The London School of Economics and Political Science

SHOOTING HORIZONS

A Study of Youth Empowerment and Social
Change in Tanzania and South Africa

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of the London School of Economics
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a social psychological approach to youth empowerment and social change in urban African contexts. Over a period of 22 months, 39 young people from Dar es Salaam and Soweto participated in a community-based initiative called Shooting Horizons. The aim of the project was to engage young people in a process of critical consciousness and social action to represent themselves and their communities through their own words and images using Photovoice methodology. Six Photovoice workshops, involving a total of 23 young women and 16 young men, took place in multiple sites, two youth centres in Dar es Salaam and one in Soweto. The data was collected through multiple methods, including a series of 37 photo-stories, 6 focus groups on development and social change, a record of daily discussion groups, and 1 focus group and 10 individual interviews post-project. Emerging from the narrative positions of the participants, the project affirms the different directions for living envisaged by young people and promotes alternatives to the stigmatization of young people and their communities by the grand discourses and practices of development. Through a social psychological lens, I explore the impact that stigmatizing representations of development have on individual and social identities in order to make sense of the contradictions and ambiguities that it presents for enacting social change. I argue that a community empowerment framework, supported by an agenda of resistance to the exclusionary discourses and practices of development, can overcome some of the complex mechanisms of power that lead to oppressive social stratifications. The analysis observes the politics of knowledge and recognition in constructing social identities and building social capital to open up spaces for alternatives within the limitations of these particular contexts. The findings of this study consistently refer to how 'difference' is imbued in the narratives of young people and the need to address the gendered and racialized beliefs that contribute to participants' internalized and victimising perspectives and that constrain processes of social change. Recommendations include practical, concrete, and innovative methods for urban African youth to engage in initiatives that suit their own development interests within a social psychological approach to empowerment that redefines community as a space of *in-betweens*, a citizenry of people sharing common interests and different agendas.

Key words: social psychology; empowerment; social change; youth; development; representation; stigma; resistance; agency; social identities; social capital; critical consciousness; social recognition.

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I dedicate this study to my father, Jason Ndeng'anyiso Kessi without whom none of this would have been possible and in memory of my mother, Dorothy Ruth Kessi who has been a source of inspiration in everything that I do.

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INTRODUCTION

This research tells the story of how a group of young Africans from urban areas of Dar es Salaam and Soweto embarked on a journey to empower themselves and transform their daily realities. By participating in a community initiative called *Shooting Horizons*, young people engaged in practical and deliberate ways of effecting social change. In a series of workshops using Photovoice methods, young people acquired photography and story-telling skills to represent their lives in their own words and images. In this process, their horizons expanded. They proposed ideas and strategies for living and became more conscious of the knowledge and capabilities they have to realize their role and responsibility to contribute to their future and to the development of their communities. The results are a series of powerful images and stories that tell tales of resilience and hope and that invoke the social memories of those who are living the legacies of the past and striving towards new horizons.

To begin this story, it is worth giving a general perspective on the situation of young Africans and their particular significance as a social group for a social psychological study of empowerment. According to international estimates, young people represented 20.8% of Africa's population in 2005[1], which is a high percentage in comparison to other parts of the world. Country data for Tanzania and South Africa reveal higher than average percentages (33%[2] and 37%[3] respectively) with even higher concentration in urban areas (50%[4] in Dar es Salaam and 42.8%[5] in Gauteng[6]). However, these statistics are reliant on broad age categories (15-35 in Tanzania and 14-35 in South Africa) that also vary considerably depending on the national reports and documents consulted. Hence, 'youth' in Africa is an ill-defined category (Durham, 2000). In this study, I worked with young people between the ages of 12 and 19 that I also refer to as adolescents. Adolescence is defined as a transitional phase from childhood to adulthood, during which young people make decisions about their future (Humphreys et al., 2001) and develop individual and social identities (Strack et al.,

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[1] This figure is based on the international definition of youth provided by the United Nations, which defines a young person as being between the ages of 15 and 24 (http://www.un.org/youth).

[2] In Shaidi, 2006. Definition of youth is ages 15 to 35.

[3] In National Youth Development Policy Framework of South Africa (2002-2007). Definition of youth here is between 15 and 28.

[4] Figures are from the Regional Administration and Local Government Sustainable Cities Programme: http://scptanzania.org/cities/

[5] Statistics South Africa, Census 2001, *Stages in the Life Cycle of South Africans*

[6] Gauteng is the Province of South Africa in which Soweto is located. There are no specific statistics for Soweto.

2004) and therefore represents a relevant social group for an investigation on the process of empowerment. Although individuals do not achieve full empowerment during adolescence (if that is possible at all), it represents a time in life when they are open to critical thought and when that process should begin and develop (ibid). The literature suggests that young people in adolescent years undergo a period of biological, emotional, intellectual and social changes that can provoke 'risky behaviours' (Chinman and Linney, 1998). Young people are often also associated with negative images, such as 'mad, bad or deviant' (Campbell et al, 2004) or 'lacking in moral values'[7] and thereby blamed for their behaviour, compounding their already limited behavioural choices. However, the testimonies of the young people in this study also revealed another discourse. Young people spoke out about the level of mistreatment and abuse that they endure, often carried out by adults within their families and communities or by their peers. They also revealed the resilience and coping mechanisms that they have developed in the face of such adversity, and their knowledge and capabilities for transformative social action.

Shooting Horizons is a community development project that I set up in collaboration with already established youth centres in Dar es Salaam and Soweto. The project was designed to engage young people in a series of activities using Photovoice methodology that enabled them to get involved in social change efforts and gain the opportunity to represent themselves in more positive ways and to challenge the negative and victim-blaming discourses that are directed at them. Over a period of 22 months, 39 young people acquired photography skills and participated in critical discussion groups about development and social change. Through this process, the participants produced photo-stories about their lives and the social changes needed in their communities. Through the results of the Shooting Horizons community initiative, I intend to demonstrate a process of empowerment, whereby adolescents are viewed as 'competent social actors' rather than 'damaged victims' (Skovdal et al., 2009) and that, through such a process, they can unlock their creativity, awareness and gain the necessary skills, support and recognition for their transformative actions. As the custodians of the knowledge and values of society for generations to come, young people are pivotal to engineering social change and are directly affected by already existing family, community and institutional dynamics based on which they develop their own knowledge and practices to co-construct their own worlds. Central to empowerment processes is therefore the interface between individual well-being and the broader social and political

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[7] The National Youth Development Policy, Ministry of Labour, Government of Tanzania, 1996.

environment (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995). In this vein, I present young people's efforts within the conditions surrounding their immediate contexts, as well as the economic and socio-political climate in which policies and programmes are formulated by national and international institutions that define the trajectories of young people in Africa. The central question of this research project then becomes: Can a social psychological approach to youth empowerment provide young people with the tools to enact social change?

MOTIVATION

My motivation in carrying out this study stems from my experiences of working with Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in South Africa and Tanzania and international NGOs in the USA and the UK. As a young graduate of economics in 1995, I believed in the possibilities of the development paradigm in bringing about social change and addressing the challenges of the African continent. The beginning of my career with NGOs in South Africa in 1996, shortly after independence, reinforced this perspective as it was a time of excitement and commitment to building a new democracy and people were engaged and passionate about development. However, I quickly learnt the complexities of being positioned in-between the agendas of people in communities and the priorities of international development funders, and the difficulties in negotiating between the two. Thereafter, working in international development institutions, I became increasingly disillusioned by the hierarchical nature of development knowledge and practices and the stigmatizing representations directed at the so-called beneficiaries of development aid. As an African woman, this discomfort was compounded by being located on both sides of stigmatizing practices of development. In this thesis, my intention is thus to demonstrate that sustainable change does not come from development practices that undermine and oppress the knowledge and capabilities of ordinary people. At the heart of transforming oppressive contexts is a reshuffling of power processes not only of material power, but of the symbolic power that challenges the ideas and beliefs about poverty, underdevelopment, and overwhelmingly about the people who inhabit those spaces.

DEVELOPMENT VERSUS EMPOWERMENT

I begin by distinguishing development and empowerment as conflicting processes of social change. To introduce the concept of development, I refer to the definition by Marglin (1990), who proposes that by focusing on the *processes* of development rather than its goals, development can be equated to the rationale of modernisation. He

describes development as a process leading to economic, political, social, and cultural changes:

> ...on the economic side, industrialisation and urbanisation, as well as the technological transformation of agriculture; on the political side, rationalisation of authority and the growth of a rationalising bureaucracy; on the social side, the weakening of ascriptive ties and the rise of achievements as the basis for personal advancement; culturally,...the growth of science and secularisation based on increasing literacy and numeracy (ibid, p.2).

Development, therefore, is associated with pervasive alterations in the ways of life of ordinary people but these are not always positive or even visible. The focus on economics as the subject of development gradually transformed its rationale into issues of poverty and income distribution, overshadowing the significance of social, cultural and political transformations. As a result, development policies and practices have largely overlooked the psychosocial impact of modernisation. By looking at development through a social psychological lens, I investigate how young people are defined through the development paradigm and how their knowledge and identities are transformed, often in damaging ways, within development spaces.

To understand the different facets of development, I draw on a critical body of research relating to development knowledge and institutions (Bebbington et al., 2008; Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Ferguson, 1990, 1997, 2006; Kothari and Minogue 2002; Kothari, 2005; Munck and O'Hearn, 1999; Apfell-Marglin and Marglin, 1990; Mosse and Lewis, 2005; Rahnema, 1997); representations and identity in development theory and practice (Baaz, 2005; Bebbington, 2005, 2006; Dogra, 2006; Escobar, 1991, 1995, 2000; Kothari, 2006; Yanacopoulos 2005); and, critical perspectives on economic and political development in Africa (Ake, 1996; Jomo and Fine, 2006; Mamdani, 1996; Mkandawire, 2004, 2009; Sen, 1999). Cutting across this body of work is the common critique of development in Africa as driven by a "supposed superiority of Western economic and political institutions and...Western values" (Banuri, 1997, p.29) that can be traced back to the Enlightenment period and the ethic of the 'rational pursuit of human freedoms' reinforced during the colonial period, and the ethic of the 'White Man's Burden' (ibid). Despite promoting social change, development is accompanied by contradictory and ambiguous impacts on the identities of individuals in communities and their participation in development processes.

Empowerment theory (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995; Rappaport, 1987), on the other hand, is born out of an agenda for resistance to the oppressive aspects of

modernisation processes by making visible the alternative knowledges held by individuals in communities. The empowerment literature emphasises the importance of context (Zimmerman, 1995) to move away from universal or global approaches to social change towards a focus on community narratives as resources for linking research and practice (Rappaport, 1995) within an explicit agenda of effecting social and political changes (Laverack and Wallerstein, 2001). The current research also draws upon empowerment approaches to community participation and partnerships in development processes (Fawcett et al., 1995) and to HIV/AIDS prevention (Beeker et al., 1998); adolescent empowerment models (Chinman and Linney, 1998); and, social psychological studies on community participation (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000; Campbell and Murray, 2004; Fraser, 2005; Guareschi and Jovchelovitch, 2004; Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000). These studies make central the problem of social exclusion in social change processes and the role of agency and critical awareness as valuable means for seeking social justice.

To understand further the elements that contribute to social exclusion and therefore the problem of empowerment, I expose how stigmatizing representations of development fuel and constrain empowerment processes by drawing on social psychological perspective on stigma (Campbell and Deacon, 2006; Campbell et al., 2007b; Cornish, 2006; Dodds, 2006) and social psychological investigations on the impact of representations on identity and resistance (Campbell and McLean, 2002; Duveen, 2001; Howarth, 2002a&b, 2004; Jovchelovitch and Gervais, 1999; Wagner et al., 2000). Finally, returning to the importance of context, I examine the role of social identities and social capital in community practices (Campbell and Gillies, 2001; Campbell et al., 2002; Campbell et al., 2005; Campbell et al., 2007a; Gregson et al., 2004); and postcolonial and feminist perspectives on subjectivity, difference, philosophy and culture to enrich the analysis of socio-cognitive and ambivalent power processes and to demonstrate the difficulties for resistance in these contexts (Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Biko, 1978; Brah and Phoenix, 2004; Fanon, 1967; Gibson, 2003, 2004; Hook, 2004a&b; Hooks, 1989; Manganyi, 1973; Mama, 1995; Mudimbe, 1988; Phoenix, 1998, 2009).

