ones who can work and get their needs and minimise dependency life." |
| Respondent-3 | "Government and NGO should take part in teaching the community the ways they can deal with the problems." |

(Coil-3 Focus-group discussion)

The data record has respondents saying that they '*should* work with NGO and government', they '*should* be taught how to deal with problems' and that materials and information '*should* be made available'. Coil-3 focus-group discussion helped build my understanding of what is not happening by mentioning what '*should* be.' The community understanding is still that the development will be '*done-to*' them with NGOs teaching, sensitising and making regulations. Coil-2 and 3 recommended the growth of community responsibility, but Coil-3 suggested that better understanding of significant issues would occur with further research. Factors absent in practice, but conducive towards school development, are expanded upon during this coil's focussed discussion

Underpinning self-reliance is a desire for community participation from the start ('must take part'), and a dialogic relationship between stakeholders ('building as relationship') and

discussion revolved around establishing this perspective, although the second coil had ignored it. Furthermore, the 'must take part' aligned with the 'instead of just receiving,' (respondent-1, Coil-3) indicates a move towards 'working-with' (White & Tiogco, 1997, pg.14; Wells, 2015, pg.23) rather than having an imposed programme. Respondent-2 links a connected community acting to reduce dependency. This is confirmed by the attitude shown by Bololo in the Coil-4 interview. He emphasises the necessity to build a relationship between the school, the community and the agency intervening in development.

My journey towards a better understanding of the processes involved informed me of deeper tensions undermining the traditional approach. Much of the tension lay in the confusion over whose responsibility it was to own the development. The confusion is only apparent because each actor presented a different understanding. The headteacher of the Coil-4 school, Bololo, felt that the school, 'we,' should train the community, but understood the necessity for a 'good' relationship for this to work.

Interviewer-DC How can development involve all the members of a community?

Bololo "Ah, you know what for the community to take part in the development there is a need to have we say three stoned system. One, we should train the community to know their responsibility towards school...and the relationship needs to good between these three angles, the community, the school and the NGOs so that they should work hand in hand most of the times."

(Coil-4 Interview with Headteacher)

The 'three-stoned-system' mentioned here suggests a requirement for an integrated intervention where each party understands the responsibility required of others. Adding to my improved understanding of how to development was constructed, the focus-group suggested that supervision, monitoring and evaluation would add value. Any failure was expressed by the group as an opportunity for reflection, which in turn provoked stakeholder ownership, something that had not been considered by previous focus-groups. My initial assumption, based on the available literature, was that such understanding might not have been present in school development. Here that assumption is challenged as stakeholders apparently work towards an integrated intervention.

During the focus-group where the Senior Chief, Mbira, attended there were obvious shows of group respect extended towards him. Nevertheless, the frustrations some respondents felt over the traditional process leads to the theory that NGO and government activities have some part to play in the down-grading of the Chief's influence. The Chief assured me that it was not

possible for a community to resist an invitation from him to bake bricks for a community development project but then went on to describe a community that did just that. In this instance, the NGO providing material assistance took over the position of liaising with the school to provide a school building, the community then acted outside of the Chief's direction.

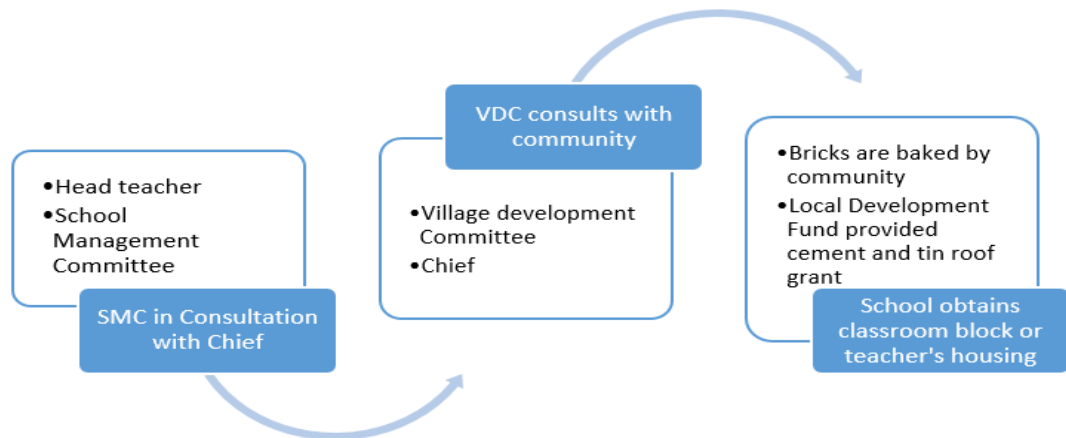


Fig 6.1 Traditional Development Process
(Drawn from respondent testimony)

This impression was reinforced by a discussion with the other parties involved. Rather than working with the chief, the NGO provided the toilets they felt the school needed, ignoring the wishes of the chief to provide the school with a classroom block. The NGO also failed to consult the community. This lack of transparency appeared to sideline the chief's authority and placed more reliance on the external agency. Significantly the story was explained to me from a different perspective by the District Council development officer, the Chief (Mbira) and the school headteacher involved.

Despite the assurances from my gatekeeper that the Senior Chief was well respected, and from others who said that development only worked when he gave instructions, the evidence suggested otherwise. Over the years I had observed piles of bricks lying unused next to schools that needed classroom blocks. As the absence of bricks at schools that were short of blocks also needed some explaining I asked the Chief questions that would reveal the nature of the community's attitude, both to his authority and the development process. The Chief's role was explained by the School Management and PTA Committee chairperson Bonya at school-6.

Interviewer-RS **“Let's assume you are building a school block and some people are not taking part in the development work, what can you do to involve them?”**

Bonya "We usually write letters to our community heads, informing them about these people, then the Chief discusses with them; then they start to participate".

Interviewer-RS "That means it depends on the Chief to take a special role in each development?"

Bonya "Yes".

(Coil-6 Interview with PTA chairperson)

The role of the Chief appeared central to the discussion of development and the way it occurs. In every discussion with headteachers, the Chief sets the pace makes the rules and his word apparently determines what happens. The community is apparently dependent upon the Chief as well as aid agencies. When I was first made aware that one local community was taking assertive action, contrary to the Chief's direction, I asked the Chief about this. As we had got on well in meetings before this, I was confident of honest answers.

Interviewer-MJ "There are some problems with development within a community that I've seen... Does the community have the right to say to you; "No!" Can they say "No?"

Mbira "No. they don't refuse. They agree".

Interviewer-MJ "Can (emphasis) they refuse?"

Mbira "They can't".

(Interview with Chief February-2015)

The Chief appeared to settle the matter by saying that the people could not refuse him. However, when asked about a specific community that had been asked to mould the bricks for a school block, and then used the bricks for something else, Mbira admitted that the position was not so clear.

Interviewer-MJ And have you asked the community?

Mbira Yes of course

Interviewer-MJ And have they made the bricks?

Mbira No. Some, But few. (he explains) Sometimes, maybe the headteacher needs 120,000 bricks. So, they can afford 60,000 bricks, not reaching what the headteacher or the government needs

Interviewer-MJ Are the communities saying that they will mould the bricks and then they are being slow in moulding the bricks

Mbira Yes, that's the problem.

Interviewer - MJ They are on the way, but they haven't finished moulding the bricks?

Mbira Yes.

Interviewer-MJ Are there any schools that haven't asked for bricks?

Mbira Yes. like... I can give you an example. Like (names school). They build the bricks only for the community... the village heads and the community now start separating — others they say no we are not making the bricks. Others they say: “no, just tell us how much we can pay to buy those bricks”, ... So how can those NGOs help them with the blocks... Even the government they came there (saying): “We have the money to build some block, some school blocks and teachers houses but you don't have bricks, how can we help you?” Very difficult.

(Interview with Chief February-2015)

The tensions found in this example were coming to the surface. It might be, in this case, that the Chief did not want to admit that his authority was being undermined. It may be that he did not even recognise that this might be the case. On the other hand, it may be that he was just unwilling to acknowledge this erosion of his authority in front of a relative stranger. What respondents described was an action unsanctioned by the Chief, and he appeared to be expressing concern. Independent action may be evidence of a self-reliant spirit, or it might indicate a breakdown in traditional authority. All over the district, communities had manufactured bricks in the hope that local government or an NGO would come and give them cement and tin. It was when help from the government sources did not materialise that this community began to reject further calls by their chief. NGO action appears to sideline the chief in favour of working directly with the community.

At first, both the Chief and the community appeared to suggest that the process by which development occurred was without difficulty. Once it was understood that this was not what happening the Chief admitted that the village heads and the community ‘were now separating.’ Even people who pay not to participate were no longer paying. It appeared that the process only worked if the community dealt directly with the NGOs as the District Education Manager was advising. Describing further difficulties when development stagnated one respondent commented:

Respondent-1 “Development work doesn’t move, or sometimes it ends.”

Respondent-2 “Community does not have essential development materials, for example, school and hospitals.”

(Coil-2 Focus-group 07/11/14)

The testimony above appears to show the constraints upon development. However, respondents in the third focus-group explored the difficulty they had with the question.

Respondent “It can be difficult for the community to take care, projects like schools and boreholes are already implemented.”

(Coil-3 Focus-group 29/11/14)

One problem, from these respondent’s perspective, is that the community is not given ownership of the development as the projects have ‘*already*’ been implemented by the NGO. The implication being that control was out of their reach. Secondly, lack of the materials necessary prevented the community from justifiably taking ownership. The third problem expressed by several respondents was the failure of interventions to reach completion. The cause of this, suggested by respondents, could be the lack, or misappropriation, of funding and materials, even a lack of interest coming from the community. From the perspective of the stakeholders, another critical concept behind the failure to take ownership was said to be because they were unable to define the direction of future development. Another question explored whether the community held any answers to these difficulties.

Focus-group **“What practical steps should be taken?”**
facilitator-DC

Here the respondents in the second focus-group were more concerned with the role the NGO played in bringing the development.

Respondent-1 “All the community members are supposed to take part
Coil-3 in any developmental project so that they improve their community.”

Respondent-2 “Chiefs and entire community need to be sensitised
Coil-3 about the development.”

Respondent-3 “They (the community) have to know their responsibility
Coil-3 towards development.”

(Coil-3 Focus-group 29/11/14)

The respondents first identified what should happen (consultation), and explained that this should involve the whole community. Secondly, they claimed that this is still not happening. One breach of cultural etiquette was that the initial approach by those bringing the development was often missing. The pattern described by many respondents (including the respondent in this focus-group discussion) would be for the chief to be first acquainted (sensitised) with the aims of the development. The respondents claim that the chief would *'have to'* pass this on to the community and assign responsibilities and duties (respondent 1 & 3). This still does not address the question of ownership or even whether the NGO and the community should be discussing plans for development before the necessity for the intervention is determined. What the respondents appear to be saying is that they are unhappy with the way NGOs usurp the Chief's traditional authority.

School-5, like School-2, had seen considerable infrastructure development. There were links with NGOs from the UK, and the Local Development Fund (LDF). This had provided for a new classroom block the year before this study (Kishindo, 2000). There was a re-statement of the traditional convention surrounding local development (Fig.6.2). However, the data shows that this included additional elements that appeared to recognise the weakening of traditional authority influence. There was also a recognition of tensions surrounding a development programme (Fig.6.1) due to unintentional power issues between NGOs and the traditional authorities.

Even though the likelihood of obtaining an LDF grant was minimal, the communities continued to use the conventional process. When NGOs step in to replace the need for LDF funding community involvement was still expected, but the power behind the development appeared to shift from the Traditional Authority to the NGO. What the respondents were telling me was that instead of the community expressing a *'real need,'* the NGO was tasked to *'sensitise the village chiefs'* about the proposed development. The sensitisation was followed by meetings the chief conducts to explain the NGOs *'felt need'* to the community because: *'People do not know the importance of development work in their area'*(focus-group 5). Although discussion emphasised community involvement, the focus-group did not appear to consider the implications of taking ownership.

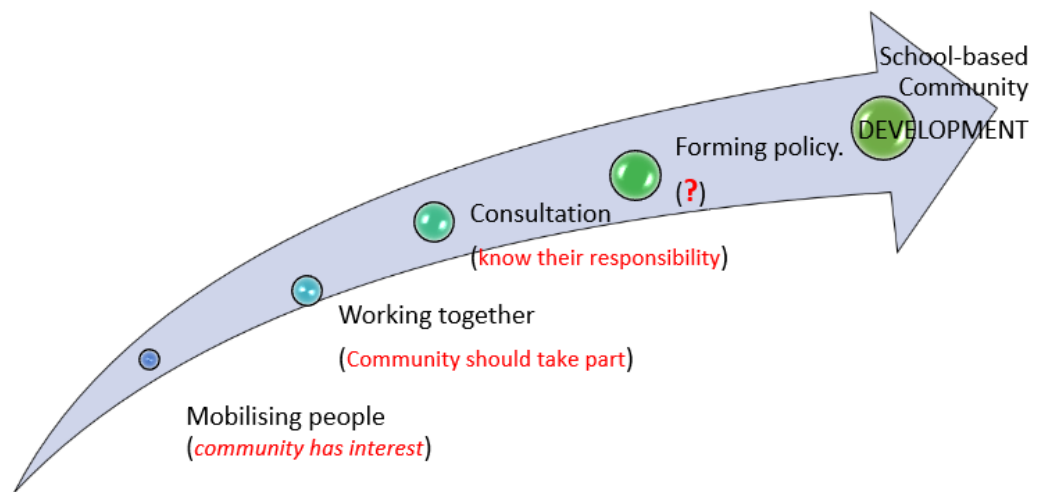


Fig 6.2 Coil-2: Factors Leading to Community development

(Respondents identify steps [in red] preceding development but appear unsure how the construction of policy underpins activity)

Consequently, this focus of the research was suggested more by the absence of data than its presence. By recognising the need to participate, but not its implications, the lack of data suggested that issues of transparency or accountability, identified in the previous coil, needed further exploration as a foundation for future self-reliance. Respondents frequently cited the traditional process whereby the chief mobilises the community, and then the NGO or government steps in to produce cement for the walls and tin for the roof (fig. 6.1). While this process is applied successfully (fig. 6.1) leading to development, it is often dependent on factors (indicated in red fig. 6.2) that cannot be guaranteed.

Each party in the development process understood their role (headteacher; school management committee; chief and village development committee), but consultation appears to take the form being told what was going to happen. This appears to be a ‘done-to’ model of development, rather than one completed ‘with’ the community fully participating. Komaae’s testimony is typical in demonstrating the community’s lack of contact with developers.

Interviewer-RS “Do you think that the partnership between government and NGO can help to develop people in an area?”

Komaae “The partnership between government and NGO is very helpful to the development of rural areas as this brings or provides what communities are lacking.”

Interviewer-RS “Like what?”

Komaae “Like building class blocks and teachers’ houses and some small things that we do not have.”

Interviewer-RS “Have you any contact with people responsible for development?”

Komaee (long silence) “No.”

(Coil-5 Interview with School Committee chairperson)

While infrastructure was the most often mentioned theme within both the interviews and the focus-group discussion, there was a paucity of ideas as to how the traditional process might bring about a more favourable end. The failure of the traditional process could be observed from the piles of unused bricks next to schools, or the continued lack of construction in other schools. I was told by Headteacher Kamulomo (Coil-2), that the District Education Office was encouraging headteachers to make contacts with NGOs to see if they could offer ‘assistance’ in building infrastructure.

The final coil discussions pointed towards a model of self-reliance (Fig. 6.3) There was more debate around encouragement (positive evaluation) and the necessity for questioning reports (critical evaluation). The respondents all offered solutions to perceived development difficulties (maintaining development). There was an emphasis on the community taking responsibility (dialogue and stakeholder participation), demanding accountability as well as

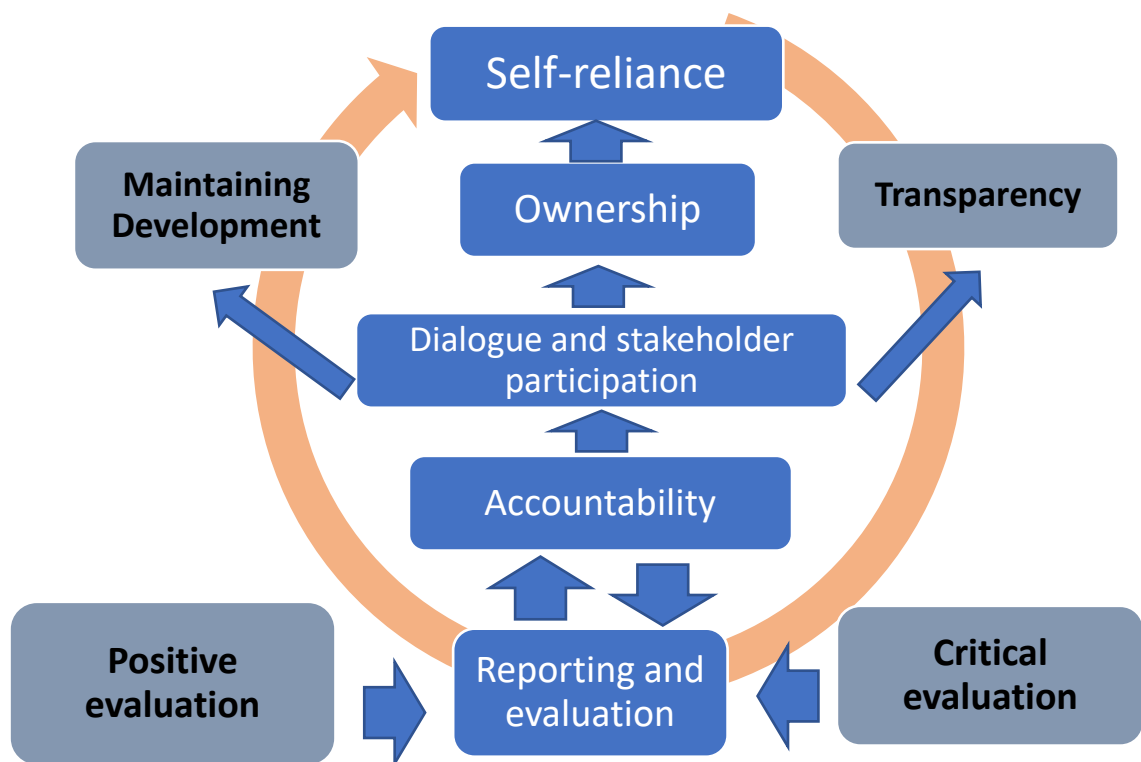


Fig. 6.3 Coil-6 Shape of Self-Sufficiency

(Diagram co-constructed with participants of focus group-6)

being accountable (arrows in both directions). The sixth coil school was the only place I observed a gathering of parents outside the school on a school day. They were there, I was told, to discuss school improvements (ownership). To call for community involvement might be the first step, but to spend time in the process shows commitment, and it also displays a different level of accountability – downwards. This means that the parents, who are the beneficiaries, are expecting to see the school be made accountable to them (Kilby, 2006). The approach suggested by respondents demonstrated that dialogue was being valued, that input from stakeholders was valued.

If the link between dialogue and community participation could be established, then more communities might also participate holistically in the process of development. There appeared to be some changes in responses through the coils that indicated some respondents were embracing the national agenda for self-reliance. This was beginning to appear through the data. Also, the principle of accountability was becoming the litmus test that would determine whether self-reliance could become a possibility in local development.

Transparency - Accountability:

The respondents repeatedly suggest that communication is important if transparency is to take place. For example, the respondents raised the issue of communication between the District Council, Chiefs (TAs) and community leaders. They appeared to suggest the distribution of funds used for development should be transparent all groups involved.

People spoke of not trusting the process of intervention because they had little input and no guiding role. The danger for the community, as Zabdoda explains below, is that if they are not involved at an early stage in development, they will become increasingly passive.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Interviewer-RS | “What practical steps should be taken?” |
| Zabdoda | “The people that are running it (development intervention) must be transparent because if there is no transparency the people who are assisting next time cannot help, they cannot take part.” |
| Interviewer-RS | “Can you explain this?” |
| Zabdoda | “For example, people who are running a certain project should be transparent when they are doing their work, they shouldn’t do something those people can have any doubt over ... they should try to be up-front, telling them that we were moving |

from this step to this step... but if you are without transparency, the second time they can lose hope, they will not come next time.”

(Coil-5 Interview with deputy headteacher)

‘Transparency’ was frequently mentioned by respondents, often while describing misappropriation of funding. Frequent experience of disappointment regarding development appeared to make respondents wary of building up too much hope.

Interviewer-RS **“What about attitudes towards authority? Money? Property in the workplace?”**

Kalulu “My belief is that teamwork is the key to success; and the moment you say the team, there are people differently talented, they have got different abilities, work experience, so if they come together, it is very possible to achieve the goal. It is also transparency, and accountability, working in the community. It helps people; they say: “ohoo so this is what they’re doing.” Transparency and accountability is one thing needed.”

(Coil-4 Interview with teacher)

The interview with Kalulu echoes what many others said about the traditional processes involved in community development. There was often a strong reaction against anyone trying to build an individual empire so, by placing the group, or the ‘team,’ at the centre of any development, individuals are prevented from assuming too much power. However, the role of the chief still seemed significant.

Training: Constructing Professional Identity

The professional identity of teachers has been shown to be an ‘intricate and tangled web of influences’ and its construction dependent on the mix of schooling, belief, experience, training and family environment (Bukor, 2013, pg.323). The data provided insight into these factors shaping the identity of teachers in the study. Training and teaching experience were frequently mentioned. Challenges to this construction of identity were also pointed out:

Kalulu Teaching in Malawi have got a lot of challenges. in person, we talk of delay of salaries, ... you are just looking for the government and you see nothing is coming.... In terms of school, the challenges in teaching are learning resources - in most cases we don’t have

enough - so we are always under-funded, ... and under-staffing, this is another challenge.

(Coil-4 Interview with teacher)

This is consistent with previous research (Selemani-Meke, 2013) but fails to mention the challenges of insufficient training. Neither does this respondent mention the challenges teachers face when forced to relocate from one school to another. Describing his experience as a teacher Kalulu (Coil-4) recalls three transfers to schools that have shaped his outlook:

Kalulu I have been in Lilongwe for since I was born up to 2004 then I came to Salima. I spend just a month in Zomba then I was transferred to Nkhotakota for three months there and transferred to Dedza were I stayed for over ten months, then back to Salima that is 2009, up to this time.

(Coil-4 Interview with teacher)

While such movement reduced autonomy, this respondent appears to consider it a means to acquire knowledge of 'different types of tribes and people.' His professional identity seems to be empowered by the process of transfer. In the next case, the move was accompanied by a promotion.

Interviewer-DC Have you always lived in Chipoka?

Jando No, I am just coming because of work, but my original home is Malapa village. Before here I was at Thugulu primary school I stayed there for three years, and before Thugulu I was in Chikwawa district, there I stay almost four years.

**Interviewer – Were you happy about this?
DC**

Jando Yes, I am happy here because I come here as deputy headteacher but when I was Thugulu I was just a teacher.

(Coil-1 Interview with teacher)

Some on-the-job training had occurred in the research schools in **(A)** Early Grades Reading Activity (EGRA) (Evans *et al.*, 2013), **(B)** Teaching and Learning Using Locally Available Resources' (TALULAR), **(C)** Investigation Vision Action and Change (IVAC) teaching methods and **(D)** the School Improvement Programme (SIP) (Appendix XI) (see: Table 6.1). New teachers are expected to learn by taking their classes and developing necessary skills and knowledge as they go. Those who have spent a year in college are supposed to be given extra help. By 2012 it was

reported that standards of reading were rising (Pouezevara *et al.*, 2012). However, when asked if they had received EGRA training, only one school admitted to receiving any (fieldnotes, 2015). A new Education Act of Parliament was passed in 2014 requiring all classes to be taught in English.