METHODOLOGY
A social psychological study of empowerment is thus concerned with the dynamics of power in social change processes and has two key foci: how individuals locate themselves in their social environment and how they resist the knowledge and

practices that undermine them to gain control over their lives. These mechanisms are observed through social activities that reflect the different trajectories of knowledge and power and illuminate processes of identification and resistance in relation to wider social institutions and practices. In doing so, a study of empowerment advocates the centrality of praxis (Ledwith, 2001) in the research process, supported by creative and multimedia technologies (Braden and Mayo, 1999; Bleiker and Kay, 2007; Humphreys and Brezillion, 2002; Holliday, 2004; Purcell, 2009; Ramella and Stirling, 2000; Ramella and Olmos, 2005) as significant contributors to empowering individuals. The methodology in the current study is an innovative approach that combines Photovoice methods (Bolton et al., 2001; Castleden et al., 2008; Foster-Fishman et al., 2005; Strack et al. 2004; Wang et al. 1998, 2004) with focus groups, discussion groups and individual interviews conducted within a framework of conscientisation (Freire, 1970, 1974). As a qualitative approach to research, based on narrative tools that make participants an integral part of the research process, the methodology itself represents a challenge to the reliance on quantitative data to describe development problems and that tend to blame individuals and communities in Africa as a result. In this research, development is observed through an ethnographical study of the social interactions between young people in Dar es Salaam and Soweto and members of their communities and through the alternatives embodied in an empowerment approach to social change.

TANZANIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

In both Tanzania and South Africa, development policies and practices provide the broad context in which people's needs are addressed, albeit based on a range of differences and commonalities in economic, political and cultural histories and social structures, indicative of varying degrees of modernisation. The rationale for a study focusing on multiple sites located in different countries is to explore a variety of challenges of development and, therefore as a result, to provide a more comprehensive framework for formulating an empowerment agenda. The different character and temporalities of decolonisation movements in these two countries meant that independence occurred in vastly different contexts in terms of the global political and economic situation that influenced the direction of development plans post-independence. Furthermore, the civic engagement that characterised the liberation struggle in South Africa and the involvement of young people in that process, in addition to the focus on identity politics for liberation are some of the important differences with Tanzania's peaceful transition to independence. Furthermore, the reliance on development aid in Tanzania is far greater than in South Africa, which

influences the determination of the nation-state in articulating development plans. Nevertheless, the young people who were part of the Shooting Horizons project had similar aspirations, lived in similar conditions and shared common experiences of oppression. Hence, as the story unfolds, I will expose the largely overlooked social and psychological processes that contribute to the disempowerment of young people in urban African contexts and propose new ways of thinking and acting to reverse these trends.

SUMMARY

This research provides empirical and methodological contributions to social psychological approaches to empowerment and social change. The Shooting Horizons initiative sought to reinvigorate the role of young people in contributing to social change. The first aspect of this study is to locate empowerment as a framework for resistance to the development paradigm; and, secondly, as a struggle for recognition for the alternative knowledges put forth by young people. Through practical engagement in the community, I contend that young people can develop transformative strategies leading to positive empowerment outcomes.

Part I introduces the problematic, the research questions, and the theoretical framework for the study. Chapter One provides an overview of the challenges facing young people in Dar es Salaam and Soweto, as described in development policy documents as well as the existing policies for youth development in these contexts. I outline the assumptions of development models and the various trends in development discourse, theory and practice thus aiming to describe the impact of the development paradigm on the lives of young people in urban African contexts. I differentiate between internationalist and people-centred approaches to development, the former reflecting the continuity of Western interests and control in Africa after decolonisation, the latter expressing the resistance by newly independent African nations and the will to engender an alternative approach to development. Within this framework, I also explain the shortcomings of both of these approaches through the contradictions and ambiguities that they present, in particular through the representational and identification practices that undermine the knowledge and capabilities of people in communities and exclude them from the development paradigm.

Chapter Two describes how an empowerment approach to social change is more adequate in addressing the needs of young people in this context. I start with an international definition of youth empowerment and debate the contributions and shortcomings that it presents. I argue that a community-based empowerment rhetoric is more apt for reversing the ambiguous trends of internationalist development and that it incorporates the values of resistance and emancipation that form part of a people-centred agenda and that represent the social consciousness of communities in African contexts. Following a social psychological perspective on community, I go on to

discuss how knowledge, representation and identity are intertwined in the individual-social interface in ways that enhance or constrain empowerment processes, in particular the unconscious and internalised mechanisms of power that impact on the possibilities for resistance to oppression. Based on these debates, I propose three theoretical concepts to be incorporated in the design of the Shooting Horizons initiative: to build upon young people's agency; to engage them in a process of critical consciousness; and, to ensure possibilities for social recognition. These three theoretical tenets form the basis upon which to formulate a methodological framework for an empowerment approach to social change.

Part II is concerned with the methodological framework used in this research. Chapter Three explains the rationale for an ethnographical approach based on a series of methods and activities organised through the Shooting Horizons initiative. The presentation of the methodology starts with current debates in ethnography and how critical perspectives can provide an appropriate basis for measuring empowerment processes. As part of this discussion, I expose the debates around the focus on 'otherness' and the assumed neutrality of scientific and academic principles in ethnographical research. Responding to these critiques involves a deconstruction of scientific legitimacy, which I establish through a reconsideration of objectivity in the research process. The result is a methodological framework for the Shooting Horizons project that considers the effects of power on representations and identity and that considers the difficulties in producing alternative perspectives in dialogical encounters between the participants and the researcher. I thereafter explain how the methodology minimises the reproduction of stigmatizing discourses in participants' perspectives by incorporating a process of critical consciousness and the adoption of creative methods, focusing on Photovoice, in establishing a framework for dialogue and the production of alternative representations.

Chapter Four describes the methods and analytical techniques used to run and evaluate the Shooting Horizons workshops. I discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the different youth centres in which the projects took place, and describe the sampling methods and profiles of the participants. I thereafter elaborate on the design and implementation of the workshops, including a description of the activities, events, overall implementation and how the combination of different methods (focus groups, discussion groups, interviews and photo-stories) enriches the data. Finally, I outline the analytical framework that includes a thematic approach to analysing and triangulating

the data as a valuable method for uncovering the possibilities, contradictions and surprise factors that constrain and promote empowerment outcomes.

Part III presents the research findings. Chapter Five evaluates the themes arising from the photo-stories and from the process of photo-story development and observes the contradictory representations that young people use to describe their situation. Young people's narratives are stories of self-reliance and self-determination but also demonstrated the pervasiveness of stigmatizing beliefs that they hold about themselves, their communities and their leaders and the low levels of social capital in their communities. Young people often position themselves as contributors to their own oppressive circumstances and blame themselves and others through individualistic and gendered discourses. The visual and narrative representations developed by participants also reveal how discourses of victimisation and resistance co-exist within complex identification processes and thus how easy it would be to misrepresent young African voices in the absence of a more critical account of their knowledge and understandings.

Chapter Six investigates the explanations that young people give for their lived realities through an analysis of the explanatory themes and their levels of consciousness located in a discourse of development. The testimonies of young people reveal the centrality of difference in constructing the material, socio-political and symbolic contexts in which they base their understandings of the social challenges that they face. The findings provide insights into the socio-cognitive processes that young people use to process information and that perpetuate stigmatizing perspectives. The occurrence of naïve and fanaticised levels of consciousness on the one hand reveal the level of fatalistic attitudes and behaviours and the difficulties in challenging entrenched beliefs. On the other hand, the critical awareness that young people present in analysing their situation exposes their potential in changing their situation. The findings elaborate on how conflicting ideological discourses emerge in identification processes that facilitate internalization and victimization thereby leading to self-negating behaviours, and on the factors that contribute to the development of positive social identities and social recognition.

Part IV concludes this thesis and provides recommendations for further youth empowerment initiatives. Chapter Seven is a reflexive social psychological commentary on the research process starting from the critique of development, the methodological

framework and the analysis of the findings. In this chapter, I incorporate the lessons learned from this journey to analyse the contributions that a social psychological approach to empowerment can have in urban African contexts. The main areas identified for further research are in developing the content and process of critical consciousness and in establishing alliances with the relevant institutions so that young people's ideas and efforts gain the recognition and support that they require.

In Chapter Eight, I provide a model for youth empowerment and a set of recommendations for youth empowerment projects and further research in this area. I reflect on my role throughout the research process and conclude by highlighting the vital importance that resisting racialisation and gender discrimination, forging and framing a new self and community image continues to have within postcolonial African societies and that future development programmes and practices should reflect this centrality. I conclude that empowerment initiatives can reinvigorate such approaches and begin to arrest the lack of individual and collective self-reflection and confidence often visible in many walks of life within African communities.

Chapter One - Summary

Young People and the Development Discourse:
A Social Psychological Perspective

Chapter One provides an overview of the challenges facing young people in Dar es Salaam and Soweto, as described in development policy documents as well as the existing policies for youth development in these contexts. I outline the assumptions of development models and the various trends in development discourse, theory and practice thus aiming to describe the impact of the development paradigm on the lives of young people in urban African contexts. I differentiate between internationalist and people-centred approaches to development, the former reflecting the continuity of Western interests and control in Africa after decolonisation, the latter expressing the resistance by newly independent African nations and the will to engender an alternative approach to development. Within this framework, I also explain the shortcomings of both of these approaches through the contradictions and ambiguities that they present, in particular through the representational and identification practices that undermine the knowledge and capabilities of people in communities and exclude them from the development paradigm.

Chapter One – Young People And The Development Discourse: A Social Psychological Perspective

1.1 Rationale and Context of Study

How do young Africans envisage their future? What are the challenges they face? What do they want to achieve? What are they doing about it? Many theories that explain the behaviours and attitudes of young people refer to adolescence as a period of 'experimentation with negative roles', of 'low self-esteem', of 'weak bonding to conventional community institutions' and of "lack of skills and awareness to have positive significant influence in matters that are important to them" (Erikson, 1959, 1968; Nightingale & Wolverton, 1988; Hirschi, 1969; Zimmerman, 1992 in Chinman and Linney 1998, p.394). This research explores these questions and provides a framework for empowering young people to become visible social actors and influence the policies and programmes addressing youth in Africa.

The young participants in this study expressed, through the Shooting Horizons initiative, the broad range of challenges facing them in their communities. They also exposed their daily lives, their hopes and dreams of how things could be. The adjacent stories by Lerato and Adam are powerful illustrations of their lives and their communities (Appendix 1). They tell tales of everyday life in the streets, the colourful personas that enrich the community, religious practices, artistic talents, the trials and tribulations of living in a shack, the neighbourhood bar or street garage, family struggles, sexual desires, marriage, life and death. All in all, they recalled in their own words the social fabric and memoirs of their communities with laughter and sadness, with hope and determination to shape their future.

Business in Kliptown
Almost everyone in my country or in Kliptown who is running a business is running a business to make a living out of that money that they're getting in the business. And there are those who are in business just for fun. It may be a small business or a big business in a small or a big place. I also include the hawkers.

Because of the economic problems getting worse everyday, hundreds to thousands of people are losing their jobs everyday. And most people are thinking the same ideas and their thoughts are to open Spaza shops in their local communities. Everyday in Kliptown we see new people around the corners selling. What is bad about these new people we see everyday is that they are selling products that someone in the next corner is already selling. And that is making business here in Kliptown very competitive because of the street hawkers selling the same products of the same label but at different prices, eg. veggies, fruits, clothes, and foods. Usually, because of the competition, almost all the people who are doing business here in Kliptown don't make the profit they targeted at the beginning of the day.

Lerato, 16

Challenges of life in the streets

Who: Abdul Shaibu
Age: 13 years
Where: Ubungo
When: 13 May 2008

'It reminds me of my life on the street. I want to help those who remain by revealing their conditions'.

My photos show a street child in Ubungo and its surroundings, buses and people doing business.

Many street children live a very tough life because they have nobody to help them. It's everybody's responsibility to help children so I am asking the government to increase the number of orphanages. The truth is, most street children are very capable, the important thing is to give them a chance in life.

Adam, 16

Whilst listening to their stories, told with emotion, knowledge, and insight, more questions arise: Why, then, are young Africans represented in a victimising discourse of poverty and vulnerability (Skovdal et al., 2009)? How do they react to the representations directed at them? Why do they refer to themselves in similar terms? Conversely, their voices throughout the project also reveal another proactive discourse that describes the strategies and tactics they use for living. They know what they want: 'To be free', 'to be heard', 'to be healthy', 'to be safe', 'to love' (see flipcharts in Appendix 3) are some of the goals that they articulate. They want to 'build understanding, find solutions to problems, develop skills, teach others, create awareness, respect the community and build good family relationships' (Appendix 3), and the list goes on... Contrary to some beliefs, these young people are anything but *mad*, *bad* or *deviant*. More often than not, they have already carved out many of the solutions to the problems they want to tackle. They know that understanding comes from 'information, critical discussion, seeing, feeling, making mistakes...' (Appendix 3) and that through 'different ideas, advice, encouragement and love' (Appendix 3), they can begin to change the patterns of mistreatment and exclusion in their communities and build a better future for themselves. So, what is stopping them? How can their knowledge be put into practice and be more effective? What are the institutions that claim to support them doing? Through this research, I hope to elucidate some of the gaps and contradictions between young people's understandings and aspirations and the broader community dynamics, the socio-economic constraints and underlying representational practices that, as we will see, stigmatise and discriminate against them. Shooting Horizons is about empowering these young people to find meaningful ways to be recognised for their knowledge and actions and to contribute to social change.

1.2   Representing Young People: Development Policies and Statistics

As mentioned in the introduction, an analysis of development discourses constitutes the opening premise on which this story develops. In this chapter, I start by locating young people in the development paradigm. National development policies articulate a framework within which the institutions of society plan and direct their efforts to respond to the long-terms goals of the nation-state. In Tanzania, the current National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty, MKUKUTA (Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kuondoa Umaskini Taifa), was adopted in 2005 and follows a series of plans developed since independence in 1961. In 1994, shortly after independence, the South African government adopted the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) as the socio-economic framework to alleviate poverty, accompanied by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) in 1996, specifically addressing economic policy. Regional and international policies follow similar principles except that they respond to a broader set of interests, largely to do with economic and political alliances beyond the nation-state. Policies specifically targeting young people exist at national, regional, and international levels and provide an overview of the situation of young people and the interventions and institutional apparatus that respond to the policy-goals provided.

The following discussion evaluates how the current national youth policies for Tanzania and South Africa, as well as the policies and plans of regional and international bodies, define young people and explain their situation and their needs, with a focus on young people living in urban areas. The discussion also locates youth development within the broader rationale of the development paradigm. Given the vast amount of criticism of development and the questionable impacts of development interventions (as outlined in the introduction), it is worth exposing some of the problems associated with the development imperative and its associated institutions. I therefore investigate the concept and principles of development through a social psychological lens, by examining the representations, meanings, and identity impacts of the definitions and policies provided, and trace back to their origin and purpose. In the second part of the chapter, I explore the value and lessons learned from people-centred development agendas established in Tanzania and South Africa post-independence as providing the basis for a framework of resistance to dominant development trends. These were born out of identity struggles and emancipatory narratives that fuelled the independence process and that have largely been taken over by other interests in the current era of development.

1.2.1 Youth in Tanzania

In Tanzania, current policies focusing on young people include: the National Child Development Policy of 1996, for children up to the age of 18, ratified by the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children; and, the National Youth Development Policy by the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development in 1996 targeting young people between the ages of 15 and 35. In addition, the Government of Tanzania established a Youth Development Council and Youth Development

'I hate to see young women who get pregnant being abandoned and left suffering'.

Juma, 18

Committees. The above documents represent the first and current policies addressing young people that have been developed since independence in 1961. The information and statistics that follow are drawn from these documents, as well as from research produced by locally-based youth organisations.

Young people in Tanzania constitute 33% of the total population[8] (Shaidi, 2006). This is more pronounced in urban areas. Of the 3.4 million inhabitants of Dar es Salaam, 50% are young people[9]. They also represent the fastest migrating population into cities[10]. According to a recent report on street children in Tanzania, children and young people migrate to towns and cities due to the impact of poverty on families in rural areas (Johnson et al., 2005). The National Child Development Policy (1996) sets out the structural causes of poverty as stemming from unemployment, lack of education, low incomes from farming and limited access to basic services[11]. The Johnson report also discusses the linkages between structural and non-income forms of poverty such as family and community breakdown that lead to various forms of abuse and neglect. As a result, young people are trafficked or flee to the cities in search of a better life. The challenges facing young women are compounded by a discriminatory system, where girl children are less likely to go to school, especially secondary school, in a country where only 10% of primary school leavers are absorbed into secondary school (Shaidi, 2006). There is ample evidence that this leads to early and forced marriage and high levels of teenage pregnancies (Kisslinger, 2007). Thus, it is estimated that 43% of adolescents with no education have begun childbearing compared to 4% with

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[8] Definition of youth here is ages 15 to 35.
[9] Figures are from the Regional Administration and Local Government Sustainable Cities Programme: http://scptanzania.org/cities/
[10] ibid
[11] Child Development Policy, Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children, Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1996.

secondary or higher education[12] and 45% of young women have given birth by the age of 19. Media reports on youth in Tanzania corroborate these statistics and indicate rising levels of prostitution and street children (Mayombo, 1998)[13], school drop-out rates (Tomric Agency, 2000)[14], and child labour (Pan-African News Agency, 2000)[15].

> *I think education is the key to life and for you I believe it will open your minds as it has done for me...* **Cynthia, 17**

To explain these problems, the Tanzanian National Youth Development Policy presents young people as 'lacking in knowledge and skills'[16]. It further describes adolescence as a period where some youth demonstrate 'bravery and courage' while others manifest 'shyness and cowardice'[17]. Reference to social factors point to 'weaknesses in African culture' and the influence of 'foreign cultures' to explain the negative behaviours of young people[18]. Furthermore, plans to curtail negative behaviour refer to the provision of services to young people who lack in skills and moral values[19]. The Child Development Policy further locates problems in the "traditions and customs of some tribes"[20], and puts forward the idea that "the girl child is expected to become a woman responsible for reproduction and family care"[21], thereby blaming African cultures for the situation of children and reinforcing narrow expectations of young women's roles in society. As we can see, representations of young people in Tanzanian policy documents are largely negative and tend to locate problems in the individual characteristics of young people or in the cultural environment.

1.2.2   Youth in South Africa

In contrast to Tanzania, youth development in South Africa has been a key focus of the government since independence in 1994. Young people held an important role in the struggle for independence in South Africa, which is acknowledged in the government's

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[12] http://www.nbs.go.tz
[13] http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/36/052.html
[14] http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/36/383.html
[15] http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/36/index-cea.html
[16] National Youth Development Policy, Ministry of Labour and Youth Development, Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1996, p.6
[17] ibid, p.1
[18] ibid, p.4
[19] ibid.
[20] Child Development Policy, Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children, 1996, p.4.
[21] ibid, p.8

commitment to formulating an agenda for youth post-independence, instituted through the establishment of the National Youth Commission in 1996 and the ratification of the first National Youth Policy in 1997. Current policies include the National Youth Development Framework (2002-2007), the National Youth Policy (2009-2014), and the National Youth Development Act (2008). National and Provincial Youth Commissions currently fall under the Office of the President.

The current National Youth Policy for South Africa recognises the role of young people as drivers of social change and in the future governance of the nation. The goals of the policy refer mainly to the provision of services but also point to the need to enhance the 'assets, potential, capacity and capability'[22] of young people with empowerment as a policy outcome. Furthermore, there is a strong focus on an individual-community interface to achieve policy outcomes. The policy defines youth development as: "an intentional comprehensive approach that provides space, opportunities and support for young people to maximise their individual and collective creative energies for personal development as well as the development of the broader society of which they are an integral part"[23]. The policy was adopted in March 2009 and is the 2nd National Youth Policy for South Africa.

Nevertheless, the situation of young people in urban areas of South Africa is not very different to Tanzania. In South Africa, young people between the ages of 15 and 28 constitute 37% of the population[24]. Soweto is in the Gauteng province, the most urbanised province of the country. Gauteng houses 42.8% of young people (aged 14-34), which represents the largest concentration of young people in the country, according to the most recent population census in 2001[25]. Findings from the 2001 census also reveal that young people tend to migrate to cities mainly looking for employment. The National Youth Policy lists the main risks facing young South Africans as unemployment; sexual and gender-based violence; STIs and HIV/AIDS; unwanted pregnancies; school drop-out; criminal offenses; and drug and alcohol abuse. Figures for youth unemployment were estimated at 50.3% for 14-24 year olds in 2006 and the policy also indicates that one third of all youth in South Africa live in poverty. Furthermore, the policy states that 12% of young women become mothers in adolescent years (age 12-16) and that by 18 years, 30% of young women have given

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[22] National Youth Policy of South Africa, 2009, p.8
[23] ibid, p.11
[24] National Youth Development Policy Framework of South Africa (2002-2007).
[25] Statistics South Africa, Census 2001, *Stages in the Life Cycle of South Africans*.

birth[26]. Young women are said to be victims of violence and abuse resulting in feelings of powerlessness and, as a group, are particularly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. HIV prevalence was estimated at 13.5% amongst 15-18 year olds in 2006. Crime statistics indicate that 36% of the prison population is below 16 years of age and that 15% of all criminal offences in South Africa are committed by children under 18 years. The policy recognizes the limited data and programmes available for targeting the most marginalised youth. These are defined as 'school-aged-out-of school youth', who lack literacy and numeracy skills and therefore cannot access economic opportunities. They are described as having no adult supervision, poor levels of general welfare and well-being and as experiencing high levels of stress and being exposed to high-risk behaviours. Therefore, despite the more comprehensive approach to youth development adopted by the South African government, the statistics and descriptions of young people remain bleak.

1.2.3   Youth in Regional and International Policies

There are many programmes and policies dedicated to young people in Africa regionally and internationally. At international level, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) supports children's rights, their survival, development and protection, guided by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child[27], the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment (2007-2015) and the World Programme of Action on Youth (2000)[28] adopted by United Nations Ministers for Youth, amongst others. At regional level, the African Youth Charter (AYC) was endorsed by the African Union in 2006 and guided by the Strategic Framework for Youth Development in 2004. These latter documents describe youth as Africa's greatest resource and take on an approach based on the protection of the rights and freedoms of young people.

Despite youth representation at national, regional and international levels, development reports indicate worsening conditions for young people in Africa. In March 2009, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI)[29] predicted that the effects of the economic downturn will lead to "increases in child mortality and morbidity, child

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[26] National Youth Policy of South Africa, 2009.
[27] http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm
[28] http://www.un.org/events/youth98/backinfo/ywpa2000.htm
[29] The ODI is a leading think tank on international development that aims to influence policy and practice on poverty alleviation, humanitarian issues and sustainable development: http://www.odi.org.uk

labour, child exploitation, violence against children and other forms of abuse, alongside declines in school attendance and the quality of education, nurture, care and emotional wellbeing..." (Harper et al, 2009, p.1). Other findings indicate the historical absence of tangible programmes by key international actors, such as the World Bank, to address youth concerns, although this situation is starting to change:

> Youth remain a largely neglected constituency in Bank analytical and operational work, whether as participants or beneficiaries, despite their demographic importance and their potential for positive economic and social contributions. However, this may be beginning to change. Total investment in youth has more than tripled since the year 2000, with the highest growth being in urban and health sectors[30].

Critics of international development have argued that the adoption of national policies is often the result of international pressure and therefore does not necessarily indicate a country's commitment to youth development or the ability to implement youth focused programmes:

> Ratification of international instruments indicates a country's acceptance of internationally constructed principles and a desire to adopt international codes in its own laws... It may be that Tanzania agrees to international codes both because they express desirable policy change and because they are perceived as desirable in the eyes of an international community on whom the country is dependent for funding... A lesson here is that the signing of international instruments in itself has little power to affect well-being in practice, which is a salutary reminder of the large gap that can exist between policy and practice (REPOA, 2009, p.2).

Tanzania's first National Youth Development Policy was drafted 35 years after independence and one year after the UN General Assembly called UN Member States to formulate national youth policies in 1995 (Divyakirti, 2002).

The above information and statistics illustrate how national, regional and international youth development reports and policies define and predict the situation of young people in Tanzania and South Africa often in negative or ambiguous ways. The discussion also exposes that development information and statistics – the *discourse* of development – does not necessarily translate into development practices to redress young people's challenges. Furthermore, the literature says very little about what young people do on a daily basis to cope with their situation, where do they find material support, shelter and protection? What are the strategies and tactics they have developed? Despite the vast differences in approach between Tanzanian and South

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[30] The Commonwealth Programme of Action for Youth Empowerment (Commonwealth PAYE), 2007-2015, p.17.