School	Types of Teacher Training				Zone
1			IVAC		Ngodzi
2	EGRA	TALULAR			Chipoka
3				SIP	Ngodzi
4			IVAC		Ngodzi
5			IVAC		Ngodzi
6			IVAC		Chipoka

Table 6.1: Types of CPD 2013-2014 in schools 1-6

A new school curriculum was rumoured to exist, but even the District Commissioner did not have a copy. He asked if I could obtain a copy for him. Furthermore, no special training to cope with the changes brought by the new education act had been given to teachers.

None of the schools in the two zones Ngodzi and Chipoka had been given training in all these areas, and only one school had experience of more than one type of training. The other schools in the two zones had received training in thirteen additional areas.

Making use of local resources (TALULAR) was only carried out by one school (School-2) in the research group during the past year. Only two schools in the two zones had this training in the last year. While a commendable range of training had taken place during the previous year in the two zones, the more remote the schools were, the less likely they were to have received more than basic training. It appeared that the further a school was from a centre of population; the less likely the attached teachers would receive training.

Further education was talked about frequently. However, the respondents were unable to say how they might obtain the training. Often, when asked about training their answers displayed an intention to obtain training outside of education.

**Interviewer- Do you need any training for your work as a teacher? or
DC any other training?**

Mwandida I need if I can have a course in human resource management and also have further training in teaching course

(Coil-1 Interview with teacher)

Another teacher explained the need for training in other subjects and shares that the need for this training lies in his difficulty to understand the text-books (School-5. 07/01/15)

Interviewer-RS

Do you need training?

Zabodza

Yes. As a teacher, we need proper training.

Interviewer-RS

In what areas?

Zabodza

Yes. As a school, we need a proper training because there are other teachers who teach only mathematics, they had no skills to teach another subject. This means that they need more training to teach another subject.

Interviewer-RS

What about for you?

Zabodza

Yes. I need some training.

Interviewer-RS

What are the difficulties?

Zabodza

Some of the books are difficult to teach from; that's why I need some training.

(Coil-5 Interview with deputy headteacher)

This teacher goes on to describe training he had undergone outside of the local authority to become an HIV/AIDS facilitator, and proudly explained that 'I teach the youth how can prevent HIV/ AIDS.' Kalulu (Coil-4), wants more teacher training and points out that 'without training ... you cannot perform well...' This is pointing to the need for a deficit model of CPD to compensate for subjects left out of initial training. It is not only deficit training that teachers saw as being needed. Muli (Coil-1) saw the need beyond school training. 'If they can build a vocation training college so that our children should go and learn skilled work to help themselves' links the ability to self-sustain to the quality of education and mirrors the linkage between training and career growth (Kunje and Steiner-Khamsi, 2011). He feared that if further education were not provided, it would mean: '...we invested for nothing, so we need any college, like teachers training college or vocation college'. This desire for vocational training was

expressed passionately whenever the interviewer asks about respondent ambition. NGO worker Sosola (Coil-1) emphatically says 'It's my desire to have a training for my job;' while another NGO worker, Mtsinje (Coil-4), said: 'I still need more training. I need to know much more.' The significant factors identified from the literature regarding teacher learning all appeared to be present to some degree in the data. The desire to be more involved in determining the training received and to hold the District Council to account, supports the view that school-based intervention was capable of encouraging self-determination.

Summary of Findings:

The factors demonstrating self-reliance have been identified in the data to varying degrees. Schools frequently mention contact with NGOs over the intervention proposed and, while the responsibility proposed by the NGO is often very limited it acknowledges stakeholder participation and encourages an integrated approach. Despite this, data covering school-based community development shows that present practice is problematic as there are insufficient opportunities for construction, irrespective of whether the community is willing to participate. Unrealistic expectation plays a part in undermining confidence in the process, and the by-product of this is the erosion of authority exercised by the traditional leaders. The data indicated that respondents felt that the local government (District Council) needed to do more to ensure that communication between stakeholders provided an adequate understanding of the limitations of available funding mechanisms. One chief found his instructions were not followed and that School Management Committees (SMCs) sometimes took development into their own hands.

The factors identified by the literature with regards to teacher learning and professional identity suggested that to demonstrate self-reliance teacher agency, autonomy and a willingness to be held accountable would be evident. The data has shown that while teachers have a strong desire to access training they have little opportunity to take control of the process particularly if they are located some distance from a centre of population. As far as teacher training is concerned the data suggests that provision for deficit training is still very limited and schools are not receiving even the statutory minimum. Also, the intended provision of training to be linked to career progression is still not happening and that teachers are frequently demotivated due, not only to the poor pay and conditions but the gap between proposed development and actual development. While most teachers were not agents in managing the learning needed to secure career progression, there was some evidence that they were acquiring a varied skill set through forced transfer and frequently shifting jobs.

The next chapter examines the data about the significance of faith. The factors of faith literacy, readiness to accept difference and whether there is an open, constructive discussion within inclusive collaboration with others, identified in the literature (Chapter Two) are considered in the light of the data.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

Exploring the Basis for Self-reliance

FAITH

The fifth and sixth chapters explored the perspectives of stakeholders which indicated that communities would benefit from being more involved during the planning stages of any proposed development.

The present chapter continues the exploration of both the boundaries and the basis of self-reliance by questioning the attitudes of respondents with regards to their approach to issues of faith. Faith is an intangible and elusive element in all development work as it is present in every community and may mean quite different things. While some NGOs recognise the significance of faith in development, others identify themselves as Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs). The data in this chapter explores ways in which local actors perceive faith to be a significant motivator for development activity, and this lays a claim for a greater consideration when plans for development are made.

There are various types of FBOs identified in the literature. Recent research (Karam, 2014; Davis *et al.*, 2011; Wrigley, 2011) highlights the tensions between the separate purposes FBOs bring to the development and suggest that those who mix developmental assistance with intentions to spread a specific faith message are going to be the most mistrusted. It has also been suggested that a greater understanding of faith positions in development work is necessary (Kessler and Arkush, 2009; Ommering, 2009). In turn, this has led the World Bank and the United Nations to adopt faith-friendly policies (Marshall & van Saanen, 2007; Haynes 2012). USAID and DfID, as Aid agencies, now take this into account when strategising their approaches on the ground. For instance, USAID set the strategy that was established by the Centre for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (CFBCI) in 2002 to provide a meaningful dialogue between faith and community-based NGOs (USAID, 2008a).

Overarching Theme of Faith:

As each of the data-sets gathered information with regards to the significance of faith consideration of the emergent themes has been set next to the emergent themes.

- Range of Meaning - Factor - Development of 'faith literacy'
 - Perceptions - Factor - Readiness to accept difference
 - Equitable Collaboration
 - Eliminating Bias
 - Common Ground
- } Factor - 'Open constructive discussion'

This chapter explores a significant theme of cooperation between faiths and how the differences between them might become an opportunity for one to discover more about the other. The data suggests that conceptions about the intransigence of faith perspectives may need to be revised. However, while there is a great deal of common ground between people holding faith positions, there is still a deep pool of suspicion lying beneath an expression of unity and cooperation. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) argued that protocols for engagement between faith positions may need sensitive development and utilise extensive dialogue before suspicions are erased (UNDP, 2014). If developed, the resultant protocols could be used to form the foundation for whole community transformation 'maximising community impact', providing sustainable growth and encouraging the formation of 'inclusive social values' (*Ibid*, pg.7).

As in the previous two chapters, the research methods were used to explore data from the six iterations to consider the overarching theme regarding the significance of faith in the move towards self-reliance in community development.

Range of Meaning – Faith Literacy:

Faith is a key area in the study. In each coil, respondents were asked about the significance of faith in their workplace. However, this was too broad an inquiry. It did not explain whether the inquiry was about the respondent's personal beliefs and spirituality or, the faith that people refer to when talking about religion or a variation of 'hope,' concerning aspects of unknowable life events. The answers respondents gave indicated considerable variation. My first interview reflected a wide scope of meaning. I had asked:

Interviewer-JJ **"In what way does a person's faith affect their work?"**
 Odala "That is helping teachers because they come here in the morning they have faith in the learners as well as preparing

their work, and they follow the orders of the school respecting the headteacher even respecting the regulations and the rules of the Ministry of Education. They don't oppose learners, that is they have faith in their work. That is, they don't beat learners, that is, also shows that they have faith in their work."

(Coil-1 Interview with headteacher)

Faith, according to Odala can be; faith in *work*, faith in *others* or faith in *yourself*. All are important for 'helping teachers' do their job. This headteacher implied that by showing 'faith' in these ways, the teacher would not 'beat learners.' The subject of 'beating children' is often remarked upon when talking to teachers, demonstrating perhaps that some teachers lack this kind of faith in their work, the learners or more significantly, themselves. God and religious faith were not the first thoughts that came to Odala's mind. At first, other respondents also saw the question to do with the 'confidence' a teacher might need in the classroom which is another possible meaning for the question given. Most, however, appeared to see it as a religious stance and briefly explained how it worked out in their school. Headteachers would describe how they would act even-handedly with pupils, not dictating prayers but asking the children to pray. Showing a practical stance for cooperation one headteacher (Christian) gave an opportunity for a Muslim to pray one day in assembly, and a Christian the next day (field-notes, 20/10/15).

Perceptions – Readiness to Accept Difference:

The perceptions shown by respondents indicate that experience decides whether communities felt disrespected by NGOs or not. Some perceived that FBOs acted more favourably towards those of the same faith and were lacking in transparency.

Interviewer-DC **"What are the challenges can a faith-based organisation meet when trying to work in a multi-faith area?"**

Nkhwani "When the NGO comes it should not show or emphasise about its denomination, it to come as an NGO which is there to help the community whereby they might be of faith or non-faith. When carrying out its duties, it has to show that it's an FBO; like LWE. In the first place we heard that it (LWE) belongs to a certain church, we even heard that only members of that particular church were employed. But, now there are changes, people of other

dominations are also employed, and non-faith are also there”.

(Coil-4 Interview with PTA chairperson)

Impressions appear to count for a lot, and word can often travel quickly. The reputation of the FBO may determine its capacity to carry out its objectives or work effectively with the community. A teacher, Mulezi, points out that she believes that it matters very little what faith brings the intervention so long as a result is community empowerment.

Interviewer-DC “Can a person who has a different faith bring a development (intervention) in an area?”

Mulezi “Yes, it is possible because when we see the development we don’t care which religion brings it, but we see them bring aid in the community. Let’s say the community is facing a problem, and the faith-based NGO bring a development - we welcome it with both hands because they can empower us.”

(Coil-2 Interview with teacher)

According to Mulezi then, the ultimate test of the FBOs usefulness is its effectiveness, not whether the ‘faith’ from which it originates is correct. In her view, the yardstick of effectiveness is not so much the short-term benefit, but whether the NGOs can empower the community. For this respondent, faithfulness is not the issue, self-reliance is. My observations before the research had led me to think that schools were just looking for ‘assistance,’ and less concerned with being empowered. However, even the early coils revealed a community member’s concern for being enabled. By saying ‘we should be inclusive’ Mulezi appears to be involved in the process.

Interviewer-DC “What difference does it make to development work if someone has faith?”

Bololo “That one has faith, that means he can do without bribes, can do without fear, there is transparency. That means that one has faith, that is why *we say we should be inclusive* so that those people who don’t have faith should learn from their friends.”

(Coil-4 Interview with Headteacher)

This is evidence of a willingness to accept difference and develop faith literacy. Two of the factors necessary for faith to contribute successfully to self-reliance. Many respondents, like Bololo, made a connection between having faith and being trustworthy. It also suggests the possibility of what James called (2016) 'open, constructive discussion.' This expectation is further extended to FBOs. Bololo also links 'faith' with inclusive values. His testimony suggests that the display of such values is the result of one having a faith. The results, he feels, will be lack of corruption and the ability to pass the values on to others.

Others such as Kalulu (Coil-4), were more pragmatic, and suggest a capacity to become accommodating regarding faith allegiance. He suggested that community members may say whatever they felt the faith organisation wanted to hear so that benefits might be received. From his testimony (below), to 'shift' to another faith to receive help was the only way of not missing out. However, it was not possible to determine the extent of this attitude.

Interviewer-RS "What are the challenges for a faith-based organisation when attempting to work in a multi-faith environment?"

Kalulu "Yes. In a multi-faith environment, you know some people say: 'if you join them (support them in their ideas or activity), that means you *shift* to their faith, from position A to position B, in terms their faith". If I am going to lose out (from not getting assistance), it will mean that I will support Christianity ... so it is a challenge to other NGO or faith-based organisations."

(Coil-4 Interview with teacher)

The respondent appears to be pointing out that this is more of a challenge for the NGOs. It may be inferred from this extract that he is comfortable with the deception, but this may not be the case. Kalulu is not only explaining that people are aware that NGOs come with a faith agenda and that it is best to go along with it to acquire whatever benefit that is on offer. He goes on to explain the difficulty of having to appear to adjust his faith position to receive material assistance. Another way to read this respondent's testimony is to accept a willingness to collaborate with others.

The data appears to present opposing perceptions from the respondents. Some community members consider FBOs to be more trustworthy than NGOs working from a purely

secular ideology. Initially, respondents appeared to be putting forward the argument that NGOs and communities worked together in harmony, but this was soon qualified.

At times, respondents were critical of interventions. Some suggested NGOs showed unwarranted bias towards sections of the faith community and believed that this undermined their contribution. Respondents suggested that a more equitable collaboration should be practised.

Equitable Collaboration ‘Open constructive discussion’

Most respondents expressed views that peoples of different faith perspectives ‘should’ work together but did not provide examples of when this had ever occurred. One exception was described by Zabodza who had first-hand experience of inter-faith development work.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Interviewer-RS | “Can people of different religious faith work together?” |
| Zabodza | “Yes. They can work together. Even the project we are doing here there other Christian and other Muslims, but they work together.” |
| Interviewer-RS | “What would you say was a good example of this?” |
| Zabodza | “The project committee’s members here are working together, they are doing a commendable, and good job, but are of different faiths.” |
| Interviewer-RS | “Can you think of any difficulties this might lead to?” |
| Zabodza | “Sometimes they have a different belief.” |
| Interviewer-RS | “What effect do you think this will have?” |
| Zabodza | “Maybe <i>they must be separate</i> . Maybe because different religions can make one feel superior to others, so, it can have some dangers.” |
| Interviewer-RS | “So how a faith cans based organisation change community attitudes without preaching?” |
| Zabodza | “By doing their things honestly.” |

(Coil-5 Interview with deputy headteacher)

The above exchange with Zabodza (Coil-5) revealed interesting attitudes towards religion and faith positions in development. Firstly, there was the view that different faith groups can work together, so long as honesty and equitable distribution of benefit occurred. However, the respondent considered it important that the FBO members put their faith aside

while carrying out development work. He did not expand on what he meant by saying: 'they must be separate,' but shared the belief that often at least one side of the inter-faith group felt superior to the other, undermining the potential for success. It is possible that the cultural proclivity towards being even-handed prevented Zabodza (Coil-5) from taking sides. He speculates that a person from a faith position might 'feel superior' and supposes that this might 'have some dangers', but he does not give any examples. In this example, there is some evidence of all four of the factors underpinning faith's contribution to self-reliance.

Eliminating Bias – Constructive Discussion

The recognition that bias occurs was found in the data, and more than one respondent expressed concern that FBOs should refrain from showing favour in development work to those of their faith.

In the first Coil, most respondents indicated that there was little or no difficulty between different faith groups. On the one hand, they claimed that tolerance, understanding and integrity were found in all relationships, but later coils revealed that there was still a fear that development might only benefit members of the faith-group bringing the intervention. Other limit factors were mentioned (Fig.7.1) and appear to suggest that the significance of faith, as a unifying force, will only occur if it includes everyone, providing an 'equitable distribution of resources' (Amin, 2000, pg.12; Atuguba, 2013, pg.111).

During the second coil focus-group discussions, statements showing understanding of religious or faith difference were made. A few respondents rejected the idea that all faith groups get along together and acknowledged that it is hard to work with others who do not share the same faith. These respondents suggested that despite such difficulties, different faith groups must continue trying to work together. The data appears to support the view that despite the difference in faith perspective, community stakeholders in development consider that it is better to sustain development than to focus on divisive faith issues. In addition to further defining the factors preventing faith groups bringing development to an area, Coil-2's focus-group provided little in the way of practical suggestions regarding how to achieve sustainable development.

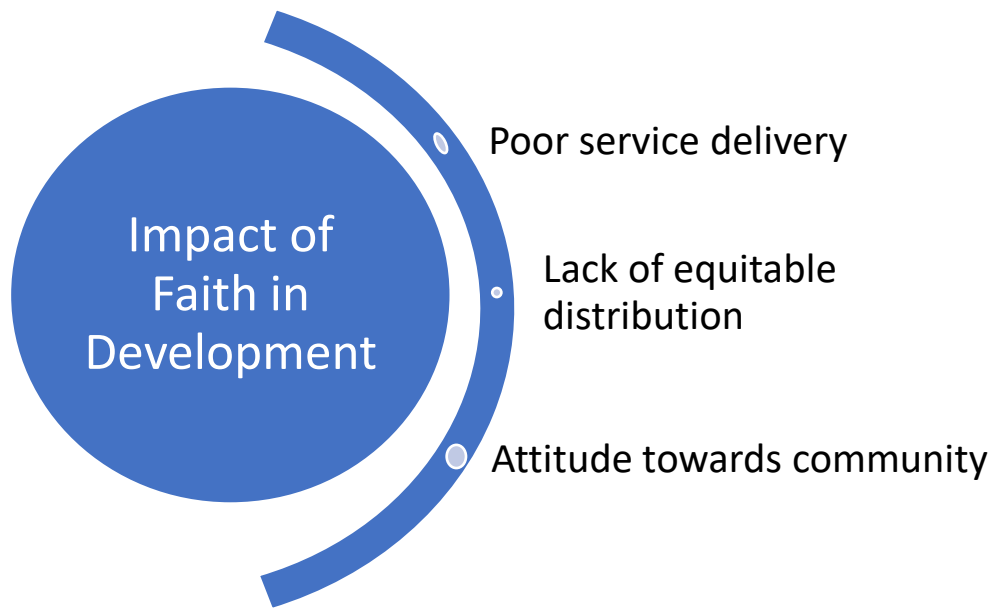


Fig. 7.1 Coil-1: Factors preventing FBOs having a positive impact

(Drawn from Coil-1 focus-group discussion)

The school in Coil-2 has a strong religious foundation in that it is supported financially by the Catholic Church. While claiming cooperation between peoples of different faiths during individual interviews, the focus-group began to suggest that difficulties existed between different faith groups.

Focus-group facilitator-DC	What are the challenges for a faith-based organisation when attending to work in a multi-faith environment?
Respondent-1	‘The other religions think that their members can be converted to a new denomination.’
Respondent-2	‘There is favouritism within the community.’
Respondent-3	‘Conflicts are caused during work – due to different faiths’.
Respondent-1	‘It’s hard to work together. This sometimes leads to insults and even being chased from the area’.
Respondent-2	‘There is bias in development work’.

(Coil-2 Focus-group discussion)

There appeared to be concern among this group that some faith groups try to poach members from their faith group. Other difficulties appeared to be an awareness of favouritism or bias, name-calling and ‘even being chased,’ a reference to the practice of firing workers without giving any legitimate reason. A similar story was heard during the coil-3 discussions.

**Coil-3 Focus-
group facilitator-
DC**

**What are the challenges for a faith-based organisation
when attending to work in a multi-faith environment?**

- Respondent-1 'Some community members are reluctant to take part in the development activities due to assumptions that they might end up joining another faith'.
- Respondent-2 'Community leaders belonging to a certain faith won't accept development projects coming from a different faith group
- Respondent-3 'There is a division of people and opinions among such communities.'
- Respondent -1 'A lot of people think that they (the NGO) just want them to join their faith, so they don't participate in development work.'

(Coil-3 Focus group discussion)

The respondents in coil-3 showed more concern that NGOs might offer development in return for a commitment to a (different) faith than any individual difficulties but appeared concerned that the community might lose out on a development project if their leaders rejected the project. In coil-3 the concern was between Christianity and Islam whereas in Coil-2 the tension appeared to exist between Catholicism and other Christian groups.

It is possible that tensions exist not only with Islam but encompasses denominational intolerance within Christianity. These tensions appear to show suspicion that Christian congregations were concerned about the motives within an intervention (Fig. 7.2). When a church-based group paid more attention to their members, this was considered divisive. Further testimony during coil-3's focus-group discussion indicated that development work accomplished more when a wider beneficiary base had been established. The Coil-5 focus-group discussion increased my understanding by suggesting that development ought not to be defined by the faith orientation of those who lead the development, but by the effectiveness of the work carried out. Unlike coil-2 or Coil-3 they called for an 'embrace' of other faith groups who can 'resolve issues together.'

**Coil-5 Focus-group
facilitator-DC**

**How inclusive can a faith-based organisation be? (e.g.
Should it accept people from other faiths or even no-
faith?)**

- Respondent-1 'Faith-based organisations should embrace people from other faiths in their operations as the people are one people they have same problems and can resolve issues together They can work on things/projects together despite their differences.'
- Respondent-2 'They can set aside their differences, e.g. They use the same boreholes, schools, hospitals.'
- Respondent-3 'Every NGO must allow chatting or working with everybody even the person who has faith or no faith because the development work is for all, like (in a) hospital, everyone who is sick goes to get treatment whether it is a person who has faith or no faith - even they work together.'

(Coil-5 Focus group discussion)

Coil-5's focus was upon the work of development, not the possible motivations that lay behind it. They held out practical ways in which representatives of faith groups could work together and suggested that the starting point would be to reduce the emphasis on faith differences because all people need development. Like the Coil-2 group, Coil-5 acknowledged the problems arising from fear of compromising their faith, and suggested a range of measures, beginning with an engagement in dialogue.

By Coil-5, the desire to overcome the tension between faiths was frequently observed. Both the headteacher at the time of the original interviews (Christian) and the headteacher at the time of the focus-group (Muslim) had a strong faith and expressed a desire to develop their school. These interviews and those with other teachers indicated divergent beliefs about the peaceful co-existence of faith groups. Some claimed that there was no discrimination at all, while others acknowledged 'big differences,' and 'disagreements.' There were challenges, but some respondents expressed a hope that constructive development was possible if different faith groups were involved. The focus-group discussion reiterated these views, adding that it was important to respect other people's beliefs. Values such as honesty were also emphasised. Faith would, according to this group, be judged by the works undertaken.

The same fears regarding favouritism, membership poaching and allowing development to be contingent upon acceptance of faith surfaced during the interviews with respondents during the fifth coil, but there was a greater willingness to look to the solutions when they attended the focus-group discussion.

The emphasis on working together appeared less marked in the final coil at the interview stage. Bonya, the PTA chairperson in Coil-6, remarked that ‘Research can help us become more inclusive’ and suggested collaborative approaches including going ‘together to the group-village headman.’ It was not in her mind that people should leave their faith behind when going to school, only that there should not be any discrimination based on a person’s faith. It was, she contended, ‘ignorance of one another’ that caused the tensions in the first place. The senior

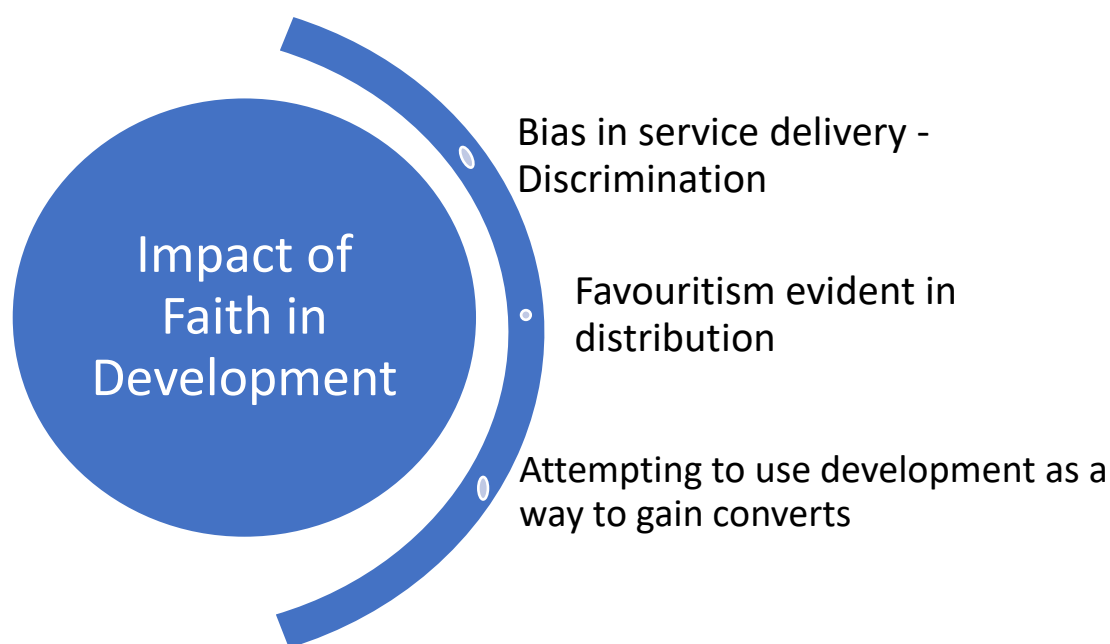


Fig. 7.2: Coil-3: Factors preventing FBOs having a positive impact

(Drawn from Coil-3 focus group discussion)

Chief, Mbira, remarked that ‘Pastor and Sheik used to go to school to give the word of God but now – no!’ (Interview – 16/2/2015). Removing the equality of opportunity with the aim of reducing conflict, was not the answer he felt was appropriate. He indicated that a person’s faith need not be kept out of their work so long as tolerance fostered a non-discriminatory inclusion and a willingness to share ideas. Mbira acknowledged that preaching in school could become a problem unless each faith had equal representation. The interviews in Coil-3, as well as the focus-group discussion (Fig.7.3), appeared to confirm the presence of values such as equality, tolerance and freedom of worship.

The respondents added that dialogue could overcome the tensions created by the difference between faith positions. Whereas Coil-3 had put forward the idea of ‘dialogue,’ without an example of what this might look like, the final coil provided an objective for that dialogue.

Facilitator-DC	‘How can the tensions between faiths be defused?’
Respondent-1	‘Through tolerance and respect for the other’s faith.’
Respondent-2	‘Contact and dialogue.’
Ffacilitator- DC	‘What strategies can be developed to enable faith-based organisations to become more inclusive?’
Respondent-1	‘There should be transparency.’
Respondent-2	‘And a willingness to know other people’s faith and respect them.’

(Coil-6 focus-group 23/02/2015)

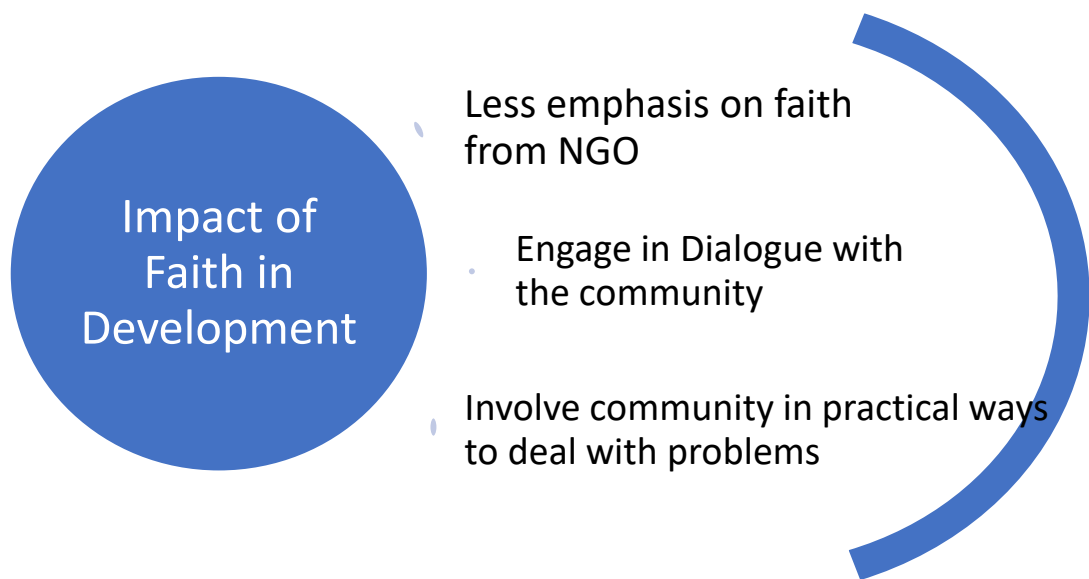


Fig.7.3: Coil-3: Factors removing barriers between FBOs and community development

(Drawn from Coil-3 presentation)

Whereas Coil-3 advocated less emphasis on the ‘faith’ issue – development coming from a Faith-based NGO - the final coil felt that the dialogue would help community members come to know about the differences and come to respect the differences. The data presents the respondents resisting segregation, encouraging pupils to pray in assemblies, holding religious clubs after school and encouraging religious education. The respondent’s wanted cultural and religious identities to be strengthened and for pupils to have respect for one another. There was an increasing focus on how to overcome religious difference explored through each coil. The first respondent in Coil-6 above gives an example how to do this by emphasising transparency.

The importance of having a village development committee was discussed at the focus-group, and there was a reiteration of the difficulties caused by lack of understanding. The dialogue (constructive discussion) was said to remove the ignorance and to prepare the way for

further development. Teacher training was also advocated. The focus in the data seemed to progress from the barriers to development, through to factors leading to their removal (Fig. 7.4). While some relevance to school-based community development may be inferred from the interview and focus-group discussion, the significance of the data appears to lie in the desire shown in each coil to focus on the 'values' that define the character.

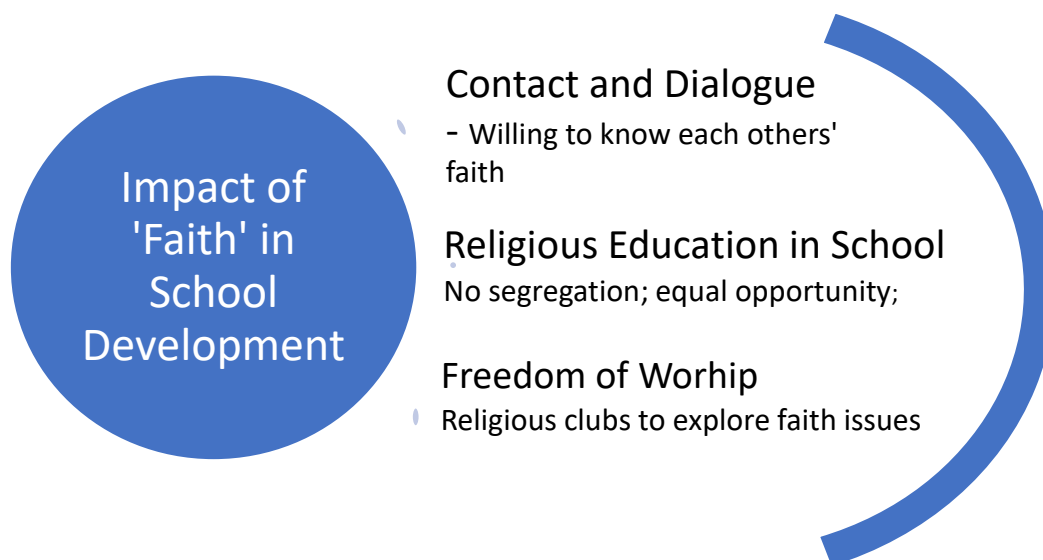


Fig.7.4: Coil-6: Factors removing barriers between faiths to assist community development

(Drawn from Coil-6 presentation)

Common Ground - Constructive Discussion

By the last coil, it seemed to me as a researcher, that four themes reflected a serious belief that people of different faiths can find common ground. These were: 'Working together', 'Sharing faith', " 'Faith in development' and 'Solutions'. Two themes appeared to highlight the problems. These were: 'problems with faith' and 'problems without faith.' Thirteen discussion points approached the subject as a problem to be solved, and thirty-four instances where faith was seen either generally or specifically as a solution. These suggested ways for faith to become pivotal in encouraging self-reliance.

The views shared by some respondents did not reflect every view in the community view but provided some insight as to how attitudes might change in the future. One respondent felt that the community was free from religion and this may suggest that faith may be less dominant than expected. Research has indicated that eighty-four percent in the least developed countries had a faith (Pew, 2012), but one respondent's perception appears to suggest that this figure may be shrinking. Misunderstanding FBO or NGO intentions may account for some of the perceived

threats but not all. Extreme judgements are either 'prejudice' or the result of common perception, but not necessarily true. Many still felt it necessary to see faith groups at the centre of development and wished to underpin change by increasing dialogue. Respondents may have meant that 'faith' issues would remain a significant factor in development for some time to come.

Echoing the work undertaken by the World Bank to establish a common global ethic (Marshal & Keough, 2005), one respondent said: 'we need to emphasise common ground.' There was appreciation when a church group was seen to work with both Muslims and Christians. Respondents indicated that less importance should be given to beliefs that were peculiar to a specific church, rather beliefs that are common to all should be emphasised. There was disagreement over whether one who had faith was necessarily less likely to steal or misuse materials. One said: 'the person with faith is dedicated' while another said: 'there is no difference between the one who has faith and the one who has not.' One respondent gave the opinion that: 'misunderstanding between community and NGO' was the problem. Another said: 'Preaching in school can be a problem.' The headteacher (Coil-6) believed: it is impossible to change people without preaching.' The problem was: 'ignorance of one another.' It was significant that another said: 'identifying development with faith is a problem to be avoided'. The respondent may have meant the problem occurred when the two were mixed, but this was not explained during the interview. Nevertheless, frequent comments were testifying that faith was 'important,' with respondents providing interesting problem-solving solutions. One solution was to have: 'a unifying organisation for all churches.' Perhaps the respondent did not mean a unified church, but an organisation that might provide a space where common values could be explored. Discovering that communities wanted to work together despite difference, and without the need to convert the other, was a significant implication that could be drawn from the data gathered. The data appeared to make the point that listening would play a larger part in the construction of any dialogue leading to the increased social capital.

Respondents were asked: 'How can we develop faith in schools without losing our faith identity?' The first answer appeared to be a version of a school policy document. 'We must encourage freedom of worship: for example: on Friday giving Muslims a chance to go to the Mosque.' From the respondent's tone, this may have been an issue concerning equality that had been resolved some time previously. The respondent appeared to be protecting the rights of the individual to pursue faith in the way they saw fit and appeared to be a fundamental starting point. The next referred to activities in assemblies and suggested that schools should encourage children to pray. That: 'when teaching; just mention "God," so that everyone should be happy.' Here, the respondent was attempting to smooth out differences in the way Muslims

and Christians might refer to the Deity. There were other suggestions: 'Give the children the chance to worship their God', and 'encourage religious education in schools,' followed by the suggestion that there should be 'religious clubs in schools which can have all members regardless of their faith.' While the early answers appeared to be supporting separate faith identities, the last returned to a common-denominator faith that did not acknowledge significant differences in the major faiths.

It is significant, in a country where ninety-seven and a half percent of the population has a faith (Pew, 2010), that the desire expressed by respondents was that the children should have exposure to difference. This degree of tolerance may lead to a completely different religious landscape in a single generation, quite beyond the expectations of the respondents. While the Chief commented on the restrictions placed upon religious leaders, preventing them from going to school to teach 'faith-truths' to children, some teachers appeared to be proposing that religion should be taught alongside respect for other beliefs.

Respondents frequently stated the view that working together was important and suggested that it was a valuable part of the work of the school as it identified values or spiritual qualities. 'Working together' was the most frequently mentioned and coded theme. The interest in and determination to work together cuts across the coils and was often supported with the caveat that sharing one's faith was an important activity.

Despite earlier indication that all faith groups worked well together, the data-set revealed underlying suspicions regarding the motivation of faith groups. Unless steps are taken not to discriminate and to present less emphasis on faith differences, fears about participating in FBO activity may exacerbate tensions in community relations. Central to overcoming these difficulties would be an open and constructive dialogue, in a space where all parties can shape the intervention required by the community. As this is a desire already being sought by some respondents, it is indicative of the potential faith has in contributing to a shift in development towards self-sufficiency.

Summary of Findings on Faith:

The results from progressively focussing on self-reliance issues, found in Chapter Five and Six, became more significant when considered against the background of faith. Firstly, the data suggests there is a tendency among stakeholders to recognise community participation as growing stronger. Secondly, a persistent distrust of FBOs motivation and a recognition that traditional processes bringing development were no longer working adequately, was observed.

Since most teachers cited faith as being significant, it is theorised that greater understanding of the common ground between faith groups would be necessary. This understanding may avoid tensions between groups seeking transformational development.

Supporting the findings of Selemani-Meke (2013), it appeared that for some respondents 'faith' was akin to confidence in the classroom, or professional competence. However, for others, it suggested a moral strength and capacity for dependability. Such respondent views lead to theories suggesting that there should be more dialogue and 'faith literacy' between Government and community stakeholders.

Perceptions varied and displayed different levels of tolerance. It was noted that respondents sometimes perceived NGOs as lacking in transparency, showing a lack of respect and displaying a bias towards those with whom they worked. On the other hand, others felt that NGOs coming from a faith background were trustworthy. However, it was noted that there was a readiness to accept differences in faith positions in schools and this may have helped to avoid cultural and religious tensions. The findings from the data-set included the expectation that there should be greater collaboration in development programmes and for this to occur stakeholder awareness would have to be raised through open, constructive discussion. Respondents felt that dialogue is an important strategy to discover more about another's faith and gave several examples.

It was suggested that, due to religious bias in FBOs, there was some distress over the possible exclusion to benefits. Respondents called for significant dialogue between faith-groups to identify common ground to eliminate bias. The respondents felt that religious purpose in development activities should be minimised.

The last three chapters have looked at the data covering each of the key themes and explored the relevant findings as they relate to the research questions. Chapter Eight presents a discussion related to these findings.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Created Space

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the main findings of the preceding three chapters are discussed over five key areas and linked to the research questions. The relationship of the present findings to previous research is also identified. The thesis has asked the following questions consistent with a case-study approach:

1. How can a school-based community development exemplify attitudes supporting self-sustainability in the context of rural Malawi?
2. How can school-based interventions demonstrate self-reliance within the education community?
3. How can faith groups encourage self-reliance in community development?

As the purpose of a self-reliant paradigm for development is to empower those at the centre of the need. Such a paradigm would first envision a 'working-with' approach (Freire, 1970; Tiongco and White, 1997; Wells, 2015) so that solutions are found by those facing the challenge. It is therefore necessary to explore the context and conditions where the paradigm might be applied. This research presents significant findings which inform the debate surrounding sustainable interventions which lead to a self-reliant development objective.

Interpretation of Findings:

There were four overlapping key-areas identified from the second-level analysis of each data-set. The first is the extent to which attitudes appeared to resist or facilitated self-reliant activities. The second is education, where the objectives of community development may be observed in both the tangible buildings and the intangible area of teachers' professional growth. The third concerns the ownership of development, while the final key-area discusses the significance of faith both in development and the construction of the teachers' professional identity.

The influence of Freire, (1970) Tiongco and White, (1997) and Wells, (2015) shape the discussion through their ideas on how partnership takes shape, and gives shape, to any development through their insistence that 'faith,' although understood in different ways, is still

important. Freire presumes development will occur through 'dialogue' when 'faith in humankind' is present (Freire 1970 pg.90). Wells shows how this kind of faith translates into 'working-with' activities that identifies either the one who is needy, or the one who provides for need as the Jesus found in the gospels. He shows that it requires each one to 'change the shape' of their own lives 'to accommodate the flourishing of another's.' (Wells, 2015, pg.167). Wells has built his argument on the earlier arguments from Freire, but also of White and Tiongco (1997) who state that 'being-with' the poor will mean 'reading religious texts from their point of view', rather than just to legitimize activity imposed upon the other. These writers go on to state that:

'None of us can realise Jesus' promise of 'life in all its fullness,' while some of us suffer violence, hunger, homelessness, torture, poverty-linked illness marginalisation or environmental degradation.' (Italics in original -White and Tiongco 1997 pg.15)

Their premise is that to affect a permanent, and sustainable solution to community needs requires a partnership with all stakeholders that must include the beneficiaries. They also explain why this partnership must begin at the design stage of any community development.

Shift in Development Paradigm (Chapter 5):

The starting point to ensure that the beneficiaries of development are aware of their need, and to harness that awareness to discover solutions. Wells (2015) highlights Freire's point that this leads to a 'commitment' that is one of the 'indispensable conditions for this struggle' (Freire, 1970, pg,67 in Wells, 2015, pg.110). The desire for self-sustainability, self-reliance and ownership of the process of development appeared as a frequent theme emerging throughout the research. The presence of an inclusive local NGO provides space for representative groups to explore these issues as it begins to provide the groundwork that may engage with the first research question (*How can school-based community development exemplify attitudes supporting self-sustainability in the context of rural Malawi?*) The presence and activity of the NGO may be the way to open dialogue between those that offer development and those that may be able to benefit. Regarding Pieterse's three instrumental spheres discussed in Chapter Two, such a dialogue potentially changes the paradigm by altering the 'objectives' (self-reliance through community ownership), 'methods' (dialogic encounter between equal partners) and 'agency' (stakeholder inclusion) (Pieterse, 2009, pg.13).

The respondents (see Chapter 5) reported that NGOs 'asked the people if they are willing to participate in *what they are intending to do*' (*Odala, Coil-1*) which suggests a power relationship privileging the action of the one providing the benefit. Respondent's testimony

suggest that the NGOs bring their agenda and ask the community to go along with it ('NGOs... tell the community their role' Bololo, Coil-5). The intervention appears as an imposition, and, some community members report that at times they are unable to resist, for fear of losing out (Kalulu, Coil-4). White and Tiongco suggest that this approach is managing poverty by keeping the poor 'at a distance.' This makes 'working-with' difficult to achieve. (White & Tiongco 1997, pg.60). The Odala (Coil-1) gives the reaction of people when faced by the imposition of development action: "So, these people agreed. Sure" (see chapter 5) to explain their lack of resistance to the developmental plans of others. The 'working-with' approach implies active participation by those who are going to benefit from the development because 'there can be no transformation without agency' (Wells, 2015, pg.109). The attitude, shown by Odala to current approaches to development, appears to be compliance and passivity and this indicates that a 'working-for' model of development is being used (ibid, pg.108). Zabodza (Coil 5) supports what Odala suggests by saying 'the school cannot deny' what the NGO wants to do. However, the data provides some evidence that the NGO enables the community to take ownership of the process. Kwakwa, (Coil-4) suggests that "Many NGOs didn't consult the community' which makes it possible to infer that some might be trying. The NGOs appear to initiate the intervention, discuss their plans and then secure agreement. The respondents report some level of partnership (see Chapter 6) in that the NGOs are asking for participation, but this is restricted to baking bricks. In the experience of Odala (headteacher, Coil-1), the community welcomes external intervention and sees it as positive but, in his view, the cooperation appears to be falsely constructed. He uses the term 'engineered', and this could be taken to mean that he sees the participation as something false. As shown in Chapter Two, the literature dealing with development theory suggests that self-reliance is nurtured when ownership, empowerment, participation, skills-transference and social-capital are all increased (Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2003, pp.196-219).

Wishing to explore people's capabilities along the lines of Sen's 'Human Development Paradigm' (Sen 1989), the findings in Chapter Five suggest that community members such as Zabodza (Coil-5) want to see intervention stem from their needs rather than the needs perceived by the NGO. It was suggested during the coil-5 focus-group that there should be a 'balance' in contribution between government and community and that an unequal contribution leads to frustration (Chapter- Five). The suggestions from Mwandida (Coil-1) that community members should be taught the principles of development, how to organise committees and take responsibility, indicate that more people wish to become involved from the beginning of an intervention. An NGO failure to liaise at this early stage may be the cause of the resistance reported by Mbira (Chapter 6), and explains when Odala's (Coil-1 headteacher) reports that

community members say; 'we don't want to work,' and then pay not to be involved (Chapter Five).

While the articulate and vocal respondents provided further evidence of such resistance, it may not be a common occurrence. Possibly the local leaders such as Headteachers viewed the resistance in only a few instances. Nevertheless, resistance was observed by respondents, and they thought it necessary to speak of it. Even if the majority are satisfied with the way development is carried out, either by NGOs or by the local council, it appears others are not. Another explanation is that respondents felt that expressing dissatisfaction with NGOs, in general, would modify the behaviour of the NGO I was representing. The sample used in the research consisted of leading members of the community, as a result this may be presenting an unbalanced picture of the community's desire for change.

The issue of resistance is explored as the headteacher Odala (Coil-1) considers community response to development. As shown in Chapter Five, community members are sometimes appearing to be unwilling to work with others in the community and will even pay to avoid participation in a community project. This may be because they believe it is initiated by the NGO rather than called for by the Chief. On the other hand, it may be that they are less intimidated by the authority figures. This might be due to a perception that the traditional power bases requesting participation carry less weight, or it might be the result of other factors working to empower communities.

The views of headteachers concerning the resistance of either the teachers on their staff or the District Council officials to the changes they want to see, may not reflect a true picture of what is taking place. Further observation will be required to determine the extent the recorded views reflect the view of the wider community. A drawback to the design of the research is that the sample interviewed was relatively small. However, exploring attitudes to change in a wider sample would have taken more time than was available.

The respondents frequently articulated the view, as Headteacher Kamulomo (Coil-2) did, that community development was about the construction of schools. Management of each school's resources, including the plans to make improvements, started with the headteacher, but there was support from other stakeholders. Kamulomo outlined the process by which action was planned. First the PTA then the SMC would debate the issues. While the Chief 'can also be there,' it appeared that his presence was a courtesy, because, the way Kamulomo told the story, the headteacher made the decision. He and other teachers indicated that education was suffering from a lack of infrastructure and this corroborates the extant literature (Selemani-

Meke, 2014). The Chief agreed with Kamulomo about the logistics of the process but appeared to consider his own presence pivotal ('they can't refuse' Mbira, Coil-6).

Some respondents suggested that they felt the community should be responsible for development because it would lead to some form of eventual self-sustainability. This belief was leading some to call for community development committees (see Chapter Five). However, it could be argued that there are still some who believe the community continues to need guidance from outside sources. This is evidenced by the respondents who said they believed that responsibility for development lay with the community alone (see Chapter Five). For these respondents, the community ought to take care of available resources, show transparency and accountability (Coil-4, Focus-group). The display of this attitude was not expected but contributes to a theory about leadership. Should the community have the opportunity to develop community projects using their agenda, or should teachers have the opportunity to construct training that dealt with their perceived needs? The highly articulate teachers participating in this research suggests that leadership is available. What is not apparent is whether there would be sufficient determination from the grass-roots. One respondent, Buluzi (Coil-1), wished to emphasise the need to encourage community participation, and in an atypical display repeated his call that the community 'must' participate. His emphatic: "Are you getting me," appeared to suggest that a previous lack of participation was the root of the problem (see Chapter Five).