African policies, the young people who participated in this study live in similar conditions and face similar challenges. This situation thus demands a more critical analysis of some the factors impeding youth development, which I argue can be understood through a more critical body of research to be found within a social psychological perspective. A social psychological critique of development is interested in the less visible ways in which development discourse and practice affects individuals in communities. A brief introduction to the grand narratives of development that have influenced current development policies and programmes is followed by a discussion of development knowledge, the representations it depends upon and produces, and the implications for identity and resistance, thereby touching upon central concerns of social psychological research.

1.3 The Grand Narratives of Development: Assumptions and Models

The following presentation is a critical analysis of the grand narratives of development. As indicated through the policy frameworks described above, development discourses are situated at different levels and support different agendas. In this research, I refer to two distinct narratives: on the one hand, an *internationalist* development agenda focused on achieving the macroeconomic targets of development set by the international institutions of development, such as the Bretton Woods institutions[31], bilateral institutions[32] and reinforced by International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs)[33]; on the other hand, a *people-centred* development agenda at national and regional levels, born out of the emancipatory discourse of movements towards independence on the continent, and expressed through national agendas and grassroots movements. Tanzania and South Africa, as well as regional bodies, have adopted elements of both narratives in formulating national development policy. A critical look at how these discourses converge and compete exposes the complex ways in which individuals in communities are represented in relation to national, regional and global interests.

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[31] The Bretton Woods institutions include the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank Group, established in 1945, concerned with countries' adherence to international monetary policy.
[32] Bilateral institutions are governmental institutions concerned with international development. (i.e. the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) or the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)) amongst others.
[33] International NGOs are institutions that are usually funded by donor organisations or their membership and are established to further the political and social goals of their members and funders. In Africa, most INGOs are either development-oriented or relief-oriented. (adapted from Wikipedia)

Following nationalist struggles for independence, African states embarked on a developmentalist strategy to re-build their nations dented by the impact of colonialism. The two models that have dominated the field of development post-independence are modernisation and dependency/welfarism (Ake, 1996; Jomo and Fine, 2006; Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000). These models present two underlying assumptions that arguably contradict our project of empowerment. First of all, the assumption that less developed contexts are catching up with more developed ones with the state being representative and benevolent (of pluralistic or class interest) (Ake, 1996; Jomo and Fine, 2006; Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000; Mkandawire, 2004). Secondly, the assumption that macro-economic indicators determine the level of development with associated 'trickle-down' benefits to lower income groups (Jomo and Fine, 2000, p.22). Both these assumptions have created conditions in which people in communities become peripheral to the development project, which is imposed on them by 'more knowledgeable' development experts and institutions, often from the outside and whereby expertise is symbolised by levels of economic wealth (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000; Jovchelovitch, 2007; Kothari, 2006a&b; Escobar, 1995; Baaz, 2005). The effect of this is to exacerbate social exclusion by undermining the knowledge and capabilities of social groups who are viewed as passive recipients of development interventions.

1.4   Internationalist Development Narratives

1.4.1   Development as the Institutionalisation of Poverty

Underlying both modernisation and dependency perspectives is the postulation of poverty as a measurement that defines levels of development. The majority of visible policies and programmes addressing young people in Africa are part of a development imperative to combat poverty. In the context of international development in Africa, development generally refers to the post-colonial and post-WWII practices of international institutions intervening in African countries to address the problem of poverty: "Two-thirds of the world's peoples were transformed into poor subjects in 1948 when the World Bank defined as poor those countries with an annual per capita income below $100" (Escobar, 1995, p.23). This marked a new era of relationships between Western and African governments through the classification of southern countries as 'underdeveloped' in the North-South divide based on macroeconomic benchmarks (Sachs, 1990, Rahnema, 1997); and the beginning of institutionalised poverty with the establishment of the United Nations (UN) and the Bretton Woods

institutions in 1945, followed by a flurry of INGOs in the second half of the 20th century, focusing on development aid, humanitarian assistance and sustainable development. These international institutions have grown in number ever since. The arrival of the new millennium was characterized by a renewed interest in Africa and development on a global scale and witnessed the establishment of many international bodies and campaigns addressing poverty in Africa (see Box 1). Despite these efforts, critics note that even with their growing reputation, the contribution of INGOs on a global scale remains limited (Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Bebbington et al., 2008) and that, in the current economic crisis, African countries will experience decreases in overseas development assistance and possible debt-crises[34].

Box 1: Millennium Landmarks in International Development

The launching of the **Jubilee 2000 Campaign** calling for debt cancellation, the establishment of the **New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)** by the African Union (AU) in 2001, the adoption of the **Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)** by the UN in 2002, the establishment of the **Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)** by the US Congress in 2004, and the **Commission for Africa** by the UK Prime Minister in 2004 all represent the global nature and magnitude of efforts for development in Africa. The year 2005 was also an important milestone for Africa and development arising from the G8 meeting in Gleneagles where leaders agreed to double Aid to Africa by 2010 (to reach $120 billion) and the launching of the wide-reaching **Make Poverty History campaign**. In 2007, we also witnessed the launch of the **Pan African Infrastructure Development Fund (PAIDF)** which is the first time that Africa, as a continent, has drawn on its own financial resources to address development challenges.

Theorists have argued that these bodies, campaigns and programmes fail because they target the symptoms rather than drivers of poverty (Bebbington, 2006) and fail to address non-income forms of poverty or to understand the links between non-income forms of poverty and issues affecting young people (Johnson et al., 2005). Furthermore, critics argue that they operate in frameworks that "help the poor deal with crisis" (Bebbington, 2006, p.18) whilst maintaining the overall status-quo in access to wealth and resources. These policies do not address the origins of poverty or "why certain societies tolerate poverty" (ibid, p.12). Hence, poverty now appears as a *normal* condition, which, for the vast majority of people in Africa, remains unaffected by development practices.

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[34] www.unctad.org/symposium

1.4.2   Development and Stigmatization

Through this institutionalization and normalization of poverty, people in the South have come to be represented as *victims* of poverty, often through stigmatizing representations of what it means to be 'poor' or 'underdeveloped'. Critics of development argue that global efforts at tackling poverty and development in Africa fuel the continuous portrayal of Africa as 'the problem' (Yanacopulos, 2005). Images of disease, destitution, violence and corruption (Benthall, 1993; Dyck and Coldevin, 1992; Lidchi, 1999; Hall, 2000; Dogra, 2007) continue to be used to define Africa and remain largely unchallenged. Popular discourses in the media often refer to 'ethnic wars, rampant poverty, corruption' (Dogra, 2007), or 'hungry tribes' (Renton, 2008), for example, leaving their readership with ideas about the 'nature' of Africans. Kothari (2006a, p.13) further argues that, in international development discourses, 'black populations [are conceived] as conservative and deficient…', thereby promoting explanations that do not go beyond questions to do with culture and race. Dogra's (2007) article on visual images of INGOs is an example of the complicity of international development institutions in the production of stigmatizing images of poverty in Africa. She describes how, before the 1980s, most imagery was 'negative' and characterized by photos of Africans as 'helpless passive victims', where images of "starving babies trivialized the complex issue of famine by equating it with money and food" (ibid, p.162). These images also have a mysticising effect as they attach meanings to a whole society (Barthes, 1977). Escobar (1995, p.12) reinforces this point and states that: "(…) even today, most people in the West (and many parts of the Third World) have great difficulty thinking about Third World situations and people in terms other than those provided by the development discourse".

The institutionalisation of poverty and its associated representations define young people and their communities in stigmatizing ways rather than as actors with the potential to make changes to their situation. In other words, the stigma of development representations denies people their agency through a language of blame and victimisation. In doing so, development representations make individuals and communities responsible for the stigma that is attached to them and exonerate their own role in producing and maintaining that stigma. Kothari (2006a, p.13) observes that, as a result, "development interventions are legitimized and failing projects explained". Baaz (2005, p.13), in her work on North-South development partnerships finds that "just as discourses define and restrict the ways in which a phenomenon can

be understood, so they also define a certain type of practice". Development representations thereby justify and sustain interventions that do not necessarily favour the interests of those they target and further stigmatise them in the process.

1.4.3   The Ambivalence of Development

The concept of 'ambivalence' can shed light on the contradiction between the discourses of development that prioritise poverty alleviation and humanitarian assistance and the stigmatizing representations of development that contribute to discriminatory beliefs and practices that have the effect of marginalizing certain social groups from participating in social change. Bhabha (1994) describes 'ambivalence' as a central mechanism of discriminatory power because it is the outcome of the combined psychological effects of stereotyping and disavowal. Bhabha (1994, in Hook, 2005) explains these concepts further through the idea that there are 'paradoxes of otherness' in representation as well as identification. In representation, it is the exaggeration of difference whilst at the same time maintaining a stable and predictable object (through stereotyping). In identification, it is the fixity of mutually exclusive categories and the simultaneous perception of similarity (through disavowal).

Stereotyping, he explains, is "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known and something that must be anxiously repeated…" (Bhabha, 1994, p.95). I argue, therefore, that the negative imagery used to describe poverty on the African continent is a form of knowledge that carries meaning "because of the existence of a store of stereotyped attitudes which form ready-made elements of signification" (Barthes, 1977, p.22 in Bleiker and Kay, 2007, p.143). Furthermore, the frequent re-occurrence of these images is necessary to maintain the rationale of these stereotypes because they are never really explained otherwise (Bhabha, 1994). Hence, although poverty is generally defined in monetary terms, the imagery associated with poverty alludes to identity connotations, thereby facilitating the associations that are made between people living in poverty and a repertoire of stigmatizing images. In addition, stereotypes, Bhabha argues, can only be meaningful within the existence of an underlying perception of similarity (between people). This framework of similarity leads to the disavowal of differences between the developed and underdeveloped, disavowal being "a non-repressive form of knowledge that allows for the possibility of simultaneously embracing two contradictory beliefs (…)" (Bhabha, 1986 in Hall, 2000, p.267). An illustration of disavowal, in this case,

would be the juxtaposition of the following beliefs. Firstly, the belief in a common humanity between developed and underdeveloped, which justifies the development paradigm aimed at helping Africans living in poverty. Secondly, the deep-seated beliefs in the inferiority of Africans, which are manifested through stigmatizing images of individuals and communities in Africa in development discourses and practices. Disavowal is thus the contradiction between the ideological rationale and the affective manifestations of development. In her aforementioned article, Dogra (2007) shows the continuity and persistence of stereotypical representations of African poverty in development discourses despite the changing content of these images over time. Hence, the disavowal of stigmatizing discourses and practices of development and the stereotypical images of poverty and destitution that objectify African populations contribute to the ambivalence of development that is expressed through the paradoxes between its ideological rhetoric and its underlying beliefs.

Baaz's (2005) account of a development partnership, between a Nordic donor agency and Tanzanian organizations, can serve to illustrate the power of ambivalence in development practices. In this partnership, the Tanzanian partners were labelled as 'passive' because of a perceived lack of participation in what was meant to be a collaborative project. However, Baaz argues that this gradual lack of engagement was an expression of resistance to the project by the Tanzanian partners who felt that their views were not taken into account. 'Resistance', she says, is often mistaken as 'lack of commitment' or 'passivity', thus demonstrating how oppositional practices are often misinterpreted in development contexts and serve to perpetuate particular stereotypical images. This example illustrates how ambivalence works as an affective strategy based on pre-established beliefs that normalize Africans as passive, and, at the same time, a discursive strategy that ensures that these differences (i.e. between the Nordic donors and the Tanzanian partners) are fixed and justified within the context of participation and partnership for development. In turn, this ambivalence demonstrates how stigmatizing knowledge is re-produced and sustained over time and thus the difficulties in contesting it.

The analysis so far demonstrates that development discourses represent the lives of young people and their communities in ambiguous ways (through negative images + plans to alleviate poverty) and pays little attention to the stigmatizing content of these images. Therefore, this discussion puts into question the viability of Tanzanian and

South African policy documents in addressing the concerns of young people (and most of the other youth policy documents outlined previously), in which enhancing the potential of young people is presented in ambiguous terms - as a key area of concern but yet through stigmatizing images of young people and/or as living in dire circumstances. Therefore, we are not only faced with the non-performativity of development institutions but also the ambivalence of development policy that simultaneously produces conflicting images of young people. What does this ambiguity mean for young people's potential? Amidst the stigma directed at them, do they nevertheless exercise their agency to mitigate their circumstances? Social psychological research on the impact of representations on identity can respond to some of these questions.

1.4.4   Development Knowledge and Identification

Through current policy documents, projects and campaigns, development representations reach the communities that they speak of and impact on how individuals in these communities represent themselves through identification processes. Social psychological studies discuss how representations lead individuals to take on particular identity positions (Duveen, 2001; Howarth 2002a&b, 2004). Social identity and self-categorisation theory further note the importance of self-esteem in constructing social identity (Turner et al. 1987 in Hogg and Vaughan, p.366). In her work with adolescents from a deprived community in London (UK), Howarth (2002a&b; 2004) shows the impact of stigmatizing representations on the self-esteem and sense of belonging of young people. Many respondents in her study used discursive tactics to distance themselves from stigmatizing representations as a 'self-protective strategy' (Wagner et al., 2000). A strategy of dissociation meant that the stigma went unchallenged and was reinforced through young people's own stigmatizing and self-negating beliefs. Identification can therefore be understood as a fluid process, "a process of becoming rather than being" whereby representations "[bear] on how we might represent ourselves" (Hall, 1996, p.4). Hence, the stigma of development representations could further marginalise young people from the development discourse as they adopt self-protective strategies to distance themselves from it and, in doing so, reinforce particular stigmatizing representations about young people and their communities.

Howarth (2002b, p.250) further demonstrates that "stigmatizing representations actually produce the realities they symbolise". She describes how, when faced with stigmatizing representations, young people would take on identities that re-produced the images assigned to them. For instance, the expectation of aggressive behaviour would provoke anger that translated into aggressive behaviour in certain social encounters. Thus, the stigmatizing discourse not only created knowledge about the young people in her study but also controlled their responses to those same representations. Phoenix (2009) demonstrates similar findings from black women reflecting back on their experiences at school in a racialized environment. She describes how, as young women, they would silence or devalue themselves in response to the low expectations of teachers and their disbelief that black pupils could produce high quality work.

These examples demonstrate how stigmatizing representations create situations in which young people fail to be recognised for their knowledge and capabilities, and, on the contrary, in which recognition is attributed to the fatalistic attitudes and behaviours expected of them. As a consequence, young people may seek recognition for negative behaviours, for example, by participating in unlawful group activities where they find a sense of belonging and respect amongst peers (Chinman and Linney, 1998). Studies from South Africa indicate that criminal activities are "a primary means for many young South Africans to connect and bond with society, to acquire 'respect', 'status', sexual partners and to demonstrate 'achievement' amongst their peers and in their communities" (Pelser, 2008, p.8). These studies show that "South Africa's youth has "normalised" illegitimate means – crime and violence – of acquiring the prevailing symbols of 'success', to demonstrate cultural compliance, individual status and 'control' over their environments" (ibid, p.8).

The findings of the studies by Howarth and Phoenix also expose the link between representations and practice: through stigmatizing practices that discriminated against certain students, and, through the fatalistic behavioural practices adopted by young people that ensued. Stigma can thus be associated with negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviours (Campbell and Deacon, 2006), and fatalistic outcomes. Hence, the identity impacts of representations are central to understanding the complicity of development thinking and practice in shaping the attitudes and behaviours of individuals in communities. The stigmatizing representations and lack of recognition of young people within development discourses not only conflict with

policy aims but lead to situations that further marginalize them from this discourse. What this discussion also confirms is that young people do seek positive self-esteem and recognition for their actions but whether this translates into positive practices is not yet evident. The next paragraphs observe the role of knowledge systems on the agency of individuals and communities and on their struggle to be recognised for their knowledge and capabilities.

1.4.5   The Reification and Legitimation of Development Knowledge

Recognition is a problem that relates to the power of different systems of knowing to impose themselves on others, making themselves more or less visible in social spheres (Apffell-Marglin and Marglin, 1990 in Jovchelovitch, 1997). For instance, the knowledge of those who design and implement development is far more visible than the knowledge of those who are regarded as the *recipients* or *beneficiaries* of development interventions. In contrast to the knowledge of young Africans who are represented as *mad, bad, and deviant*, or *lacking in skills and moral values* (see Introduction, p.12), the knowledge of the developmentalists receives far more legitimacy. Therefore, seeking positive recognition for young people is a process that would de-stabilise and overcome the generally accepted truths of development knowledge. It is also a process that needs to be anchored in an alternative knowledge system that conceptualises young people in a more positive light and demands an investigation into what constitutes an alternative knowledge system and where to find it.

Jovchelovitch (2007) argues that, in development contexts, there are different representations attached to each knowledge system: local knowledge being frequently considered as ignorance and superstition and the developmentalist knowledge being a representation of science and economic, political and cultural power. Social psychological studies use different terminologies to refer to conflicting knowledge systems (Foster, 2003): consensual versus reified (Moscovici, 1984) traditional/lay versus scientific (Wagner et al. 2000), ethnomedical versus biomedical (De Graft-Aitkins, 2002) amongst others. These terminologies can lead to difficulties in avoiding the reification of scientific knowledge systems because of the already established assumption of the superiority of science, whereby science is regarded as proper knowledge while other forms of knowledge are reduced to belief (Duveen 2000 in Foster, 2003). Furthermore, development theory and policy is a universalising type of knowledge communicated by powerful bilateral and multilateral institutions and

INGOs that are able to define and influence the conditions of everyday people on a massive scale thus facilitating legitimation processes, whereby all other forms of knowing and living are assessed against it (Jovchelovtich, 2007). Therefore, how to make visible the knowledge of young people in order to resist the directive nature of development policy and practice and promote alternatives represents a key question for the current study.

Resistance to the internationalist development paradigm has nevertheless occurred across the African continent through movements aimed at overcoming the stigmatizing representations and discriminatory practices of international institutions. Social psychologists refer to 'representational projects' to explain how the knowledge encounters of different groups around the same object of representation are mitigated by the motivations and the positioning of each group (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999). It is through representational projects that recognition is sought. For many African governments, the struggle for recognition of newly established independent nations represented the driving force behind an emancipatory narrative of development. The next section evaluates the lessons learned from the people-centred development discourses articulated in Tanzania and South Africa and the usefulness of these projects for recognising young people and making them an integral part of the development paradigm.

1.5   Emancipatory Narratives

1.5.1   A People-Centred Development

The period of decolonisation and emerging nation-building strategies is still very alive in national and international policy debates and theories, as evident from the vast amount of post-colonial critique and analysis (Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Fanon, 1963; Gibson, 2003; Mamdani, 1996; Mkandawire, 2004, 2009). National liberation movements embodied a period of emancipatory politics concerned with the reduction or elimination of "exploitation, inequality and oppression" (Giddens, 1991, p.211). As Giddens states further, "emancipatory politics makes primary the imperatives of justice, equality and participation" (ibid, p.212). Independence across the African continent represented a symbolic and material emancipation from oppressive power structures of the colonial state where people were mobilised to reclaim their identities

and rebuild the institutions that serve them (Bhabha, 1990; Biko, 1978; Fanon, 1990; Gibson, 2003; Ngugi, 1986). Therefore, it represented a time of recognition for the voices that had been silenced by the dehumanising strategies of colonialism. It is within this context that many newly independent states, including Tanzania and South Africa, advocated for a people-centred development:

> The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development.
>
> Nyerere, 1968, – Arusha Declaration[35]

> The government I have the honour to lead and I dare say the masses who elected us to serve in this role, are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society.
> Mandela, 1994–State of the Nation Address [36]

After independence, the emancipatory discourse shifted to a people-centred development focus to address growing social inequalities and to maintain the unity and legitimacy of the new nations. The Ujamaa programme for Tanzania and South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) both reflected this change of direction. Much optimism can be drawn from nationalist agendas. Principles of people-centred development, including collective self-reliance, anti-racialism, and self-determination, reflected resistance to top-down development models, and sought to reinstate the role of institutions in the lives of individuals to meet their needs. The rhetoric also included policies to address the lack of recognition, through a focus on the participation of people in communities and the beginning of an empowerment agenda for social change. Both Tanzania and South Africa developed policies that encouraged the empowerment of marginalised groups. In particular, South Africa's RDP[37] states that:

> Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment (p.5).

And furthermore that:

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[35] http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nyerere/1967/arusha-declaration.htm, p. 243

[36] A Time to Build: Addresses by the President, Mr Nelson R Mandela, at his inauguration, the opening of Parliament (May 1994) and at the OAU meeting in Tunis (June 1994). Union Buildings, Pretoria, 10 May 1994, p.8.

[37] RDP (2000, 1994) The Reconstruction and Development Plan. African National Congress 1994. Umanyano Publications: Johannesburg.

> The central objective of our RDP is to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, and in particular the most poor and marginalised sections of our communities… the RDP reflects a commitment to grassroots, bottom-up development which is owned and driven by communities and their representative organisations (p.15).

The following paragraphs present an overview of the rhetoric of a people-centred development for Tanzania and South Africa. The legacies of independence movements reveal the centrality of identity in establishing strategies for emancipatory discourses of development with an emphasis on the self-determination of African nations and peoples. In the discussion that follows, I present an overview of two key identity struggles that were present in Tanzania and South Africa during the conceptualisation of a people-centred development: Self-Reliance and the possibilities of re-building traditional social identities, and, Black Consciousness and the possibilities of mobilising resistance around race. I thereafter explain the changing discourses of national development policies into the current era of international development and how the reliance on similar assumptions to top-down development models led to the abandonment of people-centred approaches and the progressive adoption of internationalist policies.

1.5.2 Development as Self-Reliance

Tanzania's national policy of 'Self-Reliance' aimed to counteract the exploitative system left by the colonisers. Its implementation was carried out through reforming the education system towards a programme of 'Education for Self-reliance' to build "attitudes of mind which [were] conducive to an egalitarian society" (Nyerere, 1968, in McDonald and Sahle, 2002, p.16) and therefore rid the nation of an oppressive system. The reforms sought to reinstate the local values that had been wiped out by the colonial regime and eliminate elitism and feelings of superiority that were instilled by colonial education. This was supported in practice by the 'Ujamaa Villageisation Programme' (Nyerere, 1967) to provide an enabling environment for the development of cohesive communities. Ujamaa means 'community' and involved a villageisation program characterized by a community where co-operation and collective advancement were presented as the rationale of every individual's existence. Ujamaa has often been referred to as a model of development for African socialism (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003). It professed Self-Reliance and non-exploitative development under the guiding principles of freedom, equality and unity (ibid, 2003).

However, the implementation of Ujamaa in the community provoked much opposition. The process of villageisation was characterised by a lack of participation and decision-making by grassroots communities and, faced with the lack of cooperation, the government's implementation plan became coercive, and supported by incentives (in the form of subsidies), which created a dependency on government instead of self-sufficiency (ibid, 2003). Critics of Tanzania's socialist reforms have noted the top-heavy approach of the state that wanted to 'conscientise' the masses through large-scale propaganda and education to develop a new socialism imposed from above which, however, claimed to correspond to the African roots of the people (Leatt et al, 1986). Nyerere went as far as to suggest that African socialism would come logically to the people, it being a natural characteristic of communal life in Africa: "We in Africa have no need to be converted to socialism...[it is] rooted in our own past – in the traditional society which produced us" (Nyerere, in McDonald and Sahle, 2002, p.16). An important critique of Ujamaa was that it adhered to the fallacy of development being the "objectification of African peasants and rural dwellers as hapless victims of underdevelopment who needed to be emancipated to higher levels of social and material well-being" (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003, p.3). To summarise the above criticisms, Self-Reliance in Tanzania was an approach that simultaneously reified the idea of a cohesive African traditional identity whilst undermining the knowledge and capabilities of people in communities. The failure of the people-centred development programme to recognise community agency resulted in the further marginalisation of individual and community values instead of stimulating an egalitarian society. Furthermore, Ujamaa's focus on Self-Reliance came about during the broader international context of the Cold War at that time. Tanzania's alignment with the socialist block and the government's resistance to integrate IMF and World Bank reforms in the 1980s led to a boycott by Western donors and Tanzania became one of the poorest countries in world (Gran, 1993; Catterson, 1999).