Mwandida (Coil-1 teacher), spoke of self-reliance (see Chapter Five) and later described the 'pain' felt when development work broke down. It appears that at some level, ownership was felt to be present. Mwandida speaks of community 'needs' and the necessity to 'have a responsibility' for development (*ibid*). While Mwandida apparently understood community responsibility, she also expressed the opinion that whoever initiated development should pay for it. If it was something important to the community, then they should be the ones to pay (*ibid*). The tension, between those who want to see development, but consider it something others must do, and those for whom taking responsibility is an integral part of the process, lies in the apparently diverse opinions over the ownership of development and how it is financed.

There were indications that the respondents understood that, although taking part in development was difficult, taking ownership might prove even harder to accomplish. While some knowledge about development was apparent among teachers, there was a degree of hopelessness found in the data. Limits included: 'lack of knowledge' (Mdimba, Coil-1) 'fear' (Mbiridzo, Coil-2) and lack of finance, 'they don't have money' (Mfutso, Coil-4). Opportunities to become involved appear to be limited by NGOs and government. The government 'come

with their advisors' (Mbira, Coil-6) and NGOs 'lack of consultation' (Zabodza, Coil-5) all point to limits to community involvement. One way forward might be for the NGO to 'explain its plans about the beginning, and when it ends' (Bonya, Coil-6), so that then there would be an opportunity for engaging the community in the process. Another finding is that respondents are adamant that this engagement does not appear to be happening ('they are not working together' Mbira, Coil-6). One of the possible reasons for the apparent lack of activity is that experience has taught the community to be wary. One respondent said that she believed an NGO told the Chiefs of an intervention to help orphans that they were proposing, but first required each of the chiefs to collect 20,000 kwacha before the development could go ahead. Once the money was collected the "NGO" vanished (Mfutso, Coil-4). This story has led others to believe that their leaders 'have ideas for robbing the community.' (Misozi, Coil-3)

The findings from Chapter Five support the view that the community sees the need to engage in Freire's 'dialogic' communication over the process of development. If there a willingness to trust, to have what Freire called 'faith' in people (Freire, 2005, pg.90), it seems likely that cooperation will occur between peoples of different faith persuasions. While considerable time was spent explaining the importance of 'faith' it was not until later in the research that I realised respondents did not always mean 'religious faith.' However, there was much support for the idea that people should 'work together,' 'hand-in-hand.' Later declarations during focus-group discussions suggested that despite a desire for peaceful cooperation there had been many instances when religious difference frustrated developmental objectives. Headteachers often pointed out the mixture of faith present in the school, but usually, this preceded a story showing how this was not a problem. While 'faith' was declared to be important, it was not always something to be shared with others. Some suggested they enjoyed sharing their faith at work while others suggested it was inappropriate. This suggests that tensions exist over how faith may be expressed in the workplace.

During the visits to the schools I was often introduced to the staff. Each member would introduce themselves as there is a cultural expectation in meetings that all present should be allowed a say. This suggests that a dialogic protocol, where faith in others is a necessary pre-requisite, is already being practised. If so, then a 'people-centred advocacy' that challenges unequal power relations may work towards community transformation by enabling people to gain a greater understanding of their role in the process (Samuel, 2007, pg.617).

Shifting Notion of Professionalism – (Chapter 6):

Unlike earlier studies, this study has not seen teachers questioning the purpose of training received or even considering whether it should be compulsory or optional (Selemani-Meke, 2011). Had they done so it might have been construed as a first step to taking ownership of the developmental process (Selemani-Meke & Rembe, 2014; Whitehouse, 2011; Caena, 2011). However, the self-construction of one teacher's professional identity occurs because he is 'helping to construct the world,' and participating in 'different activities in the community' (Kalula, Coil-4). It is therefore consistent with current literature to describe the teachers' capacity for self-direction (Vähäsantanena *et al.*, 2008; Creaby, 2013). This case-study has observed that teachers feel they have little opportunity to explore their identity. Among the reasons they give are the brief training opportunities available to underpin professional identity, a "lack of time" (Mwandida, Coil-1) or because they are given insufficient 'proper information' about teaching methods. Nevertheless, they still say they have a strong sense of being a 'role-model' in the local community (Kalula, Coil-4).

Teachers give little indication that training has enhanced their autonomous development. One headteacher (Odala, Coil-1), stated that he was offered training but 'didn't go'. Nevertheless, he was continually promoted. Courses are available in the nearest town, but costs would prohibit attendance for most teachers in rural areas. While the 315 teacher development centres scattered throughout Malawi, and the placement of Primary Education Advisors (PEAs) in each zone, might facilitate reflection on teacher agency, it has yet to be seen whether any advantage is taken of this opportunity.

Teachers in Malawi may not be thought of as professional if the definition of a professional specifies one who sets their own goals, contributes to the setting of standards and plans action to meet their own career needs (Jamil *et al.*, 2014). As teachers tend to stay at the same salary level for many years (Selemani-Meke) many moved on as soon as they could find an alternative position (Odala, Coil-1). However, even by the end of coil-6, there were only a few indications from teachers of a self-reliant attitude whereby they would take part in adult education. The desire for training and professional development is frequently mentioned (Mwandida, Coil-1; Mulezi, Coil-2; Mtsinje, Coil-4), but does not appear to indicate that the teachers felt the need to set the agenda. Whereas Selemani-Meke found passive learning to be the exception (Selemani-Meke 2011) this study appeared to find teachers relatively unconcerned about controlling the learning experience.

The reason for the lack of apparent interest in designing or controlling learning opportunities is not clear from the data, but it may have something to do with the short time

many teachers stay in post (Kalulu Coil-4). Most of the teacher respondents were relatively new to teaching, while about a quarter had no college training. The PEA made several forced transfers for a variety of reasons while I was in Malawi, including one made in response to community pressure. As the teacher concerned does not have much choice in the move, this may contribute to a sense of disempowerment (field-notes, August 2015). If done excessively an unstable workforce is created (Kayuni and Tambulasi, 2007). The high turnover of teachers also exacerbates a situation that makes teacher professionalism difficult to encourage.

Even though subject to compulsory transfer themselves the headteacher has the central role managing the process of change. Two headteachers referred to their role as being 'engineers' (Odala, Coil-1 and Ungwe, Coil-6). Odala saw his job to 'engineer' the views of the teachers. He feared that if the teachers understood this, they would resist, and development would not go ahead. District Councils initiate and control the CPD programmes that, according to recent research, described in Chapter Two (Selemani-Meke, 2013), contributes to the lack of teacher motivation. In conclusion, this research concurs with Selemani-Meke & Rembe's recommendation that government should listen to the needs of teachers, to work 'hand-in-hand,' before implementing such a programme (Bololo, Coil-4). Rather than engineering their experience using the top-down approach expressed by Odala (Coil-1), engagement with the teachers' professionalism is expected. This is what Bololo meant by suggesting NGOs 'follow-up' training interventions, 'asking questions' about the implementation of ideas (Bololo, Coil-4).

As the questions focus on development rather than training it is not surprising that little was said regarding the nature of the training required. However, this study identified several issues mitigating against the ownership of development including forced transfers (Kalulu, Coil-4), and high turnover of teaching staff, potentially restricting the growth of professionalism among teachers. The lack of initial teacher training described in Chapter Two (Milner *et al.*, 2001), was cited by respondents as the reason why they might find another career direction. Others are persuaded to remain in teaching as a forced transfer sometimes brings about a promotion (Jando, Coil-3).

The teachers' concern about forced transfer is limited and they appeared to want more control over their career choices. However, as there were 'not many chances' of 'continuing with education' (gaining further qualification) or changing jobs, movement was restricted (Buluzi, Coil-1)

Respondents working in settings where poor infrastructure and lack of materials were undermining their attempts to improve learning made a connection between improved learning, 'quality education' and 'sustainable development' (Ungwe, Coil-6; Coil-3). One headteacher

suggested that infrastructural development was not a way of imposing on people (requiring bricks) but instead enabling stakeholders to 'buy our ideas.' The challenges of poor resources, lack of funds and understaffing, explained in Chapter Six (Kalulu, Coil-4), supports the findings of Selemani-Meke (2013), discussed in Chapter Two. However, it does not explain why, despite repeated calls to do so, the government has been unable to increase provision (USAID, 2012).

Teachers expressed the need for training not related to the tasks in school such as to 'teach children about HIV/AIDS' (Zabodza, Coil-5). However, the need to keep up with curriculum changes was barely mentioned, and only by NGO staff visiting schools (Bwenu, Coil-3). Building on the Freirian view that the local community is understood 'both as a totality in itself, and as a part of a larger totality (Freire 2005, pg.142) I reflected on the second research question: 'How can school-based interventions demonstrate self-reliance within the education community? I realised that there is a tremendous potential for education to exemplify the principles underpinning the new paradigm, even though development is unlikely to occur unless it is viewed from the perspective of the whole community. If the educational intervention can be given support from within that community, or if the initiative is paid for by the efforts of those for whom the benefit is intended, then many more interventions may be judged by whether self-reliance is the objective. The problem, as perceived by the respondents and shown in Chapter Six, was the lack of consultation with NGOs (Osokosa, Coil-1), and the impression gained by community members that development followed the aims and objectives of the interventionist rather than the one for whom the benefit was intended. Bololo emphasised the view that the school needs to control the agenda, setting targets, 'leading the community', motivating and setting the rewards. Once the intervention has been implemented he says; 'we are going to continue on our own' (Bololo, Coil-4). This suggests that previously cross-cultural insensitivity had been the root of the problem (ODI 1996). This is corroborated by Booth *et al.*, (2006) who describe short-term workers in Malawi failing to value the input of local actors in development. The change that the data most commonly suggests is taking place in the attitude towards agency, and where this rests in determining action.

The headteacher in School-6, Ungwe, told me how she got things from the District Council: 'you have to go and shake them' suggesting that those who worked a little more proactively might achieve greater results. She suggested that as a woman, she had to work a little harder to get things done (field-notes, 26/1/15). The significance of this is that it suggests that the traditional route through the Chief is being undermined by NGO intervention. I had been told by the Headteacher from the Coil-2 school, Kemulomo, that the District Education Manager was encouraging headteachers to approach NGOs for such assistance, responsibility for the erosion of power exercised by the Chief (TA) was not being borne by the NGOs alone. Depending on their social or professional position, respondents variously blamed a wide range

of people responsible for stagnation in development (IMF, 2017). The Chiefs, District Council, NGOs and those who extracted benefit illegally were also singled out for blame. Perhaps because of revelations of government wrongdoing in the media, many more people were disposed towards supporting an approach to development that led to self-reliance (Misu, 2016).

It is significant that the data seemed to show that teachers, and those connected to school development, were conversant with the need to establish equal opportunity regarding the provision of assistance, provide equality of access and opportunity, and allow for freedom of expression regarding religious belief. These are fundamental requirements for the dialogue necessary for inclusive development, and may also be the foundation for the establishment of teacher development where those who receive benefit should take responsibility.

Education, training for teachers and community development are linked in this key area. These are often conducted in the same space and demonstrate important links to one another. I was looking to see whether communities were ready to own development, as opposed to having someone else do it for them, and this may be compared to the extent teachers are prepared to draw upon their resources to develop professionally. Both may be dependent, and both are capable of autonomous behaviour that ultimately becomes self-sustaining. Much community development impacts education and covers, among other things, the construction of school infrastructure, training for teachers and an equitable provision of learning opportunities, as enshrined in the Education for All campaign described in Chapter One (GoM 2004; UNESCO, 2015). Within a community, this would be exhibited as active participation in the process of development, accountable ownership of aims and objectives and responsible distribution of the resources accruing from the benefits arising from development. It is wrong, says Bololo (Coil-4) to 'underrate ourselves' by saying 'the community is poor.' This is because they have family who are educated, who are employed and can contribute to the development (Bololo, Coil-4), Within schools, this would be exhibited as teachers desiring, and having more say, in the development of their professional identity. This study has found that teachers want additional training (Kalulu, Coil-4), but it has recorded only a few examples of teachers constructing the shape of their professional identity.

The problems the teachers describe with regards to school attendance, housing, and infrastructure discussed by Selemani-Meke (2013) are easily understood and could be alleviated with community action. The process whereby the community can take action is known, but 'waiting for the government or NGO to provide some resources or materials' remains the dominant approach (Kalulu, Coil-4). However independent community action, although unusual, does occur. One school employed a tailor to sew school uniforms; another school community built a small room that could be used as a classroom (Mosondo, Coil-3). The school

in Coil-2 actively sought NGO assistance to overcome their difficulties, but this, while involving the community by requiring the provision of bricks, did little to ensure that the aim of transferring ownership of the developmental process was achieved (Lopes and Theisohn, 2003). The question remains as to whether this exception underpins a move towards future self-reliance.

In Chapter Six, Mulezi indicates that the school was consulted about needs but does not say whether the school or the community, were involved finding solutions. This lack of involvement presents the school passively accepting the plans of others. Later Mulezi explains that it is individual donors, or NGOs, who decide what 'the right development for the area will be' (interview, 1/10/14). As this was the most significant development among the schools in the research area, it serves as a model for the others. The passivity shown by the school may set the trend among the other schools wishing to present themselves worthy of intervention by NGOs. In turn, this sets the trend for other forms of school development whereby the one in need of development allows whoever gives 'assistance' to take control of the process. As the first research question asks how a self-reliant paradigm can advance community transformation for development, the presence of an example showing a shift in power relations may serve to raise the contribution of local actors in development to a point where future action will involve dialogue with all parties.

During an interview Kalulu, answered a question about how NGOs and government can be partners in community development (Kalulu, Coil-4). He grappled with the tension between initial intervention and considered eventual self-reliant ownership (Chapter Six). His answer could be interpreted as though the community merely wanted assistance and partnership. However, another interpretation is that he believes that the community should be doing more than 'waiting for the government or NGO to provide some resources.' He explains that the community should 'work out how to generate resources.' Kalulu values the input of the NGO only for the initial training, capacity building and ideas leading to income generation, and wants the community to take responsibility. He acknowledges that the road to self-development has recently begun and the community will still need help from the government or NGO to 'complement areas' where work has already begun. While his last phrase, 'NGOs come and help,' appears to be suggesting that the NGO will still conduct the development, it could have an alternative meaning. This may be that the NGO is not running the development, with the community passively looking on, but 'rather' the community has 'come up with development' themselves, and is carrying out the work with NGO only adding 'constructive ideas and some skills' (Kalulu, Coil-4). This more active partnership illustrates a professional identity constructed on the principle of self-reliance.

The overlapping significance of faith is important for any shift to professionalism. In this case, 'faith' refers to confidence in people rather than religious faith in a deity. I was aware of Freirian influence after speaking to the Development officer of the District Council and therefore not surprised when the results from the data found frequent references to the need for dialogue. It is possible to consider that Freire's teaching on the necessity of having faith in people before dialogue 'face to face,' has impacted the way people think about discussion (Freire 2005, pg.91). The Freirian principle for dialogue is underpinned by humility and willingness to listen recommended by Selemani-Meke and Rembe (2014).

Shifting use of Faith – (Chapter 7):

In Chapter Seven, Nkhwani (Coil-4) highlights the serious issue of favouritism threatening the impact of the contribution made by faith-based organisations to ongoing development. From what she shared in interview there has already been a problem with FBOs working in the community. She explains that the purpose of an NGO is to initiate help to the community. While the FBO is expected to display faith credentials; it 'has to show that it's an FBO,' it ought not to display favouritism to those who share the FBO's faith perspective (Nkhwani, Coil-4).

Respondents made a variety of responses to the question that asked whether having a faith made a difference to the way development work was carried out. Some believed it to make no difference at all (Mbira, Coil-6). Others believed having a faith gave others confidence in the faith-holders integrity (Kalulu, Coil-4). Bololo, in Chapter Seven, indicated that a person professing faith would not accept bribes and was capable of greater transparency. In Coil-4 Kalulu felt that the faithful had a better 'vision' for the future. One respondent felt that the 'faithful' were more likely to show compassion on the needy than those who had no faith (Mfutso, Coil-4). These perceptions were coming from people who were professing a faith position, and this may account for the majority's obvious bias. However, others like Mbira, a Muslim, believed that faith and development were entirely separate (Mlamba, Coil-6) and there would be no reason to think that development work would be carried out differently. Perceptions depend on experience as well as belief, so these differences are not unexpected.

Making allowances for the multi-faith environment and respecting views different to their own is an important aspect of treating each person with equality, practising inclusion and being respectful. The result will be a non-discriminatory approach to development. Practiced in another way Kalulu (Coil-4) presented the idea that it could encourage deception by potential beneficiaries if they perceived the NGO were singling out beneficiaries based on whether they

agreed with the NGO on their faith position. His view was that it presented a challenge to the NGOs to avoid bias in their giving.

Agencies not subject to governmental control (NGOs, whether faith-based or not) are capable of that nurture and are growing in significance (Fountain, 2013). Recent literature points towards an increased pressure from 'local-level development' stakeholders to explore new public accountability mechanisms (Connolly, 2013) and to explore what can be done from the basis of faith (Wrigley, 2011; Haynes, 2007). Faith-based NGOs are presently discussing transparency and accountability concerning development (Hall, 2002; Olarinmoye, 2012b). In this respect, they are applying principles of 'humanity, neutrality and impartiality' (United Nations, 1991). Furthermore, FBOs can engage authentically with faith communities, even if the faith is different to their own (Clarke, 2007). It is possible to follow Williams (2009) 'rules of engagement' because they identify with the religious culture. However, while the findings indicate that not all arguments are made with respect, this is still an area that may need attention.

I found that respondents are admitting that there are 'problems' (Coil-1) with the NGOs and that work was being delayed (Misozi, Coil-3). The cause of the problems was not specifically assigned to religious differences, but later discussions revealed there were tensions between faith groups when NGOs were perceived to have acted preferentially towards those who claimed similar beliefs.

In earlier interviews, respondents were reluctant to speak in a negative way about the impact of NGOs on their community, or critically about community reaction. Probing questions during subsequent coils revealed that 'bad-behaviour' and no 'peace of mind,' (Kalulu, Coil-4), were responsible for some problems in development. People lost hope when they perceived that others were not working hard. Three causes were suggested from the Coil-5 focus-group. The first was that 'people had (a) divided mind,' or that government should not be expected to do everything, and NGOs should give more support. While some blame for poor attitudes was accepted in the early coils by respondents, the final coil presented a harder more accusatory perspective. The growth of a poor attitude was not only due to people's ambivalence, acting passively towards development, but it was said that development failed because of the 'misbehaviour' of some community members (Coil-6). Conversely, there were many instances where a respondent would testify to the positive and 'hardworking spirit' of community members (Kamulomo, Coil-1), work guided by 'principles' (Mwandida, Coil-1), and an attitude that led to people to work 'hand-in-hand' with unexpected partners (Jando, Coil-3 & Ungwe, Coil-6). The reason for such different views was not explored sufficiently but, it might be that

each respondent was viewing a different example of development and evaluating the results accordingly.

The most serious problem was found to be where a faith group treated beneficiaries according to the faith they professed. The results show that perceptions of bias, favouritism or an intention to proselytise can create difficulties. Whether the NGO is guilty or not suspicion is voiced, and problems emerge. At first, LWE was perceived as being a single denomination NGO, but Nkhwani, PTA Chairperson in Coil-4, noting that as people without faith, and from other denominations are now employed at LWE, the NGO is now practising the inclusivity it proclaimed.

The findings from Chapter Seven suggest that beneath a desire to maintain good relations with all, lies significant tension. Faith as a concept is not universally understood. The findings suggest that faith is perceived differently across faith groups and even within a single religion. The findings also show that there are considerable assumptions about people who hold to a faith position. This may impact the way NGOs present themselves. If they come with a faith-tolerant dialogue, they may find greater acceptance than were they to ignore the significance of faith in the lives of their beneficiaries.

In Chapter Seven a desire for equitable behaviour in schools has led to a policy of 'no segregation' in the way schools present the significance of faith to their pupils (Odala, Coil-1). Headteachers would work hard to remain neutral and not give an opportunity to a pupil of one faith without giving the same to others (Odala, Coil-1). I was not able to verify whether this happened, but the desire for an equitable approach appeared genuine. All the respondents from the schools stated that 'faith' was important. The development solution adopted by the World Bank from 2001 took account of this view and brought ideas for development that were sympathetic to faith position of potential beneficiaries by finding common ground between faith and development (Belshaw *et al.*, 2001; Marshall, 2007).

What I found at the start of the research was a tendency for respondents to suggest that there were few problems between faith groups, few problems with FBOs and a great deal of cooperation between all parties involved in development activities 'we are all able to mix, we share experience' (Odala, Coil-1). As the research progressed, I found that significant resentments were harboured by respondents because of perceived differences in the way benefits were allocated by NGOs. One respondent from Coil-2 (Tititi) understood the apparent fairness of Christians attending Muslim schools and visa-versa, but he found that when the schools had teaching vacancies the criteria changed, so only people of the appropriate faith could apply. I found respondents reluctant to provide specific examples of inter-faith tensions,

so it was difficult to determine how significant the fears were. During discussions in interviews and focus-groups, respondents asserted that FBOs should work with people of different faiths, to 'set aside their differences' (Coil-3 Focus-group). The respondents usually spoke of what the Faith-based NGO should do, but there were some who wanted to participate more in the way development was carried out. Freedom to worship in whatever way a person chose, no segregation or privilege and opportunity to know each other's faith (Fig, 7.4) were frequently approved. The finding of the study suggests that community ownership of NGO activity occurs when it is inclusive and resists segregation on religious grounds.

If 'faith' is an inclusive term promoting spiritual values of mutual respect, willingness to listen without judgment and faith in others, then dialogue may occur and bridges built between diverse positions. The findings from chapter Seven supports previous research (Marshall, 20051; Marshall & van Saanen, 2007) suggesting that there is a need to search for common ground among faith groups. The most significant finding in this area is the tolerance and humility expressed by most respondents towards the differing opinions of others (Kamulomo, Coil-2). This suggests that successful dialogue will take place in the space where discrimination is resisted.

Limits (threats to validity):

All research methods have limitations. There are weaknesses to be found when using semi-structured interviews and focus-groups just like any other approach. There were four areas where the research faced limit-situations that threaten the validity of the findings. First, methodological limitations and the scope of the study posed. Secondly, several circumstances presented difficulties of one kind or another. This also includes issues to do with the social context of the study. The final two categories capable of limiting the capacity of the study to provide reliable data are found in various respondent and researcher issues.

It is always difficult to avoid biases, and especially so when the one interviewing has pre-conceived notions as to the nature of the data needed, or is an 'insider' conflicted through familiarity or an 'outsider struggling with multiple responsibilities (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, pg.55). Also, the respondents might present or hold back information depending on cultural norms or expectations. To counter these supposed weaknesses, I employed two devices. The first was the use of 'insider' data-gatherers. Secondly, by gathering multiple datasets, regularly triangulated using focus-groups, I sought to resist any persistent bias. Logistical limitations of the time were discussed within the context of the methods used (see Chapter 5).

While local authority employees were interviewed, it could be argued that a wider range

of opinion should have been gathered. While I had made approaches to others, their availability was not always possible. There was a similar shortage of Traditional Authorities (group-village head-men), and pastors and sheiks (Christian and Muslim spiritual leaders) used in the study. The study did not plan to interview all TAs or spiritual leaders, as they often lived in inaccessible areas some distance from one another. Conducting semi-structured interviews with a larger sample would require more resources and take a longer period to gather. Bringing the respondents to a central location would be more likely to enable the gathering of a wider range of views, but would take a risk that respondents would confer together and create anomalies in the data. In the event, a representative sample was used to explore a limited range of attitudes held. Further study, taking more time and with larger resources, might obtain a more holistic range of local leader's viewpoints.