At regional level, policies of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU)[38] started to reinforce the agenda of a collective Self-Reliance in an attempt to counter the effects of international pressure. The *Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980 – 2000*[39] adopted in 1980 represented the commitment of African leaders to the principles of Self-Reliance and self-sustaining development (Ake, 1996) against the

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[38] OAU is now renamed the African Union (AU)
[39] http://www.uneca.org/itca/ariportal/docs/lagos_plan.PDF or http://www.africa-union.org

World Bank's *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action[40]* in 1981 that Ake (1996, p.24) argues "glossed over problems that the international economy poses for Africa...". The Lagos strategy in 1980 stated that:

> Africa is... victim of settler exploitation arising from colonialism, racism and apartheid. Indeed, Africa was directly exploited during the colonial period and for the past two decades, this exploitation has been carried out through neo-colonialist external forces which seek to influence the economic policies and directions of African States (p.5).

And, therefore that:

> Efforts towards African economic integration must be pursued with renewed determination in order to create a continent-wide framework for the much needed economic co-operation for development based on collective self-reliance (p.7).

In 1990, the OAU declaration on The Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and The Fundamental Changes Taking Place in The World[41] followed a similar rhetoric with African leaders agreeing that:

> (...) in the face of an often excruciating external debt burden, we convened the Third Extra-Ordinary Session of our Assembly and adopted the African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis. In all these endeavours, we were guided by the principle of collective self-reliance and self-sustaining development. (...) We reaffirm that Africa's development is the responsibility of our governments and peoples. We are now more than before determined to lay a solid foundation for self-reliant, human-centred and sustainable development on the basis of social justice and collective self-reliance so as to achieve accelerated structural transformation of our economies (p.1).

However, despite the objectives stated in these regional agendas, a combination of state-led development in Tanzania and pressure from international agendas marginalised community efforts from internal development processes and also resulted in the further dependency of the nation state on international institutions, which contradicted the principles of Self-Reliance. Critics argue that the economic dependence and political fragility of independent states meant that their agendas were overtaken by those of multilateral development agencies and that this alienation lessened the commitment of African leaders to pursuing their own development strategies (Ake, 1996). Hence, through their attempts at resistance, African agendas became further marginalised by the development project. I argue, therefore, that Self-

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[40] http://www.uoregon.edu/~dgalvan/intl240-f08/World_Bank.001-01.pdf
[41] http://www.chr.up.ac.za/hr_docs/african/docs/ahsg/ahsg33.doc

Reliance in these contexts represented an ambiguous or contradictory form of resistance due to the lack of a real commitment to people-centred processes coupled with the imposition of international development on African nations.

1.5.3   Development as Black Consciousness

Coinciding with Tanzania's experiences of Ujamaa, in South Africa, young people were mobilising around the ideology of Black Consciousness. I introduce Black Consciousness here as a particular form of resistance that engaged many young people in opposing the Apartheid regime in South Africa. As a form of identity politics focusing on race, it is an important area to discuss as it shed lights on the particularities and possibilities of the South African context for carving out and successfully implementing a people-centred development. Furthermore, contrary to the Ujamaa policy, Black Consciousness acknowledged that people must realise their knowledge and capabilities so that they could participate and take responsibility for social change. It, therefore, represented a move towards creating a new identity and a new set of values rather than relying on the idea of a homogenous past. Black Consciousness has been described as a 'new stage of cognition' underscored by a 'revolutionary humanism', representing both an awakening of the mind and a desire for action (Gibson, 2004).

Black Consciousness emerged in the South African revolt of the 1970s, calling for the recognition of the role of the mind of the oppressed (ibid) and calling for the psychological and cultural liberation of the black mind as a prerequisite for political freedom (Hook, 2004a). Mobilising people around a common agenda for liberation required a raised consciousness: "Black Consciousness… seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value-systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life" (Biko, 1978, p.63) and to instil 'self-reliance and initiative' (Leatt et al., 1986). The term 'Black' is indicative of the will of Africans to define themselves against the 'non-white' or 'non-European' labels attributed under Apartheid (Manganyi, 1973). Black Consciousness has been further defined as 'mutual knowledge' and 'black solidarity' (ibid, 1973). Mutual knowledge is the knowledge of being black and the implications that this poses for relating to others. It is not simply about skin colour but what skin colour signifies for relating to the world and for building a shared consciousness of a cultural heritage (of racialism) and alienation of self (Biko, 1978). Solidarity signifies the desire for recognition and establishing community feeling (Manganyi, 1973). In this sense, it can be argued that

Black Consciousness mirrored the ideas of positive self-esteem and cohesive social identities. It represented a unifying force for individuals and communities towards self-determination and empowerment and emphasized the link between identity and action.

However, it is precisely this fact that constituted its main critique: the lack of theorising on how to engage individuals experiencing rising levels of consciousness into effective and durable social activities that would benefit the community and the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa was reduced to slogan and rhetoric by the late 1980s (Gibson, 2004). Critics have argued that Black Consciousness, in its application, became a narrow form of identity politics that underestimated the interests of different groups in society (Leatt et al., 1986). As a form of resistance to Western domination, it assumed that individuals and communities shared a common identity in relation to oppressive racialist structures. However, feminist critiques reveal that an individual's experience of racism is dependent on a range of other factors, such as gender and class (Mama, 1995; Phoenix, 1998), thereby limiting the potential for mobilising resistance around an imagined homogenous black community. Hence, individuals may have more pressing concerns or alliances with other groups than being *black*. Although a positive self-concept is important for social engagement, there are many ways to be black and the link between self-esteem and group identity has been critiqued as oversimplistic (Jackson, McCullough and Gurin 1986 in Phoenix, 1998, p.863). This link is still based on the assumption that there is a "racialized core of identity beneath skin colour" (Phoenix, 1998, p.863) and presupposes that black people will unify around a positive self-concept of being black without exploring further what that means. Such essentialist notions have been disproved amongst black working classes (Leatt et al., 1986), black women professionals (Mama, 1995) and amongst black people of mixed parentage (Phoenix, 1998) because these notions ignore possible commonalities that black people share with other groups in society. A focus on race in mobilising solidarity can thus lead to feelings of "not being black enough" (Mama, 1995).

This presents a critical issue for racial identification in South Africa, given the futility of definitions underlying racial stratifications. Posel's (2001) article on racial classification in South Africa demonstrates the difficulties experienced by the Apartheid government in defining racial categories and classifying people accordingly. She describes how classifications of 'coloureds' and 'natives' were characterised by

'variability and imprecision', both before and after the instituting of the Population Registration Act in 1950 (ibid)[42]. Especially noticeable is the definition in the Population Act of a coloured person as "a person who is not a white person nor a native" (section I [iii], in Posel, p.102)[43]. This invites a questioning of whether a Black Consciousness approach to resistance could, firstly, reach those who are most marginalised by the development project who may have *more pressing concerns than being black* and, secondly, prevent the further marginalisation of sections of society who are *not black enough* in the process. These questions echo how Fanon (1967) describes the black person as being 'over-determined from without' since 'being black' or 'not black enough' is directly linked to the proliferation of stereotypes referring to black people. The black person may therefore undergo a perpetual struggle for a space outside of those representations that underpins a more fundamental belief that there is something authentic about being black. The processes of differential racialisation across different identity positions (cultural, gendered, ethnic, class-based, religious, etc.) are crucial to understanding the impact of Black Consciousness and the possibilities it presents for resistance.

Nevertheless, the Black Consciousness Movement in its form (social action and solidarity) rather than its content (black identity) presented an effective resistance strategy against Apartheid forces. A superficial reading of Biko's ideology of Black Consciousness contributes to reductionist understandings of identity as 'black' or 'African' in relation to the West, and thereby fails to recognize the particularities of select groups in society. Although the particularities of the South African context demand a focus on race for de-stabilizing certain aspects of identity, a focus on 'unity rather than difference' (Phoenix, 1998, p.871) for resistance presents the problem of how anti-racialism becomes part of a people-centred development. Added to this, the global environment at the time of South Africa's independence was characterised by neo-liberalism and the focus on economic development, reinforcing a particular direction for anti-racialism. The following paragraphs discuss how the focus on anti-racialism for economic development further weakened the commitment to a people-centred development.

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[42] The Population Registration Act, ratified in 1950, classified South Africans according to racial characteristics determined by the Apartheid system.
[43] A 'native' was the term used to refer to black South Africans.

1.5.4 Development, Nationalism and Economic Empowerment

After the Washington Consensus[44] and the rise of neoliberalism that put the emphasis on privatisation and liberalisation policies and the reliance on market forces, the role of African states was diminished (Fine, 2006; Mkandawire, 2004). Globalisation forces made clear that the national was no longer the space within which issues of poverty, development and equality were to be resolved (Mkandawire, 2009). This economic thinking was largely in response to the needs of foreign governments and the aid establishment (Mkandawire, 2004)[45]. Therefore, questions of development became caught in-between the interests of the state versus the market and, in the case of African states, between the state and foreign interests. South Africa's independence coincided with this era, and the people-centred RDP was quickly complemented by a macroeconomic programme outlined in the GEAR strategy that follows neo-liberal principles.

Contrary to the goals of Self-Reliance and local ownership articulated by African policymakers in people-centred development programmes, current aid flows reveal the extent of Africa's reliance on external institutions (see Table 1) and many reports reveal the prescriptive and controlling nature of aid policies and conditionalities (Moyo 2009; Ake, 1996; Ferguson, 2006; Mosse and Lewis, 2005) often referred to as neo-colonialism. In South Africa, the national development project is not reliant on international aid but nevertheless not immune from international interests. Large increases in foreign direct investment to South Africa were recorded in 2001 (UNCTAD, 2002) and the control of the economy in the hands of white business largely 'remains

Table 1: Government Spending, Aid & Life Expectancy

	Central Gov Rev (% GDP)	Net aid (% GDP)	Net aid (% Central Gov Rev)	Life expectancy (at birth)
Tanzania	12	15.4	56.2	46
South Africa	24	0.3	1.2	45

Source: World Bank, 2006

The proportion of central government revenue (funds for basic services) financed by international aid in Tanzania, as in most of sub-Saharan Africa, is very high, except for South Africa (and Nigeria). Yet, South Africa fares less well for certain development indicators, such as life expectancy, thus also revealing that economic wealth alone is not sufficient in addressing complex development challenges.

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[44] The Washington Consensus in the mid-1980s was the adoption by Bretton Woods institutions of an economic strategy of stabilisation and liberalisation, accompanied by conditionality-based lending and structural adjustment programmes for developing countries, embracing the values of free-market ideology (Fine, 2006; Waeyenberge, 2006).

[45] It is in the interest of foreign governments and the aid industry to maintain access to cheaper goods, ensure debt repayments and create a market for expert consultants. Furthermore, civil society organisations, made up of largely international organisations, are taking over most basic functions and powers of the state. All these efforts serve to further legitimise the neoliberal logic. (Ferguson, 2006; Mosse and Lewis, 2005)

intact'[46]. Hence, the politics of recognition post-independence were reinvigorated through an elitist racialist agenda (Mkandawire, 2009) that largely usurped the development project of redistribution and equality and continues to do so. The promotion of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) by the African National Congress (ANC) is a case in point. Mbeki states in speech to Black Management Forum in 1999:

> As part of the realization of the aim to eradicate racism in our country, we must strive to create and strengthen a black capitalist class. (…) I would like to urge, very strongly, that we abandon our embarrassment about the possibility of the emergence of successful and therefore prosperous black owners of productive property and think and act in a manner consistent with a realistic response to the real world. As part of our continuing struggle to wipe out the legacy of racism, we must work to ensure that there emerges a black bourgeoisie, whose presence within our economy and society will be part of the process of the deracialisation of the economy and society (in Mkandawire, 2009, p.138).

By looking at development purely in racialized and economic terms, the nationalist BEE agenda makes perfect sense. According to a United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report, "if white South Africa were a country on its own, its per capita income would be 24th in the world, next to Spain; but if black South Africa were a separate country, its per capita income would rank 123rd globally, just above the Democratic republic of Congo" (in Mamdani, 1999, p.126). There is no surprise, therefore, that faced with such statements, the ANC would want to pursue its nationalist struggle against economic racialism.

Hence, although national and regional development efforts were targeting internal social issues through the rhetoric of a people-centred development, a parallel aim of independent African states was to gather recognition for the new leadership. The success of Self-Reliance and anti-racialism as national development policies were also needed in order to maintain the legitimacy and unity of the nation and the integrity of African nationalism in the face of international pressure, by unifying people in opposition to the ethnic and class-based divisions created during colonialism (Mamdani, 1996). Furthermore, the focus on *economic* empowerment, albeit an important one, suggests that recognition is associated with levels of economic wealth, which is problematic when it further excludes those who do not have access to material power (Sen, 1999). This represents a central area of feminist criticisms of development (Kothari in Kothari and Minogue, 2002). For women and young women, whose work in

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[46] http://www.theafricareport.com/archives2/business/3281622-south-africa-white-business-still-intact.html

the household is largely unpaid, it means that their economic activities are ignored and they are therefore not seen as economic actors in development models and statistics (ibid). Therefore, we would surmise that merging an oppressed majority by denying their agency or their differences is an ambiguous project that places the burden of creating homogenous and cohesive identities onto communities (ibid). Anti-racialism and Self-Reliance are both the solution to one set of agendas and the problem for another. By merging people's struggles into a nationalist agenda, social crises and social conflict increase as the challenges of the most marginalised are overtaken by other concerns.

A people-centred development is thus the context in which young people's voices, as well as programmes and policies targeting young people, previously entrenched within the decolonisation movement, encounter the knowledge and agendas of different groups involved in the reconstitution of decolonised states. Critics of African nationalism suggest that in Tanzania and South Africa, like in many African states, nationalist struggles towards independence were transformed into struggles against the non-recognition of indigenous elites and towards political legitimacy rather than the recognition of the conditions of different groups in society (Mkandawire, 2009; Mamdani, 1996). The impact of this in South Africa can be seen through the focus on deracialising the mechanisms for wealth accumulation. In Tanzania, the Ujamaa policy transformed communities into the recipients of state-led social change. Both of these approaches thus marginalised individuals in communities from the development paradigm instead of engaging them in overcoming the more intricate mechanisms that sustain inequalities between social groups. These experiences bring forth the ambivalence of development and teach us that resistance to oppressive systems can further marginalise individuals and communities whose voices are not recognised by the resistance paradigm. Furthermore, that social action for development cannot be imposed onto communities but that it must come from the communities themselves. Failing this, resistance only benefits a fraction of society, which then defends its newly acquired status by further undermining those on the periphery (Fromm, 1974).

1.6   Conclusion

By focusing on poverty and economic underdevelopment, development discourses and representations, expressed through specific national policies and statistics, and regional and international reports and documents, define the situation and character of

young people. The documents reviewed in this chapter painted a picture of young Africans that was often stigmatizing, be it through a victim-blaming discourse or an ambivalent rhetoric that obscured the direction of development plans in responding to the concerns of young people. How these discourses and representations impact on identities is an important dimension to consider because social change does not emerge from projects to alleviate poverty but rather "in response to social relationships and dynamics of capital accumulation... sustained by aspirations derived from shared identities" (Bebbington, 2006, p.2). This is evidenced through the struggles for independence in Tanzania and South Africa and the adoption of people-centred agendas for development. Identity has been central to the resistance paradigm through the assumption of traditionally communal identities or racialized identities that would facilitate a people-centred agenda for social change. However, despite the emancipatory values gained from resistance movements, theorists, activists, and politicians still need to address the fluid and plural nature of identities that impact on the possibilities for social engagement and the hegemonic nature of development knowledge that permeates all levels of society down to the activities of community-based organising.

The foregoing presentation of the relationship between youth and development reinforces the idea that young people "need to be empowered and mobilized in order to be more effective in influencing the governance of poverty reduction programmes" (Bebbington, 2006, p.3). Furthermore, the marginalisation of communities in Tanzania and South Africa from the development paradigm, as described in this chapter, suggests that "there is a growing recognition that poor and working class citizens of different countries now have more in common with each other than they do with their own elites" (Mayekiso, 1996 in Ferguson, 2006, p.106). The youth empowerment perspective described in the chapters that follow shares these ideas and motivations and discusses how an empowerment approach to social change challenges many of the limitations of the development paradigm. It also presents the possibilities of alliances beyond the borders of the community or the nation so that young people's voices find the recognition that is necessary for social change. The next chapter thus focuses on defining an empowerment model that responds to the needs and aspirations of young people in urban African contexts.

Chapter Two - Summary

Towards a Social Psychology of Empowerment

Chapter Two describes how an empowerment approach to social change is more adequate in addressing the needs of young people in this context. I start with an international definition of youth empowerment and debate the contributions and shortcomings that it presents. I argue that a community-based empowerment rhetoric is more apt at reversing the ambiguous trends of internationalist development and that it incorporates the values of resistance and emancipation that form part of a people-centred agenda and that represent the social consciousness of communities in African contexts. Following a social psychological perspective on community, I go on to discuss how knowledge, representation and identity are intertwined in the individual-social interface in ways that enhance or constrain empowerment processes, in particular the unconscious and internalised mechanisms of power that impact on the possibilities for resistance to oppression. Based on these debates, I propose three theoretical concepts to be incorporated in the design of the Shooting Horizons initiative: to build upon young people's agency; to engage them in a process of critical consciousness; and, to ensure possibilities for social recognition. These three theoretical tenets form the basis upon which to formulate a methodological framework for an empowerment approach to social change.

Chapter Two - Towards A Social Psychology Of Empowerment

2.1   Defining Empowerment

The previous chapter provided an overview of the situation of young people living in urban African contexts, thus giving some background on the participants who formed part of the Shooting Horizons initiative in Dar es Salaam and Soweto. I described the agendas and shortcomings of the grand narratives of development, their underlying assumptions and the potential impact of stigmatizing development representations on young people's identities and behaviours and on the possibilities for resistance. In particular, I discussed how stigmatizing development representations can reinforce the exclusion of young people from a development paradigm that puts forth ambiguous and contradictory meanings.

In this chapter, I seek to contribute to a more comprehensive approach to tackling young people's challenges through a process of empowerment grounded in the three main social psychological concerns discussed in the previous chapter. By taking into account the role representations, identity, and knowledge systems, I construct a basis for the Shooting Horizons project to reinstate the meaning of a people-centred development. My approach to empowerment is thus entrenched in a framework for resistance to the ambiguities of internationalist development agendas and the lessons learnt from people-centred movements. I explore how empowerment processes can begin to challenge the vertical framework of much development that postulates a framework of developed versus underdeveloped and instead towards an understanding of social change as the human capacity for action and critical reflection (Arendt 1958 in Jovchelovitch, 1997; Freire, 1970).

Empowerment theory is hence the framework within which the Shooting Horizons initiative is designed in order tackle the challenges faced by young participants in this project. The youth development reports and policies described previously constitute a starting point for developing a more comprehensive framework for addressing the concerns of young people. A closer look at national policies for youth in both South Africa and Tanzania reveals that empowerment is already mentioned. The current National Youth Policy for South Africa mentions empowerment as a means: "to raise confidence so that [young people] can contribute meaningfully to their own

development and to the broader society"[47], and as a policy outcome: "to produce empowered young people who are able to realise their full potential and understand their roles and responsibilities in making a meaningful contribution to the development of a non racial prosperous South Africa"[48]. Tanzania's National Youth Development Policy refers to plans and strategies to 'empower girls'[49] but does not explain further what this means. The other youth development documents mentioned in Chapter One do not refer to empowerment at all except for the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment (2007-2015)[50], which I discuss below. This omission does not imply that the goals and strategies of these reports have nothing to do with empowerment per se. Empowerment is a relatively recent addition to the vocabulary of development discourses and theorists have pointed to the lack of "consensus on its meaning, measurement, or implementation" (Beeker et al., 1998, p.831).

2.1.1   Outline

I begin with an international definition of youth empowerment provided by the Commonwealth and analyse its contents with reference to social psychological concepts and the contradictions it presents for a people-centred focus. Secondly, I draw on the theoretical insights provided by studies on community empowerment and participation, which highlight the role of agency, critical consciousness and social recognition as fundamental to an empowerment approach to social change. An integral part of this discussion is also a presentation of the multiple forms of power that permeate empowerment processes. To discuss these, I present socio-cognitive concepts from the postcolonial literature in order to tackle the particular challenges facing young people in Dar es Salaam and Soweto.

2.2   The Commonwealth PAYE

The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment 2007-2015 (Commonwealth PAYE) is a development strategy that focuses specifically on youth empowerment. As a global strategy, it is likely to influence the definition and direction of empowerment policies and programmes on a wide scale, therefore it is important to deconstruct how it defines young people and the values and principles that it endorses. The strategy is part of the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) that is guided by a

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[47] National Youth Policy, Government of South Africa, p.10
[48] ibid, p.8
[49] National Youth Development Policy for Tanzania, p.20
[50] http://www.thecommonwealth.org/shared_asp_files/GFSR.asp?NodeID=169313

set of principles[51] that encompass elements of both internationalist and emancipatory narratives. The Plan of Action itself relies primarily on macroeconomic determinants of youth development provided by the World Bank's 2007 World Development Report[52]. It lists HIV/AIDS, unemployment, lack of political will, war or political violence, and education gaps as the key challenges facing young people. Furthermore, the Plan of Action addresses governmental, inter-governmental and civil society organisations and operates alongside poverty reduction strategy papers, national and international policy frameworks[53], thereby promoting partnership between the state and civil society and the mainstreaming of youth concerns within government and other relevant sectors of society.

The Plan of Action provides the following definition of youth empowerment[54]:

> Young people are empowered when they acknowledge that they have or can create choices in life, are aware of the implications of those choices, make an informed decision freely, take action based on that decision and accept responsibility for the consequences of those actions.

and further:

> Empowering young people means creating and supporting the enabling conditions under which young people can act on their own behalf, and on their own terms rather than at the direction of others.

The above definition envisions youth empowerment as both an end and a means, echoing the empowerment literature that considers empowerment as both a 'process' and 'outcome' (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995; Fawcett et al., 1995). It also takes into account the responsibility of both young people and other sectors of society in bringing about empowerment. The enabling conditions refer to:

i. an economic and social base;
ii. political will, adequate resource allocation and supportive legal and administrative frameworks;
iii. a stable environment of equality, peace and democracy;
iv. access to knowledge, information and skills, and a positive value system[55].

The Commonwealth definition points to two main components of an empowerment approach: individual and social outcomes. Individual outcomes rely on the values of

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[51] Commonwealth PAYE, p.4.
[52] ibid, p.16.
[53] ibid, p.12.
[54] ibid, p.15.
[55] ibid, p.16-19.

choice, freedom, action and responsibility, whilst social outcomes refer to the enabling conditions, including economic, social, political and moral principles. The elaboration of the strategy in the Commonwealth Plan focuses on a detailed account of the social conditions with key action points being: appropriate investment into the youth sector (education and healthcare), social protection (legal and institutional reforms), a youth policy framework (at national and international level), and consensus building. The strategy also promotes the involvement of young people in every sphere.

Although the above definition is useful in providing a framework and identifying key components of an empowerment approach, it is very broad and all encompassing. Perhaps, as an international policy it has to leave enough room for youth empowerment policies and practices to be adapted to specific contexts. However, the critique of development in the previous chapter exposed the ambiguity of the international rhetoric that comes from stigmatizing discourses of poverty that appear to support, yet undermine, community knowledge in ways that conflate agendas of poverty alleviation. Hence, the social psychological perspective contained in this study locates empowerment as emanating from the conditions and particularities of urban African contexts. The discussion that follows will demonstrate that the Commonwealth strategy does not explicitly challenge the existing paradigms that are complicit in undermining the knowledge and capabilities of young people in achieving the stated empowerment goals.

A social psychological approach can thus add to our understanding of how to reach empowerment outcomes through an understanding of the socio-cognitive elements that promote or hinder empowerment processes. Despite the focus on both individual and social tenets of empowerment, the Commonwealth definition nevertheless maintains an individualistic approach to social change by failing to establish the power dynamics in the intersections between the individual and social components provided. This arguably constitutes the most significant omission in the Commonwealth Plan. As the root of the word empowerment, it seems obvious that dynamics of power would be at the core of the analysis of the relationship between individual and social outcomes. Such a discussion would relate to the stigmatisation and discriminatory practices presented in the previous chapter and would take into account the possibilities for resistance. This chapter therefore exposes how social psychological concepts can explain and challenge some of the intricacies of power dynamics at multiple levels. In doing so, I also elaborate on the proposed individual components of the

Commonwealth Plan to explain what the values of *choice*, *freedom*, *action* and *responsibility* mean for the young people in this study. There are thus two critical aspects of the Commonwealth definition that need further clarifications: firstly, the *location* of empowerment initiatives, and secondly, the *psychosocial processes* of empowerment. Central to these is a re-conceptualisation of the dynamics of power for social change.