As explained in chapter five, Initial plan to research over a three-month period was stretched to six months due to my realisation that the data-gatherers would need additional time to transcribe and translate. My schedule was altered to reflect these needs. Before the onset of the study I had hoped to include more schools, but time and resources, as well as my ability to remain in Malawi, made this difficult to accomplish. Furthermore, the possibility of a larger sample was discussed between my supervisors and myself and thought of as being unnecessary for the scope of this study. Nevertheless, a later work may build on the understanding gained from this present study and include all the schools in the two zones or include a representative sample from each of the twelve zones in the district.

The trustworthiness of the responses given by respondents at the schools and NGO sites may be compromised through agendas not revealed by the respondent. This unknown is another potential threat to validity to the findings. While respondents showed interest and enthusiasm in being included in the study, their motivation might introduce bias. It may be that, like the respondents at the trial phase, they believed that there would be some material benefit arising from their cooperation. It may also be that as they were chosen by the headteacher, or the leader of the NGO, that the views expressed were less representative of the wider community. The respondents were often leaders in community work, headteachers, chairs of committees or leaders of NGOs. They were usually well educated and had experience of the development process. This may limit any claim that the community attitudes expressed were holistically representative. However, to the extent that they were representative of the views and attitudes held by those who led in development, it may be that others would follow. Further work on a broader spectrum of views will need to establish whether the views of community leaders used in this study adequately reflect those of the wider community.

Interviewing some respondents in English and others in Chichewa was a practical and pragmatic choice. Increasing validity in acquiring testimony in the local language allowed respondents to speak freely. However, as I was not proficient in the local language, I had to rely on translations and explanations given by the RAs. There is a threat to validity if the testimony given by respondents is translated poorly, inadequately or misses the point made by the respondent due to misunderstanding. Translation was a harder task than expected, with respondent meaning frequently debatable, even to the RAs completing the translation.

The scope of the study was limited by the number of respondents drawn from the authorities. While a third of schools in the area were represented and NGO representation was one hundred per cent (*see Chapter three*), the number of Local Authority respondents and spiritual leaders was minimal. One reason for the low proportion from the district Council was the limited time and money available to gather data from these sources. The primary reason not to have input from a larger sample drawn from local authority sources was that the purpose of the study was to determine local attitudes underpinning paradigm change in development with regards to school development. While the trustworthiness of the findings, and therefore their validity, is reduced by the limited scope of the study, using a variety of methods helped provide corroboration for the findings.

Another drawback for the research was that the respondents might have felt that attendance at the focus-group was a way to earn favour with their head-teacher and may have held back at times due to unequal power relations within the group. Validity may have been increased had teachers and headteachers from the same school been invited to different focus-groups.

The choice to interview in both English and Chichewa reflected the need to listen in the language respondents felt comfortable in when communicating their ideas. Respondents always had a choice as to who interviewed them, and many chose to be interviewed in English as this is the preferred language of operation for those who are involved in NGOs, government and management. Those who felt more comfortable in their mother tongue opted to be interviewed by either Rose or Dudley. Despite there being many female respondents, Dudley was chosen more often as he was older and married. Female respondents appeared to prefer to be interviewed by someone they felt was equal to their life experience (field-notes). Rose disclosed, in an early post-interview discussion, that the respondent she was interviewing considered her a 'girl,' as she was not married. Thus, Rose felt that the respondent's comments

had been guarded. This was perhaps one reason why Dudley conducted more interviews than Rose.

Even though choosing to employ a local man and woman was designed to increase validity there were some drawbacks to this approach. Uniformity of analysis might have been achieved if all transcripts had originated in the same language, as translation required judgement as to the meaning of words, often predicated by contextual boundaries either absent, ambiguous or beyond the skills of those translating. This uncertainty may be avoided in later research by choosing older local data-gatherers with skill-sets finely tuned to cultural nuance and language anomaly. There is also the possibility that respondents would not explain thoroughly to insider interviewers if they considered the matter obvious (Shar,2004; IMF 2017).

Increasing Trust (Validity):

There are four ways in which the trustworthiness of the data could bring greater validity to the findings. The first was to learn from the mistakes from the trial phase of the research. For instance, the initial design of the research was to conduct a focus-group after the interviews, but I had not initially planned for a focus-group for the trial phase. The RAs, knowing this was planned for the main research, held the discussions even though they had not completed the transcription of the interviews. Therefore, they were unable to offer respondents their transcripts for validation before the focus-group. Nevertheless, valuable data was gathered from this focus-group enabling sharper focus on the key areas identified after the discussions (Chapter 4). This allowed me to triangulate opinions given in one context with the opinions given in another, thus raising the validity of the findings. In addition to data gathered from the trial, the subsequent debriefing of the data-gatherers established a critical approach to further analysis.

The second way to increase validity to the findings was to triangulate the data gathered from multiple data-sets using a mixture of evaluation methods. For instance, in determining whether the subjective accounts regarding difficulties over CPD provision were likely to limit career choices, I considered using multiple evaluation methods to triangulate, and therefore validate, the findings. By gathering data from teachers in an interview and discussing the issues raised during informal conversation, initial findings were corroborated. Further data gathering took place during focus-group meetings. Issues that had proved interesting at interview were expanded upon as a part of the focus-group discussion. The validity of the findings increased as a second source of data confirmed the discovery from the first. Later discussions that took place with my RAs further confirmed or challenged the impressions being gained from the initial analysis. In this manner, it was possible to increase validity when findings from across two or

three data sources agreed with one another. The emerging themes were shared among those gathering the data to determine whether initial interpretations were trustworthy.

Data from different data-sets (interviews, focus-group and researcher discussion and regular journaling) clarified the key-points and built consensus about how teachers thought about the training they felt was needed. Also, by considering ownership through a range of accountability measures, and constructing a dynamic dialogue to underpin the process, teachers began to reflect on professional autonomy. Inter-method triangulation was used by comparing views given in interview, during focus-group discussion and less formal occasions. In this way, some reliability for the results can be claimed.

Validity was further increased from the interview transcripts by presenting both the Chichewa transcript and English translation to those attending a focus-group. Respondents had an opportunity to ask questions and alter the transcript if they felt the written record had not represented their view accurately enough. In practice, few respondents made any alterations, although questions were frequently asked. Theoretically, by providing an opportunity for respondent validation, the trustworthiness of the transcript content was improved (Torrance, 2012). However, it is possible that some respondents were unwilling to make alterations due to other reasons. It may be that their reading skills or vision were inadequate. Alternatively, in the case of those whose interviews had been conducted in English, they recognised errors but were unwilling or embarrassed to draw attention to them. To increase validity in future, a private opportunity to validate the transcript ought to be offered.

The choice I made to use local RAs was to encourage respondents, who might otherwise have been uncomfortable being interviewed by a foreigner, by the presence of those local to the area. Also, by giving the respondents a choice of interviewer, a level of respondent control was transferred. This appeared to facilitate constructive conversations and increased validity for the gathered data.

Summary:

The studies by Kayuni and Tambulasi (2007), Selemani-Meke (2013), Selemani-Meke and Rembe (2014) serve to present a view of what is causing difficulty in education and development in Malawi. These studies show that infrastructure deficiencies and lack of dialogue with teachers contribute to low morale and conditions that are not conducive to teachers identifying themselves as professional. Beyond calling for more dialogue and better infrastructure, these studies have not identified any other means to redress the situation.

As stated in Chapter One, sustainability without the creation of self-reliance provides an inadequate model for sustainable community transformation. For instance, when communities are told what an NGO is going to do rather than be invited to contribute to the discussion about what is needed they are more likely to become passive beneficiaries, unable to 'deny' the NGO. The changes may benefit the community materially, but there will be no change in the outlook of the community. Similarly, if teachers are to be considered professionals capable of managing their career, determining what deficit training is needed and evaluating their performance against standards they have themselves set, then a self-reliant paradigm for teacher development is needed. While the findings of this research support the findings of Selemani-Meke (2013) that lack of infrastructure, poor teaching resources and inadequate remuneration contribute to low teacher morale they differ in other significant respects. The findings suggest that it is not so much the deprivation of these elements that affect the morale of teachers, but rather the inability of teachers to act as autonomous professionals. Teachers in this study have shown less interest in the poverty observed in schools and instead complain about the failure of the government to keep promises of change. One possible reason for this could be the influence of the media explaining government failures. Another explanation is that teachers desire more control of their development and career choices. The tendency to speak about changing jobs to improve status indicates a desire to manage their professional progress.

CHAPTER NINE

Exploring Dialogic Space

CONCLUSION

In the last chapter, the main findings of the preceding three chapters were discussed over five key areas and linked to the research questions. In this chapter, conclusions will be drawn from that discussion. Implications the study has for self-reliance as a development paradigm, and its specific application for teachers' professional development will then be suggested. Strengths and weaknesses of this study will be considered, especially where they intersect with the research methodology. The limitations of the study's scope, along with circumstantial and other restrictive factors, are also discussed. Before the final summation, there are suggestions for further research.

The key findings of this case-study fall into four categories. The first is linked to the methodology used and the second to NGOs working in sustainable development. The third brings insight into the way sustainable development contains the potential to lead towards self-reliance. This is exemplified by the way school-based development occurs. The last category shows the findings as they relate to the impact 'faith' has on the purpose of affecting community transformation. These key findings were referenced to the research questions and discussed in the previous chapter.

As the purpose of a self-reliant paradigm for development is to empower those at the centre of the need to take ownership of the process, it is necessary to consider the rural Malawian context and conditions where the research was carried out. The conclusions drawn from the discussion in this chapter may only apply to this area. Further work would have to be completed to determine whether the conclusions drawn here might apply elsewhere.

Synthesis of Key Findings:

The findings in Chapter Five show examples of a community questioning the way in which current development is practised. There is also evidence of community leaders desiring greater involvement in the developmental process. This is fundamental to answering the first research question as the findings indicate that a self-reliant development paradigm advances

community transformation. In the context of rural Malawi, this can be achieved by enabling the community to determine and carry out what is needed. Some transformation occurs when the interventionist controls the process, but if the paradigm followed is one promoting local leadership, use of resources, responsibility for monitoring, and local accountability, then the transformation is more likely to engender ownership with a greater likelihood of permanence.

The findings in Chapter Six regarding educational development went beyond the evidence found in the national and international studies, reviewed in Chapter Two, that suggest that the lack of infrastructure, a poor teaching environment, low levels of resourcing and inadequate staffing levels may be responsible for low motivation among teachers. In addition, the documented inadequacy of the training given to prospective and serving teachers has been thoroughly highlighted. Many of the studies focus on the low morale these conditions create for teachers. However, the findings in Chapter Six indicate that low levels of teacher autonomy, the difficulty to take professional action to ensure career progression and the need for a greater variety of training also contribute to teacher dissatisfaction and low morale. The findings in Chapter Six suggest that school-based interventions by NGOs can be perceived as impositions, unconnected to the felt needs of the community, and indicate a community desire for equitable dialogue linking the multiple voices involved in developmental processes.

The most significant finding in this chapter is the way in which traditional power relationships are being challenged in areas of community development. The role of the chief is one aspect of this and needs further exploration when NGOs initiate school-based community development. The second research question (*How can school-based interventions demonstrate self-reliance within the education community?*) looks back to White and Tiongco's understanding about what it meant to be 'excluded from positions of power' and reflect on how community members define their own needs (White and Tiongco, 1997, pg.14). This perspective is echoed in Wells' explanation that to 'work-with' others means that the developer should never do for someone something they can do for themselves' Wells, 2015, pg.112). The question is partially answered as the findings from this chapter provide examples of how changes in attitudes towards ownership (defining needs), taking responsibility for action and requiring accountability (shifting positions of power), are beginning to occur. The findings point to the desire for greater involvement with the processes underpinning development. This suggests that the roles of the various committees involved in development (School Management Committee, Parent Teacher Association, Village Development Committee) ought to be questioned in the light of increasing NGO intervention. The findings indicate that the roles of the chief, the local council and government agencies bringing development, could become more transparent. This will enable

those needing to benefit from infrastructure development to have confidence in the process, participate, and eventually take ownership of necessary development projects.

In Chapter Seven, the question of faith is found to underpin the way in which development might be changing. The findings of this chapter indicate that community members appear to be more interested in ensuring parity during the distribution of benefits, than showing loyalty to other sectarian interests. The findings appear to show that the community is also concerned that dialogue is based upon the establishment of common ground and the elimination of bias. Unexpected findings included the different ways respondents defined faith, schools supporting equitable practice with regards to faith issues and the strength of respondents feeling with regards to FBO bias.

It was important to discover how faith groups might interface with the surrounding community. A question was asked about how people of different faiths could work together. Some respondents felt that it was more important to find common ground, and took steps to avoid practise that privileged one position above another. For example, in ensuring children of different faiths had equal opportunity to pray in a whole school assembly (Odala, Coil-1). This and the other findings in Chapter Seven provide some of the answers to the third research question asking how faith-groups can encourage self-reliant development processes. It is suggested by Wells (2015) that it is by making use of the multiple stakeholder groups that the kingdom of God is advanced. This is where:

‘needy and powerful, expert and volunteer, faithful, member of another faith and unbeliever can discover solutions and uncover deeper layers of obstruction together’
(Wells, 2015, pg.114)

From Wells perspective it is not about proselyting, but a ‘being-with,’ that is the goal of ‘working-with,’ enabling both parties to become a part of the process bringing change (ibid, pg.115). The data suggest that while faith is perceived in different ways, there was still a ~~should be~~ respect for the beliefs of others. However, it was found that respondents perceived that some NGOs sometimes acted without the respect they felt was necessary.

Original Contribution from Key-findings

This study provided an original contribution to qualitative research methodology by incorporating the iterative constructionism of cyclic research design, underpinned by progressive focussing. The cyclic iteration takes a different turn to Berkowitz ‘loop-like pattern’ (Berkowitz, 1997, pg.2) and Srivastava and Hopwood’s ‘iterative framework’ (Srivastava and

Hopwood, 2009, pg.77) by imagining a coil of repeated iterations where the focus for the research is trained upon the emergent issues. These are then identified through analysis of respondent utterances and triangulated through reference to multiple data sources.

The iterative approach enables the interviews to probe deeper into questions answered by previous respondents and uncover areas that had previously been overlooked. The understanding of the limitations of traditional authority explained in Chapter Six, is a good instance of where the iterative research design enabled the research to move from an initial understanding of a process that was without difficulty, to one where significant difficulties appeared to be undermining societal stability.

Secondly, this original contribution encompasses an indigenous component to the methodology by building upon the work of Meadows *et al.*, (2003) who trained and used Aboriginal research assistant (RAs). The validity of subsequent research was enhanced because of the RA's familiarity with the culture. This research methodology used in this research suggests that by looking at opposing truth claims in the literature RAs found added interest in the data during coding and initial analysis thereby combatting research fatigue (Jamieson, 2016). The criticality the RAs brought to the research analysis added authenticity, bringing the findings into sharper focus.

The key-areas discussed earlier introduce several original contributions. The first shows that attitudes regarding development appear to be changing from a passive acceptance leading to dependence, to one where self-reliance becomes the objective. While the extent to which this attitude is changing cannot easily be quantified, the incidence of respondents calling for a greater role in the processes point to a shift in the development paradigm. As the community plans and drives a development initiative self-reliance and sustainable transformation becomes a likely outcome.

NGO work in development may be affecting the traditional development processes. Respondents frequently spoke of NGOs 'not asking' what the community wanted, and then dictating action the NGO wished to take. NGO dominance may have a direct impact on the role of the chief and undermines their role. This apparent failure by NGOs to sufficiently recognise or understand the role of the Chief in development may be weakening the power-base from which they derive their authority.

Faith has long been considered as significant in applying development interventions and is documented through various sources. The extent to which faith-groups wish to engage with development inclusively may not be so well documented. This study has highlighted what respondents felt to be important about faith. Some felt faith to enable stakeholders to work

'hand-in-hand', while others valued the assumed integrity the faithful were supposed to bring to the tasks. It may be that community 'values' were more important than any individual denominations' religious values. It would be therefore important to identify common ground on which FBOs might build their practice.

Significance:

The significance of these findings is that respondents thought it more important to be united in commonality than to base action on differences in belief. If community 'values' are more important than any one set of religious beliefs it would be important to identify what is held to be common. It might be significant that the respondents only identified one value: peace. Perhaps this most prized value is considered the foundation for people who have strongly opposing views but are willing to sacrifice propagation of opinion in the interests of communal harmony.

Another significance of this research is that, in the context of a global discussion on a partnership and client ownership within development this thesis engages with the debates over accountability and the significance of faith. For example, FBOs can support the national and local government plans and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations, 2015) because they have a faith connection with the community. So long as that perspective critically observes the work carried out in a non-discriminatory manner, it will suggest a model of development that rejects colonialism and encourages equitable inclusion, entrepreneurial innovation and stakeholder ownership (Singh and Titi, 1995). It will be sustainable in that it will not damage future generation's capacity to manage their environment and resources, and self-sufficient in that development will arise out of local need and sourced from the economic capital built from sustainable income generation. In the words of Wells, what interventionist needs is a 'conversion,' to recognise that the true value comes by empowering those in need, and similarly acknowledging our deficiencies. By 'working with' rather than 'working for' those who are in need to remove the 'mask' of poverty, liberating not only themselves but also those with whom the struggle is shared (Wells 2015, pg.116).

Future Research:

This present study suggests that further research should take place into why teachers' preferences for training are not taken into consideration. The Selemani-Meke (2013) study challenges a centrally designed view of CPD and suggests that professional input from teachers

might be the way to improve motivation and build a professional identity based on agency. This case-study supports the view that developing teacher agency is required if professional identity is to be strengthened. While further research needs to be carried out to assess the effect of teacher agency on the results of the training given, the importance of independent data-collection, analysis and review, highlighted by the USAID evaluation of MTPDS, needs to be taken into consideration.

There needs to be further research to ascertain whether this study's findings, regarding the connection between self-reliance and the professional identity of teachers, may be applied to the construction of training opportunities for teachers. It may also be useful to conduct further exploration into the way NGOs engage with stakeholders to facilitate accountability and transfer ownership of programmes through the implementation of an exit strategy. Research could also focus on the connections between ownership and self-reliance and ask how important this is for the creation of social capital and sustainability. It might also be worth conducting further research to establish whether:

- teacher controlled and led CPD activities can produce a stronger professionally-minded workforce.
- identifying accountability protocols would empower teachers to take ownership of the process of CPD, and increase professional identity.
- consulting teachers regarding their training could improve motivation, and improve the range of learning opportunities.

With regards to the social context of 'faith,' research might focus on establishing methodology capable of building dialogic bridges between faith communities, and exploring how the role of FBOs could include promoting respect and reducing suspicion.

Recommendations:

This study has contributed to the body of knowledge surrounding both research methodology, self-reliance and the significance of faith in the construction of a dialogic space in which to discuss development. First, as a means of moving development towards a better model of sustainable growth, it hinges upon the capacity of those needing development to hold those who are facilitating it to account. Secondly, the study has explored a methodology that provides evidence that the ownership of research initiatives is potentially as important as the issues being researched. The capacity for faith groups to work together also requires attention. Diverse faith

groups may wish to spend time together sharing perspectives that will discover a common space where the results may be used to construct protocols for joint action on shared values.

With regards to education, the objectives of any school are usually the provision of quality education for all and the encouragement of inclusion, equality and respect for others. For the African school, additional objectives include the fulfilment of the SDGs relevant to education outlined 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Particularly relevant are the goals of equality in the provision of education (SDG-4) and gender equality (SDG-5). Other goals refer to the development of infrastructure (SDG-9), and the promotion of an inclusive society being held, and holding others, to account (SDG-16) (United Nations, 2015).

Each goal is laudable but may need further embedding if they are to increase motivation and sense of vocation in teachers. If the objectives of any declaration are expected to be met through decrees from government papers, even if backed by aid-agencies, they may still find some resistance from teachers who consider they have been disenfranchised from the process of change. Participation is acknowledged to be essential, but teacher agency and ownership of the processes may achieve more, and see the effects last longer.

The goal is not just to ensure that teachers can model lifelong learning, improve teaching standards and provide statistics demonstrating increased student learning, but it is to empower teachers as agents of their professional destinies. Exploring the teachers' perception of their self-worth may broaden their concept professional identity. Additionally, if they model an emancipatory response from conventional practice, they may contribute further to their student's learning. Subsequently, as rational and critical beings, they will move the process of change forward as they become increasingly self-directing. This may lead to activities allowing teachers to acquire a motivation where practice stems from a professional identity that includes vocation, conviction and a desire to inculcate those virtues in their students.

If teacher-learning is to become truly professional, this study suggests that it will depend on two things. A reduction in government control of teacher learning opportunities, and secondly an increase in teacher agency and autonomy leading to independent professional judgement. If these two come together, teacher professionalism will increase.

When Paulo Freire wrote: 'The challenge is to never paternalistically enter the world of the oppressed so as to save it from itself' (Freire, 1997, p. 307) he was rejecting all colonisation of the area to be developed. Instead, he was advocating passing control of the process to those he wished to stand 'with' in development. This is where the current, top-down application of teacher development becomes the domain of those for whom it is intended to benefit. The shift may occur when the paternalistic paradigm described by Freire is used for transferring

developed world culture becomes obsolete (*ibid*,1997). Instead of approaching the problem of tackling low motivation and low expectations of teacher efficacy, by decree from outside, the problem becomes the motivator, and those affected by the problem become agents of its removal through ownership of transformative action and dialogic encounter.

Autobiographical Evaluation and Reflection

When I began this case-study, I was aware of the tensions I would bring to the research process. This was in part due to the various roles I was playing in the development of an educational NGO, and to the assumptions my prior experience might lead me to make. My agenda as a Christian, and director of LWE, as well as being a director of the charity funding the construction work, necessitated a shift in my positionality to accommodate that of researcher.

While I wanted to view what was happening objectively, my involvement ensured that bias, subjectivity and occasional misunderstanding would inevitably challenge the validity of the findings. Reflecting on this I feel that there should be greater separation between funding director and researcher and that this would reduce tensions over positionality. Repositioning myself during the research process enabled local ownership of the NGO, and insights over the researchers' role, to increase. Presupposed ideas were challenged, and new ways of thinking presented themselves through continual dialogue with local RAs. Primarily this meant I could begin to detach from my NGO role. I was better able to adjust my position by listening to cultural views of development, self-reliance and what it meant to be accountable, and this led to the realisation that there were more interpretations of the concepts that I had previously assumed there to be.

This was nowhere more apparent than in my identity as a Christian working with others owning a different faith perspective in development. Views about the extent any one 'faith' could be visible, explicit and capable of influencing governance were impacting the programme for the NGO in ways I had not foreseen before the research began. Realisation that my 'faith' presence might be less instrumental than expected meant that inclusivity could claim a stronger place. This in turn opened the way towards a broader approach to the sampling used in the research. Discussions with respondents later confirmed the wider acceptance of the NGO and its activities. This has led to the consideration of greater inter-faith dialogue.

In my role as a consultant within LWE, I could participate in workshops and meetings and could declare that I wanted to research the activities. As understanding of the tensions inherent in such positionality became broadened to include local actors in educational

development, it became easier to discuss problematic issues. While the course and nature of teacher professionalisation may be a subject for future consideration and research, the present discussion on the purposes of this training may lead to a clearer perception of professional identity.

In my role as a doctoral researcher, I have been challenged by the process of collecting data ethically and accurately. The process of transcription led me to reconsider the value placed on words, particularly when they are subject to interpretation guided by interest or personal bias. There were many areas I had not considered from a cultural perspective and came to recognise the value of my indigenous assistants even more than I first expected. While reflecting on incidents occurring throughout the process of the study, I sometimes struggled to settle on an interpretation and found that second and third examinations of data often yielded new insights. Reflecting that my perception of development 'reality' was only one among many other valid perceptions led to a deeper appreciation of those alternatives.

The realities of the research process, as opposed to the theoretical advantages, also require some reflection. The iterative process, whereby successive coils allow progressive focussing on salient issues, would theoretically yield an extremely thick description of the processes in development. However, the results, though exciting to find, were rare diamonds in the research field. It may be necessary to review the methods by which the finds were made or restructure the instruments used to reveal them.

In the first place the iterative method called for changes in the questions used in the semi-structured interviews, yet only superficial changes were made to accommodate information gained in the previous coil. Secondly the focus groups might have drawn more data from the small group discussion rather than relying what was drawn from the larger plenary sessions.

The failure of LWE to complete the construction of their facilities during the study initially led me to question whether I could complete the research originally planned. The realisation that the initial focus of the research, to observe attitudinal change after the introduction of a self-reliant intervention, and the questions initially constructed (Chapter One) would have to be changed, was daunting, but eventually helped me to obtain a more realistic perspective for the study. This brought about an epiphanic moment for me that changed the studies direction so that from this point I explored whether the groundwork necessary to stimulate the practice of self-reliance was present in the research area.

Conducting research using the qualitative paradigm allowed for a more people-centred approach. This enabled me to acknowledge my complex positionality along with those who

shared in the construction of the NGO and the research, as significant in the process of constructing meaning. The colourful advice given by Delamont (2016), on how to avoid the pitfalls during research in educational settings, provided me with great comfort during my research journey during which much of what had become familiar to me became strange again. Those who guided me in the 'mental' journey helped to provide knowledge and understanding, told their stories and have even traded their own 'goods' for publication (Delamont, 2016, pg.1).

This same transformative process is one I have been through since the founding of the NGO Livingway Education. Enabling others to continue and surpass the intentions of the early intervention has had an impact on my position in development work. My first struggle after building Livingway Education Learning Centre, and creating the means to support it, was to realise that I could not own it. To do so would be to perpetuate a dependency model of development. Transformation and a new development paradigm would only come when those who take up ownership of the process have become empowered and meet with the purpose of their journey (Freire, 2005). It is becoming, as Freire wrote, 'an organised, systemized, and developed "re-presentation" to individuals of the things about which they want to know more' (*ibid*, pg.93). As such, it has been my role to re-present, to pass on, and leave what is created for others to take ownership. This is necessary because self-reliance only develops when those responsible, and those holding to account, meet dialogically in the created space.

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Appendix I

Overseas Ethics Declaration



Overseas Ethics Declaration

A declaration of compliance with appropriate ethical procedures and protocols for research undertaken with human participants in countries outside the United Kingdom

- I declare that I, Martin Jamieson, have followed all the necessary procedures to ensure that the research involving human participants I have carried out, or intend to carry out in Malawi, entitled:

'Creating spaces for a faith based NGO to support teacher development in Malawi'
- Research to be carried out between July 2014 and April 2016 as part of my research project or research degree, conforms in full to the ethical requirements of that country.
- I have acquired all the necessary permission from all the necessary parties with regard to access, use of research instruments or any other invasive procedures, and confidentiality.
 - I have made the purpose of my research appropriately clear to all the parties that I am required to, and have behaved appropriately in response to the outcomes of this communication.
 - I attach a copy of any regulatory or ethical documentation/certificates that I have had to sign or have been awarded by the jurisdiction within which I am operating. (No documents have been awarded)

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Martin Jamieson", written over a horizontal line.

Date: 19/03/2015

Completed declaration should be returned to the Research Governance Administrator, Graduate School and Research Office. Researchers should retain a copy for inclusion in their thesis/dissertation.

Appendix II

Research Protocols

A) Individual Interview Protocols

A) The way the interview is conducted

1. This is to be informal and relaxed. It is to be in the form of a conversation. Preferably in comfortable chairs or even walking together.
2. While the interview is to be recorded, it does not mean that the recorder is placed in the interviewees face! Place the recorder on a nearby piece of furniture or just hold it between yourself and the person being interviewed. If walking the recorder is best placed in a breast pocket after being turned on.
3. Begin the interview with a statement of the interviewee's name and the date the interview is taking place.
4. Add to the audio record details of any other person present in the interview.
5. When the interview is over turn the recorder off. Then make a note of the number of the audio file on the recorder so that the person can be easily identified.

For a detailed framework for the questions refer to the trial Interview Questions.

B) Message to the Participant

1. We all have a story to tell and need opportunity to tell it. This research gives you the opportunity to have your story heard and your ideas listened to.
2. All Participants have the right to protect your identities and false names will be given when the research is written up. All participants have the right to withdraw at any time and to have the records of what they have said removed from the research.
3. Participant will have the opportunity to clarify or amend what they have said.

C) Message to the Data-Gatherer

Preparation:

- a) Please greet the participant.
- b) Then explain as much as you can about the research as outlined above b) Message to the Participant)
- c) Then ask the participant to sign or mark the consent form.
- d) The following questions are not to be given as a questionnaire but rather as a part of a conversation. The participant must know what they are participating in and this does involve their signature upon a piece of paper.
- e) The consent form is a vital part of the interview.

Also:

- a. Tell them that you will be asking for participants to attend a group session in August.
- b. Ask the interviewee whether they would be prepared to attend a group discussion.
- c. Collect contact details and whether they are willing to attend the group

- d. Explain that a follow-up interview will take place later.
- e. Explain that you will be visiting schools, NGOs and community groups and that they are welcome to talk to you at another time of their own choosing should they wish to.
- f. At the end of the interview thank the person for their willingness to participate.

Focus-Group Protocol

Notes to assistant researchers:

Construct questions and tasks that arise from the transcriptions of the interviews. Discover more about the number and type of NGOs working in the area. Try to discover the level of respondent participation in the NGOs and attitudes towards community responsibility. In addition, explore how faith may or may not be an issue in the carrying out of development objectives.

The instructions to assistant researchers (data-gatherers) were to:

1. Welcome participants to the focus-group. Explain:

- a) The responses you make may be recorded though they will remain confidential for the duration of the research and destroyed after the research is completed.
- b) There may be photographs taken. You are welcome to ask for copies of anything.
- c) You will be asked to verify that the interview transcripts are a true representation of what was said

2. Tell them the purpose of the research

- a) The discussion and the results of that discussion will be used for the doctoral research carried out by Martin Jamieson.
- b) The purpose of the research is to discover more about how local people understand community development. Especially as it impacts education.

3. Reiterate the 'consent' rights:

- a) You are free to withdraw your participation at any stage
- b) Withdrawal from the research is your right and there will be no consequence should you make such a decision
- c) You may correct any statement you make in error
- d) Your anonymity is guaranteed – the research data is not shared with others
- e) Your name will not be used in the research but a pseudonym will be assigned

Appendix III

Letters of Introduction

Various forms of introduction were used to gain access to the research field. For most of the time the introduction was made by phone, or in person, by my gatekeeper on my instructions. At other times, I went in person with my gatekeeper and sometimes alone.

At the beginning of the research, when I wanted to conduct a trial of the methods, I wrote a personal letter to one of my former students, from when I was a lecturer in a teacher training college, asking for co-operation. Although he was unfortunately unable to help me another letter was written to headteachers requesting that they participate in the research.

Sometimes letters of introduction were sent to those I wished to interview but most of the time I went with my gatekeeper in person to make the introduction. In one instance, I was asked to write a letter to explain the research in more detail for the District Council. I was also asked to make a presentation to the District Council and prepare a separate letter to gain permission to approach the District Education Manager.

I contacted most of the NGOs in person without letters of introduction.

The following letters were written:

- A) Letter to Yunusu (gatekeeper) at the start of the research
- B) Letter to headteacher (Trial)
- C) Letter to District Commissioner before start of research
- D) Letter to NGO to explain more about the research

1 – Letter to Yunusu at the start of the Research:

Martin Jamieson
Trent House
151 High Street
Ventnor
Isle of Wight
PO381LZ

Yunusu Banda
Director LIVINGWAY EDUCATION
PO Box 56
Chipoka
Salima
Malawi

Dear Yunusu,

I am including the following documents for the research we have discussed and for the co-researchers you have engaged. Please discuss these documents with my co-researchers and pass along any concerns you or they have about the wording or content of the guidance contained.

1. Message to Participants
2. Message to Data Gatherer
3. Guidelines for trial interviews & the four grids
 - a. Questions to do with the person
 - b. Questions to do with NGOs
 - c. Questions to do with Community Development
 - d. Questions to do with Faith

Once they have understood the enclosed documents and feel ready to begin we will approach a school in Lilongwe to trial the questions and allow the researchers to become comfortable in asking them. We need to see how long the interviews will take and clear up any difficulties we might uncover.

I have approached the head-teacher in Lilongwe, but at present he has not replied. Please can you follow up my inquiry and if he is reluctant inquire in one of the other schools you visited earlier with a similar letter.

Jamie

Martin Jamieson

2 – Letter to the Headteacher at the start of the trial



Research Project - GROWING A SELF-SUSTAINING DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM: ADDING VOICES TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF HOW NGO WORK IS CARRIED OUT IN MALAWI.

Dear Head-teacher,

I am a doctoral student with Canterbury Christ Church University in the United Kingdom. It is my hope that I may be able to conduct interviews for my research in your school.

As it is important for me to conduct a trial of my research methods I would like to visit your school to ask you, and some of your staff, a few questions. This would take the form of a conversation, rather than a set list of questions, as it is important to understand more about how people feel about NGOs, and education development work.

If you are willing to participate please select teachers and committee members who would be willing to be interviewed. Around four or five would be sufficient, with at least one male and one female teacher.

My representative will visit to explain a little more about the research and make arrangements with you to conduct the half-hour interviews with those who are willing to participate. Although the interviews will be recorded, all participants would remain anonymous and withdrawal from the study would be a common right for all at any time.

If you want to know more ask any questions you have and I'll do my best to answer them. Please contact me via my e-mail address jjuphill@gmail.com

Yours sincerely,

Martin Jamieson

3 – Letter to the District Commissioner at the start of the research



Research Project - GROWING A SELF-SUSTAINING DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM: ADDING VOICES TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF HOW NGO WORK IS CARRIED OUT IN MALAWI.

Martin Jamieson

PO Box 56

Chipoka

Nr. Salima

Malawi

16th August 2014

Dear District Commissioner

I am writing to ask permission to carry out research as a part of my doctoral studies at Canterbury Christ Church University. I am also the education consultant for the NGO Livingway Education and made a presentation of our plans at the recent council meeting on the 12th June 2014

My research focuses on the attitudes of those involved in community development, including teachers, towards the work of Non-Governmental Organisations. I have already gained permission from the ethics committee of Canterbury Christ Church University to conduct this research. I am requesting permission from the District Council to interview council employees outside their working hours at their place of work. Apart from interviewing respondents, invitations to attend focus-groups on the LWE site at Chitipi will be made on two or three occasions over the next two years.

Should you have any questions I would be most happy to answer them. I can be reached on the phone number at the bottom of this letter.

Yours sincerely

Martin Jamieson

4 – Letter to NGO to explain more about the research

Martin Jamieson

PO Box 56

Chipoka

Salima

Malawi

23/10/14

Dear Sir,

At a recent meeting (*Date provided*) I visited your office in Salima requesting an opportunity to interview your staff. It was suggested that details of the research programme be submitted to your office before interviews could be granted.

My research hopes to cover an examination of the method of delivering ethical development from Malawian and educational perspectives. It will explore potential for self-funding that will enable charitable, inclusive community action. It will focus on the attitudes of those involved in community development, including teachers, towards the work of Non-Governmental Organisations. The views of those working in schools will be compared with those who work in the NGOs themselves.

After obtaining approval from the ethics committee of Canterbury Christ Church University to conduct this research I gained permission from the District Commissioner in Salima to conduct research in the schools of Ngodzi and Chipoka zones.

Apart from interviewing participants, invitations to attend focus-groups on the LWE site at Chitipi will be made on two or three occasions over the next two years. This should not be the cause of any absence from employment.

Data collection is through semi-structured interviews and focus-group activities. All data is confidential. All respondents are assigned pseudonyms and anonymity is therefore assured. Participants will, at all times, retain the right to withdraw from the research. Data is only held for the duration of the research project (two to three years)

We trust that the above information, and explanatory enclosures are satisfactory. Should any further information be required we would be delighted to supply it.

Yours sincerely

Martin Jamieson

When the consent form did not arrive, the assistant researchers wrote a consent form themselves. Interestingly they also planned to read out the consent form and provided an opportunity for participants who were unable to sign their name. This was an unexpected act of inclusion.

DATE:.....

CONSENT FORM

Living Way Education is currently doing research work to do with Community Development from an African perspective and have asked me to be a participant.

Therefore, I am happy to be a participant of this exercise and I am here by allowing Living Way Education to use my information while observing the ethics and code of conduct on confidentiality issues.

I(name)..... Profession Title.....

Phone Number..... Email.....

School.....District.....

Signature.....

Thumb Print

Data-Gatherer's Consent form – Trial

Appendix V

Trial Interview Questions:

A) Questions to do with NGOs

1. What is your experience of NGOs?

This too can be asked in a different way. 'What do you know of NGOs and their work?'
After their answer, you may wish to ask further questions.

Such as:

- i. How do you know this?
- ii. How long did you know of this NGO?
- iii. What work did they accomplish?

If they worked for an NGO, you may wish to ask:

- a) How long did you work for the NGO?
- b) What was the purpose of the NGO?
- c) Explain your role in the NGO

2. What other NGOs have you worked for?

Again, the questions you ask after this will depend on their answer.

3. What is your expectation of an NGO?

B) Questions to do with Community development

1. How do you believe community development should be carried out in Malawi?

This question may be reworded to suit the interviewee. You could ask:

- 2. What is good community development?**
- 3. Is there any such thing as poor community development?**
- 4. What do you think is the role of government in community development?**
- 5. Who is to pay for community development?**

B) Questions to do with Faith

1. Do you think that a person's faith should have anything to do with the way they carry out their job?

This question may be reworded to suit the interviewee. You could ask:

- 2. How should people with a faith become involved in community development?**
- 3. Does it matter what faith a person has?**
- 4. Can people of different faiths work together?**
- 5. How should a Christian organisation work with other groups not sharing the same faith?**

Interview Question Grid

Part 1 of Interview – Questions about the person

Main Questions	Additional Questions	Clarifying Questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your name and occupation? <p>Or</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you tell me about yourself? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you married? • How many children do you have? • What is your trade? • What work skills do you have • Do you think that they are accomplishing anything that will be of benefit to the community? • Do you know anyone connected to / working for an NGO? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you elaborate a little on this? • Can you tell me something else? • Can you provide an example?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you describe your job/occupation? • How do you make a living? <p>and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have you always lived in Chipoka/Chitipi/Salima? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you enjoy this work? • How many hours do you work each week/month/year? • Would you like any other kind of work? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why is that? • What influences how long you work? • Is this possible? • Do you need training? • What are the difficulties? • Where else have you lived • How long? • Why did you move? • Were you happy about this?

Part 2 of Interview – Questions to do with NGOs

Main Questions	Additional Questions	Clarifying Questions
<p>A) What is your experience of NGOs?</p> <p>Or</p> <p>B) What do you know of? NGOs and the work they do in this area?</p>	<p>1 What NGOs operate in this area?</p> <p>2 How long have you known of these organisations?</p> <p>3 Do you think that they are accomplishing anything that will be of benefit to the community?</p> <p>4 Do you know anyone connected to / working for an NGO?</p>	<p>1 Can you elaborate a little on this?</p> <p>2 Can you tell me something else?</p> <p>3 Can you provide an example?</p>
<p>C) Have you worked for an NGO?</p> <p>and</p> <p>D) What do you expect an NGO to be able to do for your community?</p>	<p>If yes...</p> <p>5 What was your job with the NGO?</p> <p>6 Can you tell me about your job?</p> <p>7 Do you enjoy working there?</p> <p>If no...</p> <p>8 Would you like to work for an NGO?</p> <p>9 Why do you think it would be good to work for an NGO?</p> <p>and</p> <p>10 Has this/any NGO lived up to your expectation?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you explain this? • What was the most interesting thing you did? • In what way was this helpful/difficult? • In what way? • Is this usual? • Were you happy about this?

Part 3 of Interview – Questions to do with community development

Main Questions	Additional Questions	Clarifying Questions
<p>E) What have you seen of community development in Chipoka/Ngodzi?</p> <p>Or</p> <p>F) What kind of community development is needed in Malawi/Chipoka?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What NGOs operate in this area? 2. How long have you known of these organisations? 3. Do you think that they are accomplishing anything that will be of benefit to the community? 4. Do you know anyone connected to / working for an NGO? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you elaborate a little on this? • Can you tell me something else? • Can you provide an example?
<p>G) What is community development in your opinion?</p> <p>H) What do you think is the purpose of community development?</p> <p>I) Who do you think is responsible for development in this area?</p> <p>J) What should be the role of national government in such development?</p> <p>and</p> <p>K) How is community development to be paid for?</p>	<p>If known...</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What would you say was a good example of community development? 2. Can you think of any development that has been unsuccessful? 3. Have you any contact with people responsible for development? 4. Have you ever worked on a community development project? <p>If not known...</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Why do you think there is so very little development? 6. Would you like to see more work done to improve life for rural areas? 7. Would you be more likely to apply for work if it was likely to improve the community? <p>and</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. What can individuals do to ensure development takes place? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you say why? • What impressed you the most? • In what way was this difficult for people? • How does development benefit communities? • In what way? • Is this usual? • Were you happy about this? • What stops people getting involved? • Can you say why you think this?

Part 4 of Interview – Questions to do with faith

Main Questions	Additional Questions	Clarifying Questions
<p>L) Do you think that a person's faith should influence them at work?</p> <p>Or</p> <p>M) Does a person's faith have anything to do with the way they carry out their work?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What difference does it make to work if a person has faith? 2. Does it matter what faith a person has? 3. Would you expect a person who professes faith to work any differently to someone who does not? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you elaborate a little on this? • Can you tell me something else? • Can you provide an example?
<p>N) Can people of different faiths work together?</p> <p>Or...</p> <p>O) How can people of different faiths work together?</p> <p>And:</p> <p>P) Should a person's faith be kept separate from their work?</p> <p>Or</p> <p>Q) Should a person keep their faith to themselves?</p>	<p>If yes...</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. What would you say was a good example of this? 5. Can you think of any difficulties this might lead to? <p>If no...</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. What do you think is the problem? <p>And...</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. What are your own beliefs about behaviour in the work place? 8. Would you share your faith with another person at work? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you say why? • What leads you to think this? • Can you make this clearer? • Have you always thought this? • What changed your mind? <p>And...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between men and women? • What about attitudes towards authority? Money? Property in the workplace? • Is that only if you are asked about it or would you start the conversation?

Based on: LaForest, J. (2009) 'Guide to organising Semi-Structured Interviews with key informant' Government of Quebec

Appendix VI Instructions to Focus-Group Participants

(Chichewa & English)

FOCUS-GROUP NO. 1 17TH OCTOBER

Takulandilani ku zokambirana zapagulu. Nonse mwalandilidwa ndipotikuyembekezera kuti pa zonse tikambilane akhala maganizo anu amene mupereke lero.

NDONDOMEKO

Cholinga cha zokambilana zathu lero ndi kufunsanso mafunso ena olingana ndi omwe munafunsidwa kale ndi akafuku fuku anzanga.

1. *Transcript Validation:*

- a. Ngati mumagwira ntchito, mwakhala mukugwira ntchito nthawi yayitali bwanji ngati phunzitsi/ mu mabungwe oyima pawonkha? (zaka)
- b. Nanga muli pa level yanji?
- c. Gulu la zaka zanu a) 20-30 b) 31-45 c) 46-60+?
- d. Kodi mbiri yanu ndi ya kumudzi kapena tawuni?

2. Kupanga ma gulu:

3. Kuwerenga:

4. Zokambilana – mabungwe woima pawokha A:

KUPEREKERA ZOTSATIRA ZA ZOKAMBILANA:

5. Kupumulira/ zozizilitsa ku nkhosi:

6. Zokambilana - chitukuko cha mudzi B:

KUPEREKERA ZOTSATIRA ZA ZOKAMBILANA:

7. Zokambirana - Chikhulupiliro C:

KUPEREKERA ZOTSATIRA ZA ZOKAMBILANA:

8. Kumano wa tonse pamodzi

Zikomo pa maganizo wonse womwe mwapereka pa zokambirana zimenezi. maganizo anu ndiwofunikira kwa ife ndipo tiwagwiritsa ntchito mukafuku fuku amene tikuchita. Izi mwapanga chifukwa chakudzipereka kwano ndipo zonse mwapereka tidzisunga mwachinsinsi ndiponso nthawi ili yonse tidzazisiya.

Instructions to Focus-Group Participants

FOCUS-GROUP NO. 1 17TH OCTOBER

Welcome to the focus-group. All participants are most welcome and we are looking forward to the discussions and views you will be contributing today.

Programme

The purpose for today is to examine more closely issues you raised in earlier discussion with researchers.

1. Transcript Validation:

First you will be given a copy of the transcripts for you to look through. It is important that we do not misrepresent what you said in interview. If you want to make anything clearer, then please use the space on the transcript or the extra paper provided to make additional points or corrections. If you would prefer, please ask one of the researchers to write for you (Chichewa or English).

If you are happy that the transcript contains an accurate record of the discussion, please sign the top sheet and hand it in with any additions you have made.

2. Setting up the group:

Please introduce anyone not known to the group. Then form two groups of four or three groups of three. Collect flip chart paper and marker pens.

Try to ensure that there is one teacher in each group and at least one male and one female participant.

3. Reading:

- One person to read the extract provided in BOX 1 Discuss for five minutes and agree on a group response. Write the response in BOX 2.

4. Discussion:

- Discuss each question/topic in BOX 3 for ten minutes and prepare a short presentation for the other group(s):

5. Presentation:

- a) Decide who will represent your group.

- b) Take five minutes to explain your group's ideas.
- c) After each group has presented please add to your own paper any points that you would like to add to your own conclusions. If you think the other group mistaken in their conclusions, then do not make any additions to your paper.

6. Refreshment Break:

After the refreshment break divide into two different groups. This time stay with your own organisation.

7. Discussion:

- Discuss each question/topic in BOX 4 for ten minutes and write your conclusions on the flip chart paper provided

8. Presentation:

- d) Stick your paper to the wall with the Prestik
- e) One person stays behind with your paper and welcomes the members of the other group.
- f) Take five minutes to explain your group's ideas.
- g) After your presentation return to your group and revise/add any ideas you may have heard.
- h) Please choose one person in the group to complete your conclusions to your discussion in BOX 5.

9. Gather Together

Thank you for the contributions you have made to the discussions. Your views are valuable to us and may be used in the research findings. Your participation is voluntary, confidential and may be withdrawn at any time.

Martin Jamieson Researcher

Dudley Chisalaka & Rose Simbota: Research Team members

Appendix VII

Focus-Group Activity 1 (Stimulus Materials)

Box 1a Chichewa

DEAD AID

Why aid is not working and how there is
a better way for Africa

Dambisa Moyo

Extract from the Foreword by Niall Ferguson

Ngakhale simunthu woyamba kulemba zokhudzana ndi chithandizo chochokera kumaiko a ku ulayakupita ku maiko amu Africa.

maiko ambiri mu africa akuzunzika ndi chiphwilikiti cha ziphuphu, matenda komanso umphawi, ngakhale zenmi zeni zake ndi zakuti maikowa amalandila ndalama zoposa US\$300 billion ngati thandizo lachitukuko kuyambira mudzaka dza 1970.

Yankho limene Dambisa akupereka ndi lakuti maiko amu africa akusaukabe chifukwa cha mathandizowa, ngakhale zodziwikiratu kuti maiko a ku Ulaya amakhulupilira kuti olemera ayenera kuthandiza wosauka munjira ya chithandizo. kunena zoona chithandizo ichi chathyandiza kuti osauka apitilire kukhala wosauka ndipo chuma chidzikwera pang'ono zedi.

Mau odzidzimutsa mu bukhu la Moyo chithandizo chakhala chipsinjo ndiponso chikupitilirabe kukhala chipsinjo ku nkhani za ndale, za chuma komanso za umoyo maiko ambiri omwe akukwera kumene.

Malingana ndichiwerengero china pafupi fupi US\$10 billion lomwe lingakhale kuyandikira theka la thandizo la mu 2003 lochoka maiko akunja kupita mu Africa cha chaka chili chonse. Kupatula kuti thandizo lochoka kunjira limabedwa mosavuta chifukwa choti limafikiratu ku boma, pali vuto loti mathandizowa amabwenzeretsanso mbuyo ma plan a boma pankhani za chitukuko chomwe chikufunika kwambiri m'dera, mwinanso tinganene kuti mathandizo akunja amapititsa pansu nthito za malonda m'dziko.

Dambisa akupereka chitsanzo cha kampani ina yomwe imagulitsa maukonde(nets) otetezera udzudzu yomwe inatsekedwa chifukwa chathandizo la maukonde ochokera kunjira lomwe bungwe lina limapereka.

Chifukwa ninji? kuona kwake kwa Moyo akuti anthu omwe amalandira chithandizo chimenechi siwoyenera kulandira, mathandizo omwe amaperekedwa kudzera ngongole ndi njira zina amakhala dizotsatira zimodzi

modzi. lomwe ndi khalidwe lolimbikitsa mchitidwe wa katangale ndi ziphuphu komanso maudani andale. panthawi yomwe zimabwezeretsambuyo ufulu wazamalonda

Focus-Group Activity 1 (Stimulus Materials)

DEAD AID

Why aid is not working and how there is
a better way for Africa

Dambisa Moyo

Extract from the Foreword by Niall Ferguson

It has long seemed to me problematic, and even a little embarrassing, that so much of the public debate about Africa's economic problems should be conducted by non-African white men. ... The simple fact that *Dead Aid* is the work of an African black woman is the least of the reasons why you should read it. But it is a good reason nonetheless.

Born and educated in Zambia, Dambisa Moyo also brings to her subject a rare combination of academic expertise and 'real world' experience. Her training in economics took her from the World Bank to Harvard and on to Oxford, where she obtained her doctorate. Since leaving the academy, she has spent eight highly successful years at Goldman Sachs, most recently as Global Economist and Strategist. It is quite a CV.

And this is quite a book. Though she is not the first writer to criticize Western aid programmes in Africa, never has the case against aid been made with such rigour and conviction. **Why, asks Moyo, do the majority of sub-Saharan countries 'flounder in a seemingly never-ending cycle of corruption, disease, poverty, and aid-dependency'**, despite the fact that their countries have received more than US\$300 billion in development assistance since 1970, **The answer she gives is that African countries are poor precisely because of all that aid.** Despite the Widespread Western belief that 'the rich should help the poor, and the form of this help should be aid', the reality is that aid has helped make the poor poorer, and growth slower. **In Moyo's startling words: 'Aid has been, and continues to be a ... political, economic, and humanitarian disaster for most parts of the developing world.'**

... Why? Moyo's crucial insight is that the receipt of ... non-emergency) loans and grants has much same effect in Africa as the possession of a valuable natural resource: it's a kind of curse because it encourages corruption and conflict, while at the same time discouraging free enterprise.

According to one estimate, at least US\$10 billion - nearly half of Africa's 2003 foreign aid receipts leave the continent every year. The provision of loans and grants on relatively easy terms encourages this kind of thing as surely as the existence of copious oil reserves or diamond mines. Not only is aid easy to steal, as it is usually provided directly to African governments, but it also makes control over government worth fighting for. **And, perhaps most importantly ... aid can undermine domestic saving and investment.**

She cites the example of the African mosquito net manufacturer who is put out of business by well-intentioned aid agencies doling out free nets.

Box 1b – Stimulus Materials

Extracts from USAID Report

Evolving Partnerships

The role of NGOs in Basic Education in Africa

2002

Partnerships

The term ‘partnership’ has become an increasingly popular term in NGO government relations. It signifies an admission that, whatever NGOs and governments believe their responsibilities to be, they do need to work together.

*Although the notion of partnership reflects a certain admission of **mutual dependence** it does not signal an end to **tension**. ‘Partnership’ is the discourse and actions of government officials often means (re)gaining **control** for the government and often **compromise** in what the NGOs wish to implement.... Partnership can also provide a means for controlling NGO activities.*

In Malawi one government official defined partnership as the government deciding what should be done, donors funding these activities, and NGOs implementing the plans. The more powerful the government the more it can define its partnership with NGOs. (pg11)

Capacity:

NGO perceptions of Govt. efficiency

NGOs working in education in Africa tend to believe that governments are inefficient in providing access to quality education for all members of the society. Education statistics that demonstrate the failures of governments to adequately supply quality schooling in most African countries support this

Miller-Grandvaux, Y. Welmond, M. & Wolf, J. (2002) Evolving Partnerships: The Role of NGOs in Basic Education in Africa: United States Agency for International Development Bureau for Africa, Office of Sustainable Development

Box 1c – Stimulus Materials

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The Role of NGOs in Promoting Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development

Hedayat Allah Nikkiah* and Ma'rof Bin Redzuan

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KEYWORDS *Microfinance. Capacity Building. Self-reliance. Empowerment*

ABSTRACT: This paper attempts to illustrate the contribution of NGOs towards sustainable community development. NGOs have many programs, functions and roles which assist community to become empowered, and eventually attain sustainable development. This paper reviews some of these roles, functions and programs of NGOs, such as microfinance, capacity building and self-reliance. Microfinance programs improve the economic well-being of communities by job creation and income generation. In the long run, this economic empowerment will contribute to sustainable community development. NGOs, through capacity building, develop community capacities such as ability, skill and knowledge of mobilizing resources, planning and evaluating community initiation and solving problems to gain the mastery over their lives. It also motivates the community to participate in the projects and help them to improve quality of their lives. Participants are expected to coordinate meetings, plan community activities, and be practical in community initiatives. In this way, NGOs contribute towards sustainable community development. Furthermore, NGOs mobilize the communities to be self-reliant. It assists the communities to discover their own potentials and rely on their own resources. In short, this paper demonstrates that all these programs and functions of NGOs could contribute towards the realization of sustainable community development.

Appendix VIII

Focus-Group Activities (2-5)

Non-Governmental Organisations

1. What should be the responsibility of the NGO towards development issues? (*Focus-Group 1 & 3 & 5*)

Kodi udindo wa bungwe pa nkhani za chitukuko ndi otani? (Focus-Group 1 & 3)

2. How can an NGO introduce development without disturbing the government's plans of development and make it profitable for the community? (*Focus-Group 2 & 4*)

Bungwe lingayambitse bwanji ntchito ya chitukuko chopindulira anthumdera popanda kusokoneza dongosolo la boma pa nkhani za chitukuko? (Focus-Group 2 & 4 & 5)

3. How money from MASAF and LDF contributed to the community has needs in the last five years in Ngodzi and Chipoka? (*Classroom blocks – toilets – teachers' housing*) (*Focus-Group 6*)

Ndalama za thumba la MASAF ndi LDF zathandiza bwanji m'dera la Ngodzi ndi Chipoka mu zaka zisanu zapitazi (kuzinthu monga midadada yophunzirira, zimbudzi komanso nyumba za a phunzitsi) (Focus-Group 6)

4. Government and NGOs must work together. How can this be achieved? Are there right and wrong ways? (*Focus-Group 6*)

Boma ndi bungwe loima palokha ayenera kugwira ntchito limodzi. Kodi zimenezi zingakwanilitsidwe bwanji? Kodi pali njira zolakwika kapena zoyenera pa ntchitoyi? (Focus-Group 6)

5. What would be a good procedure for working together? (*Focus-group 6*)

Ndi njira ziti zomwe zingakhale zabwino kugwirira ntchito limodzi? (Focus-group 6)

6. What leads to ownership of development project actions by government or NGOs? (*Focus-group 6*)
7. What can the community do to attract some NGOs to implement development work in their areas? (*Focus-group 4*)

Not used as an activity:

8. How important is exit strategy for community development to be carried out correctly?

Ndizofunika bwanji pa chitukuko cha mudzi kukhala ndi ndondomeko ya malekezero athandizo la bungwe?

Focus-Group – Activity 3

Community Development

1. Does it matter if a community has little interest in development work? If so what practical steps should be taken? (Focus-group 3 & 5)

Pali vuto lanji ngati mudziulibe chidwi ndi ntchito za chitukuko? Nanga m kutani kuti zinthu zikonzeke? Focus-group 3 & 5)

2. How can NGOs (like LWE), and government, be partners in empowering communities to seek solutions rather than just supplying them with their needs? (Focus-Group 2 & 3 & 4 & 6)

Kodi mabungwe ngati (LWE)ndi boma angagwilane bwanji manja polimbikitsa anthu kupeza njira zothetsera mavuto awo mmalo mowapatsa anthuwo zosowa zao? (Focus-Group 2 & 3 & 4 & 6)

1. How can development involve all the members of the community and NGOs while allowing for a practical exit strategy? (Focus-Group 2 & 3)

Kodi chitukuko amakhudza anthu onse am'deramo ndi mabungwe omwe siaboma pamene kulola kuti njira yeniyeni kuchoka? (Focus-Group 2& 3)

2. What can be done to make unsuccessful development more successful? (Focus-Group 4)
3. If true community development leads to self-reliance. What might this look like? (Focus-Group 6)

Not used as an activity:

4. How can the community be sensitized to real needs and how can ownership be encouraged?

Kodi tingaphunzitse bwanji mudzi/ m'dera zinthu zeni zomwe zili zofunika ndipo tingalimbikitse bwanji umwini?

Focus-Group – Activity 4

Education

1. *What development projects can assist ending school drop-outs and what measures can be taken to encourage higher levels of school enrollment? (Focus-Group 2 & 3)*

Ndintchito zANJI za chitukuko zomwe zingachepetse chiwelengero cha ana osiira sukulu panjira ndipo ndi chani chomwe chingachitike polimbikitsa chiwelengero chokwera msukulu zathu? (Focus-Group 2 & 3)

2. *What are the reasons for the forced transfer of teachers? (Focus-group 6)*

Ndizifukwa ziti zimene zimapangitsa kuti mphunzitsi asinthidwe malo ogwira ntchito? (Focus-group 6)

3. *How does the forced move of teachers restrict school improvement? (Focus-group 6)*

Kodi kuchotsedwa/ kusinthidwa kwa mphunzitsi kuchoka pasukulu ina kupita ku sukulu ina kungachepetse bwanji chitukuko cha sukulu? (Focus-group 6)

4. *How do schools help teachers settle in to their new communities? (Focus-group 6)*

Kodi sukulu imathandiza bwanji mphunzitsi pamene wafika m'dera la chilendo lomwe akuyenera kugwira ntchito? (Focus-group 6)

Not used as an activity:

5. *What are the procedures for obtaining bricks for school improvement – why does it not happen more frequently?*

Pali njira yopezera njerwa pofuna kutukula sukulu. Ndi chifukwa chani sukulu zambiri sizikutukuka

6. *Why do the school blocks not get built when the bricks are already molded?*

Ndichifukwa chani midadada ya sukulu sikumangidwa ngakhale pali njerwa zambiri zomwe zinaumbidwa kale sukulu zambiri

Focus-Group – Activity 5

Faith

1. How can a faith-based organisation change community attitudes without preaching? (Focus-group 1 & 3 & 5)

Kodi bungwe lomwe ndilachipembedzo lingasinthe bwanji ntchito za mdera mopanda kuwalalikila? (Focus-group 1 & 3 & 5)

2. How inclusive can a faith based organisation be? (e.g. Should it accept people from other faiths or even no-faith? (Focus-Group 2 & 3 & 5)

Bungwe lomwe ndilachikhulupilo lingagwile bwanji ntchito zake. (chitsanzo; ndikoyenera kulora anthu a chipemmedzo china kapenanso ndi osapembedza omwe?) (Focus-Group 2 & 3 & 5)

3. What are the challenges for a faith based organisation when attempting to work in a multi faith environment? (Focus-Group 2 & 3 & 5)

Ndizovuta zANJI zomwe bungwe lomwe ndi lachipembedzo lingakumane nazo pamene likugwila ntchito mdera momwe muli zipembedzo zosiana siana? (Focus-Group 2 & 3 & 5)

4. *How can the tensions between faiths be defused? (Focus-group 6)*

Kodi tingatani pofuna kuthetsa kuti pasakhale kukokana kokana pankhani ya zikhulupiliro? (Focus-group 6)

5. *What strategies can be developed to enable faith-based organisations to become more inclusive? (Focus-Group 6)*

Ndi ndondomeko ziti zomwe zingatsatidwe kuti bungwe lomwe lili lachipembedzo likhale lokomera anthu onse? (Focus-group 6)

6. How can we develop faith in schools without losing our faith identity? (Focus-group 6)

Not used as an activity:

Appendix IX

Tables

15/6/14	Constructed schedule for trial data collection.	This included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Message to Participants • Message to Participants • Guidelines for trial interviews (Appendix 1)
15/6/14	Sent protocol to the gatekeeper who shared the information with the assistant researchers	The consent form was omitted from the above list and sent at another time. This was not received but a suitable replica was drawn up by assistants.
16/6/14	Sent protocol to assistant researchers via email	The protocol was to ensure the assistants were aware of the ethical as much as the procedural considerations.
26/6/14 Visit School-1	Gatekeeper and assistant researchers visit first primary school to conduct interviews with five respondents.	Protocol used to ensure a balance to the procedure. Interviews longer than instructed at first. Limitations included the busy location used for interviews and one of the assistant researchers dropping out of the study.
27/06/14 Visit School-2	Gatekeeper and assistant researchers visit second primary school to conduct interviews with four respondents.	Good use of the time available as protocols used to better effect. Respondents eager to participate Limitations: Conditions as first school. Environment noisy and unfortunately several interruptions during interviews.
6/08/14 Focus-Group discussion held at Lifeline Malawi premises in Ngodzi.	Focus-group carried out at 'Lifeline Malawi' (Medical Mission). Eight respondents plus team of three assistant-researchers.	Followed focus-group protocol to probe findings from semi-structured interviews in three areas – community development, NGO work and attitudes to faith. Limitations: Failed to allow participant verification of interview transcripts.

Table 1: Data Collection Timetable for trial

	Tota	Selected	Responde	Comment
			nts	
Schools				
Trial (2 schools)	2	2*	9*	Both schools were accessible from the road. One remote the other near tarmac. Both with Christian headteachers.
School near tarmac road	5	3	13*	One school chosen for inclusion in the sample was extremely well supported by other NGOs. One was far from the main town and the head said he felt neglected. The third, though far from town had a very active Muslim headteacher.
School in remote area	13	3	13*	The schools were not well equipped and had little hope of being selected by the Local Development Fund. Poorly equipped even by Malawian standards.
Schools with female H/Ts	4	2	2	One newly appointed one long serving headteacher.
Schools with Muslim H/Ts	4	2*	1	One male Headteacher recently transferred from tarmac to remote school (absent at time of interviews). Female Headteacher interviewed.
Schools with Christian H/Ts	14	4*	4	Often with close links to a church.
Subtotal:	20	8*	35*	
NGOs Permanent base in research area. 1. Lifeline Malawi* 2. LIVINGWAY EDUCATION* 3. Teen Mission* 4. ChinaAid Agricultural*	4	4*	11	NGOs: a) Agricultural (yet to begin operations) b) Medical (large well respected) c) Religious (long standing) and d) Educational (Small limited operations)
No permanent base in research area. 1. Pride Malawi* 2. Vision Fund* 3. World Vision 4. Action Aid the Children 5. Feed Malawi* 6. Starfish	6	3*	4	Various respondents spoke of NGOs working in the area but only one confirmed to be still working. Based in Salima. One development NGO and two micro-loan operations.
Subtotal:	10	7*	15	
Authorities: <u>Traditional Authorities:</u> Senior Chiefs (3) Group Village Headmen (38) Primary School Advisors: (2) <u>Relevant Council officials</u> (3) Development; Public works & District Education Manager). Christian pastors (36) -2 zones Muslim sheiks (49) - 2 zones.	41 2 3 36 49	1* 1* 1* 1* 1*	1 1 1 1 1	a) Traditional Authority (TA) b) Primary School Advisor c) Head of Public Works d) Muslim Sheik e) Christian Pastor There were many I would have liked to have interviewed not in this list. More time needed to make the arrangements. Some further access issues needed addressing.
Subtotal:	131	5*	5	
Total: All categories:	161	20	55	

Table 2 Sample from research area for case-study on Self-reliance

Date	School or NGO visited	Domain	Action & Comment Interview protocol explained before the start of each round of interviews.	Focus-Group
Week of 16/9/14	LIVINGWAY EDUCATION	NGO	Interviews with key staff took place whenever there was opportunity	FG-2
29/09/14	School 1	School	Prior to research interviews the school was visited twice. Observation of classes took place. Discussions with teachers and tour of the school.	FG-1
31/9/14	School 2	School-	There was a visit prior to the interviews in which a tour of the school took place and it was possible to observe classes in progress. The headteacher stressed the significance of the church connection and the various opportunities he had taken advantage of to partner with various donors.	FG-2
3/10/14	School 3	School	The school had been visited the previous year and classes observed. The distance from the tarmac and town appeared to prevent resources and staff getting to the school.	FG-3
7/10/14	Lifeline Malawi	NGO	Many visits and a lot of contact due to past involvement. We had opportunity to interview founder of organisation.	FG 1
9/10/14	Starfish Malawi	NGO	Difficulties in getting to see the head of this organisation in Malawi led to initial delays.	FG-3
9/10/14	PEA	Authority	The local PEA was initially doubtful but as proper contact had been made with the District Education Manager it made contact much easier. The PEA has visited our site on several occasions.	FG-5
16/10/14	Teen Mission	NGO	Due to prior connections between LWE and Teen Mission I decided to visit and carry out interviews. Previous visits had enabled us to view the site and observe the way in which the NGO functioned	FG-4
17/10/14	FOCUS-GROUP School 1 and Lifeline Malawi	School & NGO	All respondents from first coil attended apart from founder. Transcripts given out and read before signing as correct. Only a few questions raised. All research team present. Discussion initially held in Chichewa but slipped into English as this is the language spoken more frequently when dealing with this topic.	FG-1
7/11/14	FOCUS-GROUP School 2 and LIVINGWAY	School & NGO-2	Respondents from second coil attended. Transcripts given out and validated. Only one question. All research team present. Led by RAs in Chichewa while I observed.	FG-2
24/11/14	Teen Mission	NGO-4	Interviews undertaken at various times.	FG-4

29/11/14	FOCUS-GROUP Mauni PS & Starfish Malawi	School & NGO-3	Two members of Starfish and three from Mauni attended. Led by assistant researchers in Chichewa.	FG-3
3-4/12/14	School 4 Chitipi PS	School	This school is at the centre of the research area. The school helped LWE prepare the foundations for the Teaching Centre. The school has been visited several times – to observe classes, tour the school and speak to teachers.	FG-4
5/1/15	School 5	School	This is another school visited many times prior to research. Some building of school blocks being carried out. Many other connections; e.g. Starfish Malawi.	FG-5
19/01/15	FOCUS-GROUP School 4 & Teen Mission Malawi	School & NGO	Only one respondent from Teen Mission attended due to heavy rains. Transcripts given out and validated. (One had been misplaced) No questions. RAs led in Chichewa but the respondents wrote in English as this was the language of development but discussed the issues in Chichewa.	FG-4
23/01/15	FOCUS-GROUP School 5 PEA Zone Chair	School and Authority	All respondents attended the focus-group discussions. Transcripts given and validated. Respondents used Chichewa as the language of discussion. At times using English to make significant points.	FG-5
26/01/15	School 6	School	Though far from the tarmac, this is another school visited more than once before research started.	FG-6
3/02/15	TA	Authority	An important figure in the locality it has been necessary to visit to discuss the work being carried out. His support is crucial.	FG-6
Cancelled Ill-health	Sheik	Authority	We very much wanted to ensure that this representative of the Muslim faith was included in the research. He was not interviewed but did attend the focus-group	FG-6
23/02/15	FOCUS-GROUP School 6 & TA Mbira Muslim Sheik & Christian pastor	School-6 & Authority	Respondents from the school and TA Mbira had their interview transcripts given back for validation. Others had not been initially interviewed. Newcomers were given consent forms and had them explained. Assistant-researchers ran the group while I observed.	FG-6

Table 3 Data Collection Timetable

Date	NGO / Authority visited	Domain	Action & Comment	Focus-Group
24/05/14	Pride Malawi	NGO	Micro-Finance. Extremely knowledgeable about the need for finance urban areas though less aware of rural issues. Worked from Salima but helped to make sense of rural problems. Loans that were described as 'soft' carried high rates of interest.	
10/06/15	Vision Fund	NGO	Micro-finance like Pride Malawi. Micro-finance. Placed into context of changes in direction from offering grants to loans.	
23/02/15	China Aid	NGO	Working towards increasing capacity of local farmers by demonstrating new methods.	
11/06/15	Director of Public Works	Authority	Interview took place at council offices	
Throughout research period	World Vision	NGO	Many opportunities lost due to difficulties in gaining access. Eventually permission gained. Declined invitation to focus-group discussions.	
Date	Focus-Group	Present	Description	G/G
18/07/15	Chitipi/DEM LWE/ School 3 School 1	School NGO & Authority	The focus-group focussed upon the Continuing Development of Teachers and met to consider the implications for development after an initial participant survey and learning needs audit had indicated its importance.	FG 1
1/08/15	Chitipi/Mauni PSs DEM: Lifeline Malawi; LWE: Pride Malawi; Vision Fund; Starfish Malawi	School, NGO & Authority	Twelve percipients. Three from schools and nine from five NGOs previously interviewed. Only three invitees failed to attend two without sending apologies. Objectives included knowledge sharing and building a framework for practical accountability	FG 2

Table 4 Data Collection Timetable

Appendix X

Example of Analysis

Coil 6

23rd FEBRUARY 2015

1. Gathering the data

The data was gathered through semi-structured interviews, review sessions among the research team, focus-group sessions and observation of NGO activity on sites visited by the research team.

Comment: The research team visited School-6 on the 26th January 2015 at 10:30 and were given a warm welcome by the headteacher. She introduced the team to the PTA chairperson, a representative of the School Management Committee, the Deputy Headteacher and one other teacher, this is a school that has a strong Muslim and Christian presence both in the school population and in the composition of the staff. We were interviewing two Christians and two Muslims.

A further interview took place with Senior Chief Mbira at his office (February 2015). The interview with the Muslim Sheik could not take place due to ill health (he subsequently passed away). However, the Sheik could attend the focus-group meeting. The Christian pastor who came to the focus-group meeting, was brought in to balance the group.

2. Examining the concerns

The transcripts were examined in the following domains – a) the Person/setting of the research; b) NGO activity; c) Community development within the field of the research and d) concerning issues of faith.

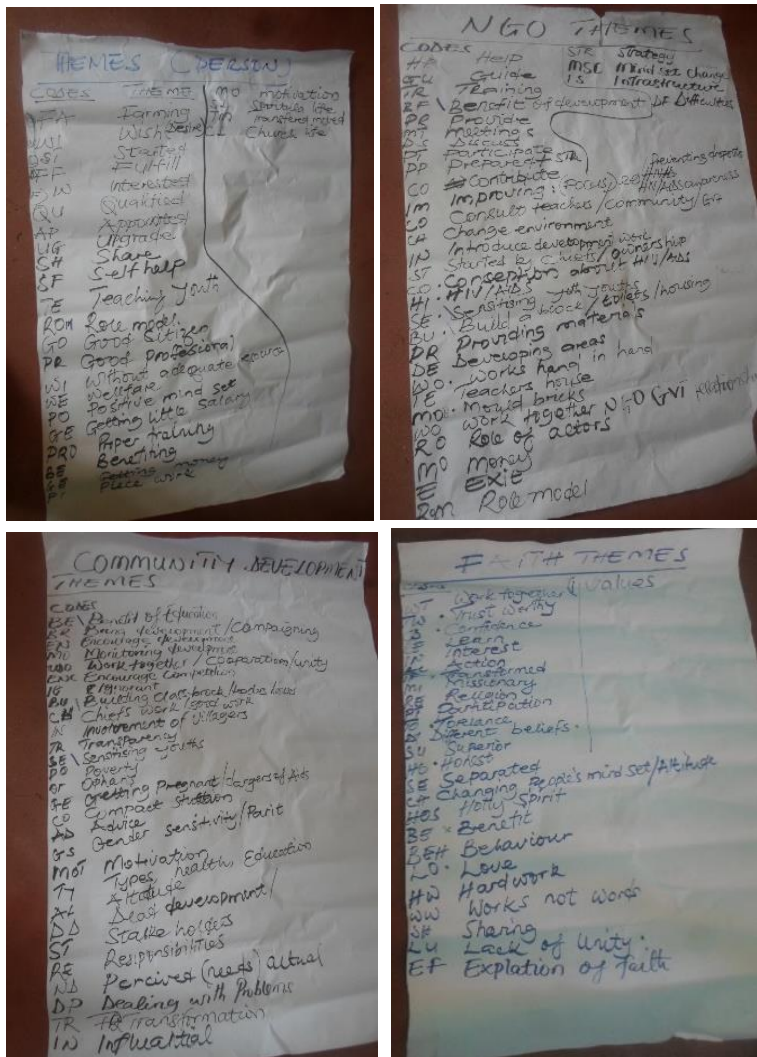


Fig.1 Themes identified in First analysis

Comment: All the interviews were transcribed by the research team. Those that were conducted in Chichewa were also translated into English. The transcripts were read and coded by each of the research team. The researchers read the transcripts and their own notes to uncover concerns voices by respondents. These were written up on flip chart paper, posted on the wall and discussed collegiately. This had also been the process completed in the previous three coils

This shows the strength of the respondent concerns in the grid below. It reflects key words and phrases:

The colours on the grid represent six themes which were identified after analysis of the respondent transcripts. In the previous coil (5) Needs; actions; Benefits; Problems; advice and examples were the themes found in the grid. Coil-6 was more diverse and the themes were initially divided into a larger set (see table 2). Later these themes were reduced to six governing themes. Coil 5 provided the following themes:

THEMES

IDENTIFIED in COIL 5

NEEDS	ACTIONS	BENEFITS	PROBLEMS/CHALLENGES	ADVICE
EXAMPLES				

THE SIXTH COIL EXPANDED SIGNIFICANTLY ON THIS BY INCLUDING:

DEPENDENCY	SELF-RELIANCE	ROLE OF ACTORS	SOLUTIONS
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RETAINING:

NEEDS	PROBLEMS/CHALLENGES/	EXAMPLES
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DROPPING:

ACTIONS	BENEFITS	ADVICE
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THE FOLLOWING THEMES ARE THEREFORE CONSIDERED IN THE SIXTH COIL.

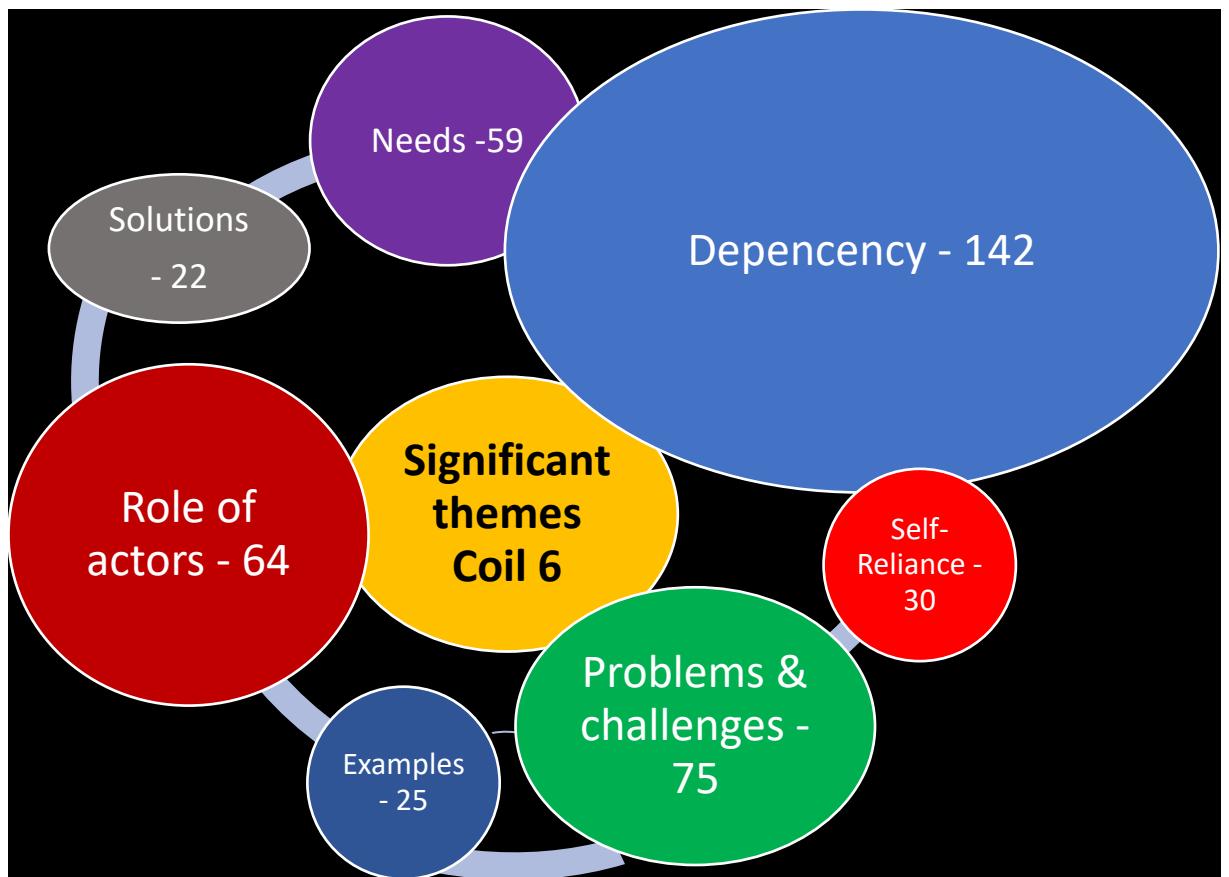


Fig. 2 Significant Themes Coil-6

Resp	Person	NGO	Community Development	Faith
1 Ungwe	ACCO hand in hand with the PEA; role model (lady headteacher) encourage girls;	Others are following; look at community development; hand in hand; we stay together; AGRET; WFB;LDF;CDF; building classroom blocks; they (the agencies) said we should wait; they need the communities to mould bricks; toilets; teachers houses; classroom blocks; you have to go and shake them!' The headteacher need to chat with the well-wisher's desire for gender parity; women 'afraid'; cooperation between MASF and TA and community; financial incentive.	MASF pays for the roads; They delegate; VDC is for the community – dealing with projects under the TA; SMC is for the school only; working hand in hand; Chief choses committee; committee appoint chair; Community will mould bricks LDF will build classrooms; it is a long process; need a school block and teachers house; government does not do enough;	We all depend on God; No pressure because of faith differences; Knock off early Friday; no act of devotion; talk about spiritual matters; need to emphasise common ground Sharing experiences; advice on relationships; mothers union; relationship advice

Resp	Person	NGO	Community Development	Faith
1 Ungwe	ACCO hand in hand with the PEA; role model (lady headteacher) encourage girls;	Others are following; look at community development; hand in hand; we stay together; AGRET; WFB;LDF;CDF; building classroom blocks; they (the agencies) said we should wait; they need the communities to mould bricks; toilets; teachers houses; classroom blocks; you have to go and shake them!' The headteacher need to chat with the well-wisher's desire for gender parity; women 'afraid'; cooperation between MASF and TA and community; financial incentive.	MASF pays for the roads; They delegate; VDC is for the community – dealing with projects under the TA; SMC is for the school only; working hand in hand; Chief choses committee; committee appoint chair; Community will mould bricks LDF will build classrooms; it is a long process; need a school block and teachers house; government does not do enough;	We all depend on God; No pressure because of faith differences; Knock off early Friday; no act of devotion; talk about spiritual matters; need to emphasise common ground Sharing experiences; advice on relationships; mothers union; relationship advice

Resp	Person	NGO	Community Development	Faith
2	Long (work)	Food donations;	Classroom blocks; pupils get	Commitment
Jamba	period; 'I wish I	construction works;	discouraged; toilets needed due to	between different
zi	could have	WFP – supply school	drop out of girl learners; Government	faith groups to the
	another work'	with flour; AGREDS	should take responsibility, sensitizing	development
	'upgrade my	– built toilets for	the community; trainings; community	work; AOG has
	MSCE' little	organic manure	can have a plan; develop their own	worked with
	salary; late	production;	areas; dependency can be ended if	Christian and
	promotion; lack	consultation with	NGO and govt. work together. People	Moslem; working
	of teaching and	government;	not educated; training needed to	has nothing to do
	learning	consultation;	ensure that people work on their own	with faith;
	materials; I like	sensitization;	without being told; involving	someone without
	this work; lack	HIV/AIDS;	themselves; school dropout; poverty;	faith may work
	of houses for	development can	there is little development here; if the	differently; one
	teachers; Far	involve all members	chief is weak development cannot be	without faith may
	distance; teach	of the community;	done; change of chief affects	misuse or steal
	under the tree;	water development	development; conflict between	materials; FBO
		– Water Aid; Muslim	chiefs; chiefs demotion; undermining	helps by
		Association of	of chief; settle disputes. If some are	implementing the
		Malawi – Toilets;	marginalised development flounders.	project; faith is
		classroom blocks;	Powerful clique discourages	meant to be
		sent back home in	development; government should	shared; main
		rainy season;	monitor; decentralisation important;	problem is
		teachers houses;	DC should plan development and govt	misunderstanding
		infrastructure is	or initiator should pay; chiefs waste	between
		most needed	time quarrelling;	community and
				NGO; share faith;

Resp	Person	NGO	Community Development	Faith
3	Collect	Community	Govt. measures against drop-	Research can help us
Bonya	firewood; skill;	participation; NGO	out; girls and peer pressure;	become more inclusive;
	piece work; I	helping hand;	early marriage; group	go together to GVH. We
	need (another)	community	formed to discourage drop	all believe God is one;
	job; problem –	misbehaviour;	out. needs school materials;	Peace important;
	(little) food; no	negotiate with NGO	govt should stop donation	without faith work is not
	peace; I failed	about development	because people are getting	appreciated; teach
	even to pay	work; we need to write	lazy; people responsible for	others to work together;
	school fees; I	(proposals) to ask for	getting children back into	They must preach but
	failed to buy	assistance; people go	school; govt. should stop	also work together;
	school uniform;	to government to	donating; stop dependency;	there must be no
	Problems end if	negotiate; we only	work hard on our own; only	discrimination;
	there is an NGO	have weak NGOs;	a few benefitting from NGO	tolerance; A person's
	lending us	people not included;	and govt. partnership; need	faith should not be kept
	money; 'you	write letters to	for discussion ; we try our	out of their work; faith
	(LWE) can...	community heads;	best to end our problems; it	must be shared; We
	help us to end	chief discusses; 'The	makes us strong not	must work together with
	up problems in	NGO must explain its	depending on donations; the	one heart; pray together
	my community'	plans about the	purpose of community	(Muslim and Christian);
		beginning and when it	development is to be self-	all come together for
		ends people work for	reliant, stop dependency;	development work;
		development;	govt. pays for CD;	people without faith are
		empower our	Disappointment with NGO;	lazy; ignorance of one
		community; we need	we fail to find our own way;	another; identifying
		good bridges, schools	not everyone benefitting	development with faith
		and teachers houses;	equally; chief can set the	is a problem to be
		health; enough food;	rules for participation; join	avoided
		fertilizer; some people	hands with govt.	
		are not willing; children		
		start in good time;		
		teachers coming far		
		distances; late hours;		

Resp	Person	NGO	Community Development	Faith
4 Mlamb a	Piecework; attendance of teachers; overseeing the needs of the school; teachers 'stay faraway' 'teachers' houses are not enough'; 'teachers' poor attendance'	NGO helps where community is failing; (cement metal sheets and money); NGO cannot disturb existing development (by government) just noticing shortfalls; Help where government is failing; meetings with people to listen to what they need; we knocked both doors of Govt. & NGO but no help; AGRED built toilets (but did not maintain); People made suggestions; people may have clear vision; we expect the NGO to give us the things we need; we depend on these NGOs	Suggest support in paying exam fees, providing school uniform and food for children; work hand in hand; government assistance; exit plans; NGO comes to community through the government; partnership; government tells the NGO what to do; they do not come on their own; govt. allowed AGRED to build toilets; aim of CD is to get people involved; people & NGO should pay for development; dialogue needed before going to DC or NGO with project proposal; ignorance prevents action; important to take part; development eases peoples struggle;	Work regardless of faith; no difference when the focus is on development; the person with faith is dedicated; People of different faiths can work together; go ahead with mission not looking at the faith differences; Impossible to change people without preaching; share faith with others; No problems in multi-faith area; strategy plan; please assist our school;

Resp	Person	NGO	Community Development	Faith
5 Mbira	<p>Problem – teachers houses and classroom blocks; ‘very hard to get work’ ‘very difficult getting money’ unemployment; too few NGOs working in the area; not enough teachers; people from outside coming to the area: NGO can help – ‘teach about a business’ or ‘lend money’; no knowledge about the business’ No capital; waiting for the harvesting; helping with farming or forestry; hard to call the leaders; sometimes they just share ...goats; need to discover what the people want; people staying far away; provided bicycle; call the village leaders; meet the community; motivate community; after discussing; write letters to the NGOs; the community don’t take care nothing progress; the community – they are waiting; they (the NGOs) are starting to lead the committees; not serious; communication with the village development committee is hard; NGOs not working together; lack of sharing</p>	<p>Government come with the advisors; where the government advisors can’t go the NGOs take part; go to the community; NGO advisors cannot work without those committees; we ask them but they cannot refuse; unemployment in rural areas; people not interested in taking part; some refuse to participate; working slow; the community breaks up due to disagreement; some try to buy their way out of responsibility; expectation that NGO will supply; Very difficult without cooperation – without trust; now they are just ‘waiting for the government to help them build some teachers houses and school blocks’;</p>	<p>little chance for assistance; limited money makes this development a lottery; government tell us we can just afford one block’ School that has the bricks allowed to make the proposal</p>	<p>Not hard to be inclusive; We stay together; Faith seen as important; Pastor and Sheik used to go to school to give the word of god but now – no; Preaching in school can be a problem; we are free from religion (?) Schools give Moslems a chance to go to the mosque; differences in churches; both ‘churches’ need equal representation – equal treatment; no difference between one with faith and one who has not Different faith groups can work together; need for unifying organisation for all churches</p>

Table 1 Showing how ‘chunks’ of data are assigned to domain

Coding:

The codes were then reduced to a manageable level after considering whether they constituted the same concern by the respondent. These were then assessed to see how frequently each concern occurred across the four analytic domains.

The coding produced the following table (Table-2). The data themes are listed here with the most frequently coded remarks in a theme at the head of the table and the least mentioned at the bottom. If the themes are placed into the seven groups identified earlier we find that there is a strong representation of issues concerned with 1) dependency (coded 142 times), 5) problems (coded 75 times), 4) the role of development actors (coded 64 times) and 6) needs of community (coded 59 times). Less well represented are 2) examples of development (coded 42 times) and 7)

Code	AD1	AD2	AD3	AD4	No of times mentioned	Coil-6 Data Themes	Led by researcher	Gp.
Dep	17	20	14	1	52	Dependency issues		A
Pd	12	23	5	1	41	Development problems	x	
Cov	0	17	16	0	33	Cover/protection		
Dp	5	15	12	0	32	Development process		
s/r	3	12	7	0	22	Self-reliance		
Do	1	14	6	0	21	Donors (NGO)		
Wok	0	17	3	0	20	Working with others	x	
Wok	18	1	0	0	19	Work and employment		B
d/st	0	13	6	0	19	Development Strategy		
Uni	0	0	0	18	18	Unity		
ch/r	1	5	11	0	17	Chiefs role		
Fun	0	11	6	0	17	Funding from government		
Fap	0	0	0	14	14	faith Problems	x	
Pp	12	0	0	0	12	Personal problems		
ex/d	2	6	3	0	11	Examples of development	x	
Fad	0	0	0	11	11	Faith and development	x	
Ge	2	7	1	0	10	Gender issues		
Fav	0	0	0	10	10	Faith values	x	
Sp	6	2	0	0	8	School problems		C
Cor	0	2	6	0	8	community role	x	
Le	7	1	0	0	8	leadership		
ed/d	0	0	7	0	7	education development		
Fat	0	0	0	7	7	Faith at work	x	
Am	5	0	0	0	5	Ambition		
Mo	5	0	0	0	5	Finance		
Mot	1	1	3	0	5	Motivation		
Inf	0	0	0	4	4	Inter faith development		
Dn	1	0	0	0	1	Development needs		

Table 2 to show incidence of concerns by theme

solutions (coded 32 times). A theme that had not appeared before was that of 3) Self-reliance (coded 22 times).

While this is much less significant in the respondent discourse and limited to comments by two of the five respondents, it suggests that there may be some change taking place in the attitude of community workers with regards to development. Self-Reliance became a theme I wanted to return to in the focus-group discussions.

Some of the resultant domains were the result of interviewer led comments, questions or responses to respondent answers. To get a better picture, we identified and agreed which respondent themes had been 'led' (x) by the researcher on a grid that explained the strength of respondent concerns.

Themes

A) Person

There were seven areas registered in the first analytic domain. Most frequent were comments relating to the hopes of the respondent, and related to that were codes that corresponded to the education, or lack of education the respondent felt was either holding back their ambitions or pointing forward to further activity. Less frequently mentioned were those themes that related to the professionalism of the respondent, their daily work and any associated problems. Two respondents mentioned being a role model and one mentioned something to do with their church.

PERSON	
1. Work/Job	3
2. Hopes	7
3. Professional	3
4. Problem	3
5. Education	5
6. Role model	2
7. Church	1

Table 3 – Strength of Theme

There were eight areas the themes registered in the second analytic domain. Most frequent were those that concerned development issues. The other frequently mentioned themes related either to the concerns of the respondents towards development or the opportunities/benefits arising from participation in NGO activity or development. Some

interest was shown in the roles of development actors, finance and the training needed for development to take place.

NGO

1. Training /Education	2
2. Benefits of NGO Activity	4
3. Participation in NGO Activity	3
4. Development	8
5. Concerns	5
6. Roles	2
7. Finance	2
8. Preparation for development	2

There were fewer areas in the third analytic domain. All the themes could be registered in one of the six areas. Education and development are cross cutting themes. Education appears in both previous domains and development in the previous domain as the most frequently coded theme. Having appeared in each of the previous domains the presence of 'education' points to the belief by respondents that ignorance of development issues and a failure to be fully engaged, may be the reason for the slow pace of change and be a limiting factor to the transformation experienced. Development issues including involvement, and attitudes of stakeholders, were the most frequently coded themes and subsequent questions for focus-groups were centred upon how this might change. Health concerns were present but significantly down from earlier coils. As the focus gravitates towards the purpose of development and the attitudes that might alter the impact of specific benefits questions will try to leave behind the obvious, and continuing concern for the building of classroom blocks, teachers' houses and toilets as these have appeared less frequently as the research progressed.

Community development

1. Education	3
2. Development	6
3. Involvement of stakeholders	5
4. Health issues	1
5. Attitude to development	4
6. Needs	5

Six further areas are identified for the final analytic domain. The themes coded in the interviews might be reflecting a serious belief that people of different faiths can still work together. That beliefs that are common should be reiterated and ones that are peculiar to an individual church restricted. Nevertheless, respondents frequently state the view that sharing of faith is important and that mention in school of this importance is a valuable and necessary part of the work of the school. Identifying values, or spiritual qualities, as the most frequently mentioned and coded theme, it might be posited that further work on identifying beliefs common to all sections of society might be a valuable exercise. The interest in and determination to work together streams across all the respondent interviews.

Faith

1. Working together	4
2. Action	4
3. Faith differences	3
4. Beliefs	5
5. Changing Attitudes	2
6. Values/Qualities	8

Forming the questions

Once these concerns and themes had been discussed to saturation questions that appeared progressively relevant to respondent interests were formed. This enabled the creation of the focus-group tasks. The tasks were constructed so that respondents would be able to move progressively towards the issues that previous answers indicated. This progressive focussing would reveal directions to explore in future interviews with respondent groups.

Appendix XI

Types of CPD

About the CPD:

- A) **TALULAR** is 'Teaching and Learning Using Locally Available Resources'. It has the focus of improving the quality of education and an aim of reducing grade repetition. By targeting teacher effectiveness in the classroom and enabling teachers to consider the use of teaching aids that occur naturally, the programme works to overcome initial teacher training deficits. The scheme is supposed to motivate learners, promote variety in teaching methods and increase the possibility of a productive community (Zembeni & Byers 2004)
- B) **IVAC** is an abbreviation of Investigation Vision Action and Change. The IVAC approach to teaching is where learners are involved in the content process and outcomes of the teaching. It can be challenging to the teacher as well as the student. The approach is about empowering learners to take responsibility for their own learning. It is based upon a dialogic approach with learners where discovery of needs is established. It is difficult to encourage IVAC approach to teaching as most teachers, from initial teacher-training, are more familiar with a didactic top-down approach to teaching (Onyango-Ouma, W. Lang'o 2009).
- C) **EGRA** is the Early Grade Reading Activity (EGRA) provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It is an education initiative that aims to enhance the quality of primary education (Lucas et al., 2014). USAID works with the Ministry of Education & Science Technology (MoEST) to enhance their teacher training support programme. The programme seeks to develop skills in teachers to enable effective teaching of reading in the early grades (USAID, 2016). USAID targeted 75% of teachers to receive this training in 2013 and this is reasonably consistent with the current study where four of the six schools (66% of the teachers) had received the training. However, if the two zones are taken together only half the schools had recently participated in EGRA.
- D) **SIP** is a part of the Malawi School Improvement Programme (MSIP). It focusses at a school level on the measurement of progress in school development and is ideally a tool for helping a school to reach acceptable levels of performance. The PEA would provide teachers and parents with training in the creation of a School Improvement Plan (SIP) based on the ability and willingness of the community to participate practically and financially. Thereafter money from the ESDA (Education Decentralization Support Activity) fund would be granted to the school to enable implementation of the plan (JICA, 2012). The programme has had some success in engaging stakeholder participation. It is not surprising that the only school in the zone to have received this training is also the one with the fewest classrooms and basic infrastructure.