2.3 A Community Empowerment Framework

To counter the problems raised in internationalist approaches to working with young people, the Shooting Horizons initiative is set up within a framework of resistance to international development and the promotion of community-based empowerment. Empowerment is defined in the community psychology literature as "a process, a mechanism by which people, organizations and communities gain mastery over their affairs" (Rappaport, 1987, p.122) and "a social-action process that promotes the participation of people, organizations and communities towards the goals of increased individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of community life, and social justice" (Wallerstein, 1992 in Beeker et al. 1998, p.833). The key emphasis is the role of individuals in the community in identifying problems, causes and solutions and their ability to re-present themselves and renegotiate relations of power within dominant institutional frameworks (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995). Hence, it is at community-level that concerns over representation, identity, and resistance should be addressed.

There are many definitions of community in the literature that revolve mainly around 'communities of place' referring to geographical locations and 'communities of identity', referring to common characteristics or beliefs (Campbell and Murray, 2004, p.5). In the current study, the key target group are individuals who share common identity characteristics as young people, whilst the activities of the Shooting Horizons project are to take place in specific geographical localities and involve young people's relationships with members of the community around them. Both identity and geographical aspects of community are significant contributors to the relative homogeneity of community relations (ibid). A community often represents a place or feeling of belonging because "[it] is something that arises out of our need to locate ourselves in the social worlds in which we live" (Howarth, 2001, p.230). However, this does not preclude the community from also being a site of conflict because of the

differences in access to material and symbolic power amongst its members (Campbell and Murray, 2004). Thus, it is within community contexts that individuals grow and develop identities that are "co-constructed with the support and the restrictions that others present" (Howarth, 2001, p.14). In that sense, the community is a useful point of departure for empowering young people as it represents spaces that "... are profoundly structured by the social relations of the wider societies in which they are located" (Campbell and Murray, 2004, p.6). Hence, in empowerment processes, communities represent "heterogeneous individuals or groups who share common interests and needs and who are able to mobilise and organize themselves towards social and political change" (Laverack and Wallerstein, 2001, p.183).

Furthermore, the focus on multiple sites in different African countries is responding to the possibility of envisioning community in a broader sense so that people's struggles for social justice are located in a wider context of economic and political support. Despite coming from two countries characterized by different cultural, historical and political worldviews, young people in Dar es Salaam and Soweto share similar socio-economic backgrounds and are defined through similar representations. Hence, the commonalities between individuals and groups who share similar experiences and concerns can reach beyond the boundaries of a geographical locality. This also follows the agenda of community psychologists "[who] seek to promote analysis and action that challenges the restrictions imposed by exploitative economic and political relationships and dominant systems of knowledge production, often aligning themselves with broad democratic movements to challenge the social inequalities which flourish under global capitalism" (Campbell and Murray, 2004, p.9). I therefore also define community in a broad sense, as a potential space for 'solidarity, collective hope and security' (Biko, 1978 in Hook 2004a) where empowerment practices can improve the quality of life and lead to widespread social change.

2.3.1   Community Empowerment and Participation

Locating empowerment at community-level is also responding to the need for collaborative and participatory processes that avoid top-down 'helper-helpee' relationships (Rappaport 1981, in Chinman and Linney, 1998, p.394). In the Shooting Horizons initiative, participation will take place through the production of narratives that are associated with knowledge, representation and identity processes and that aim to provide a coherent communal narrative around which young people can sustain

personal aspirations towards social change (Rappaport, 1995). However, participatory processes are not immune from relations of power in society that can have contradictory effects to an empowerment process. Participation has been criticised for not necessarily embracing a broader motive of social change that focuses on 'emancipation, liberation, and struggle' (Laverstack and Wallerstein, 2001, p.4). Morgan (2001 in Guareschi and Jovchelovitch, 2004, p.312) describes such approaches to participation as 'utilitarian' in contrast to the empowerment approach put forth in this study. Notwithstanding the various typologies of utilitarian participation (Pretty, 1995 in Guareschi and Jovchelovitch, 2004), these all share the commonality of "[excluding] participants from decision making while using them instrumentally for legitimating projects" (Guareschi and Jovchelovitch, 2004, p.313). Hence, in the absence of a social change agenda, participatory processes can have 'normalising effects' (Peterson and Lupton 1996 in Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000) or, in other words, constitute a 'hollow exercise' that 'legitimates the status quo' (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000, p.266). In contrast, "empowerment approaches have an explicit agenda of bringing about social and political changes" (Laverstack and Wallerstein, 2001, p.182).

Doing participatory work can thus give the impression of 'doing the right thing' because of the assumption that it includes community perspectives as opposed to other types of development interventions that are imposed onto communities. However, the sense of legitimacy that comes with participation can also have the effect of blaming the participants (Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000). For instance, when participatory processes do not lead to the changes that are anticipated to take place through a particular development intervention, yet the process is thought of as legitimate, the shortcomings of the intervention are likely to be blamed on the characteristics of the participants. This depends not only on the motivation of the participatory process but also on the individual and social power dynamics existing within participatory spaces. As explained in Chapter One, the language of blame and victimisation in development discourse, stemming from stigmatizing representations and the assumed superiority of development knowledge, serves to further marginalise individuals and groups from the development paradigm by making them responsible for their predicament. Hence, without a deconstruction of these assumptions and power processes, participatory methods in development interventions can also lead to exclusionary practices. Empowerment seeks to do the opposite. In addition to providing a framework of resistance and social transformation, empowerment looks at participation as a process

of knowledge production (Freire, 1970; Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000). In this process, it is the agency of individuals and groups that determines the social change process through a collaborative learning process rather than the transfer of expert development knowledge onto communities. By focusing on the creation of knowledge, based on more critical understandings of internal and external power dynamics, empowerment processes seek to minimise the reproduction of stigma and the re-appropriation of the resistance agenda to serve particular interests.

2.3.2   Community Empowerment, Social Identities and Social Capital

Another consideration for community empowerment processes is how the new knowledge created translates into alternative representations of community development and improved social relations in the community. This relates to the potential for empowerment to generate positive social identities and to increase levels of social capital in the community. These are viewed as important factors for enabling social change (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000). Social identities are defined as "those aspects of one's self definition that arise from membership of particular social groups... or from one's position within networks of power relationships shaped by factors such as gender, ethnicity or socio-economic position" (Campbell, 2003, p.47). Social capital is defined in the literature as building relations of 'trust and reciprocity' (Caughy et al., 2003), developing 'common rules, norms, and sanctions' (Chambers, 2004), promoting 'levels of participation and decision-making', and forging 'respect and recognition' (Campbell, 2003). Hence, there is a close link between social identities and social capital in an empowerment intervention that seeks to overcome some of the exclusionary effects of power processes within communities. Forging positive social identities and building social capital resemble what Freire (1974) refers to as 'testing' the new knowledge produced in the conscientisation process through activities that benefit the community as a whole. Such activities would enhance self-acceptance, self-confidence, social and political understandings, and the ability to play an assertive role in controlling one's resources in the community (Zimmermann and Rappaport 1998 in Chinman and Linney, 1998).

Nevertheless, social action must also take into account the dimension of social influence that constrains or makes possible the transformation of relations of power to achieve these goals (Laverstack and Wallerstein, 2001). For instance, the concept of social capital has been criticised for making assumptions about the existence and the

role of community networks and relationships to provide the basis on which positive social identities are developed (Campbell and Gillies, 2001). Critics of the concept of social capital expose the difficulties in forging trusting and reciprocal relationships in communities characterised by high levels of poverty and social exclusion (Campbell and MacLean, 2002). These relationships are more likely to occur amongst the wealthiest and most educated members of a community (Baum et al, 2000). Furthermore, community networks can also exclude particular social groups within the community, based on factors such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status (Campbell and McLean, 2002; Campbell et al., 2002). Hence, in communities characterised by many and competing social demands, there are many criteria that influence "the reproduction of unequal power relations" (Campbell, 2003, p.53) and access to social capital is dependent on a range of intersecting phenomena, including access to economic, human/cultural and social resources (Bourdieu, 1986 in Campbell, 2003).

Critics also point out that much research into social capital relies on 'top-down statistical survey research' rather than on the "daily realities of life in local communities" (Campbell and Gillies, 2001, p.331), thereby not necessarily providing accurate information on the intricacies of community relationships. In the current study, the activities of the Shooting Horizons initiative are observed via the social interactions that take place between young people and the community. Hence, the project is located on the backdrop of identification and institutional processes that can have the effect of simultaneously empowering and disempowering individuals. How young people effectively negotiate positive social identities within these contexts is thus a major concern for the analysis of the project.

Another area of contention of the concept of social capital is the potential for increases in certain types of social capital to exonerate the role of governments and development institutions in providing services to communities (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000). For example, many NGOs, which are usually considered as civil society organisations, have more recently been described as 'corporate entities' involved in 'service provision' (Mitlin et al., 2007) rather than being involved in assisting communities to claim their rights from governments. This brings us to the next point of the discussion, which is the role of civil society in providing an ideological and institutional basis on which empowerment processes can develop.

2.3.3   Community Empowerment and Civil Society

Definitions of civil society tend to be vague and contested. On the one hand, civil society has been defined as "…the arena, separate from state and market, in which ideological hegemony is contested, implying that civil society has the potential to challenge the existing order" (Gramsci, 1971 in Lewis 2002, p.572) and is founded on the mistrust of the state and in order to overcome civic apathy (Shivji, 2004). These definitions are relevant to the values of empowerment that have been described in this chapter so far. On the other hand, civil society has also been defined as collectivities outside the state and the marketplace and beyond the household (Van Rooy 1998; Putnam 1993) associated with values of trust and cooperation, community spirit and volunteerism (De Tocqueville, 1994) or social capital (Francis, 2002). Some of the latter themes are also relevant to an empowerment approach, however, they do not incorporate a clear social change agenda and tend to simplify the ideas of trust and cooperation in communities (Campbell and Gillies, 2001) and the division between state and civil society in Africa (Lewis, 2002). Furthermore, critics have noted that civil society cannot exist *outside* of the state but rather in relation to it (Mitlin et al., 2007) and therefore the type of civil society that exists in a society is largely dependent on the nature of government policies and practices.

Critics of the internationalist development paradigm, claim that, on the eve of the new millennium, many NGOs and INGOs were set up specifically to promote the agendas of bilateral and multilateral institutions, through the provision of services and campaigns, the result being to further erode the role of the state (Guyer 1994; Simone and Pieterse 1993 in Ferguson, 2006; Kothari, 2005) via a new international agenda of good governance in Africa (Maxwell, 2005). In the early 1990s, the rise of the good governance agenda in development was an attempt to bring together market, state and civil society to become partners in development policy and practice. This was echoed regionally through the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)[56] in 2001, a body of the African Union (AU).

Hence, ideas of partnership, collaboration and participation do not of themselves create the conditions for social change. Civil society organisations can also be susceptible to the international ownership of development agendas and, therefore, partnerships between civil society and the state or the market can further contribute to the lack of recognition of individuals in communities. Civil society activists have pointed to the

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[56] http://www.nepad.org

need for 'broad based community engagement' for effective change (REPOA, 2009) and that technically-driven and donor-driven initiatives are less likely to be effective as they are not motivated by the necessary 'drivers' of change (ibid). Hence, as I will discuss in the following paragraphs, civil society organisations in Tanzania and South Africa are undergoing a period of reflection as to their role and responsibilities.

2.3.3.1 Civil Society In Tanzania

Civil society in Tanzania was repressed under the Nyerere government through the banning of many organisations after independence (Lande et al., 2000). The ideology of African socialism suggested that civic engagement should occur through the party (ibid). However, in the 1980s, NGOs were set up as a result of donor influence and in attempts to by-pass the role of the state (ibid). Currently, NGOs in Tanzania are for the most part top-down structures organized by elites, neither member nor constituency-based, fully funded by foreign organisations, and therefore do not respond to or are not accountable to the people, but to donors (Shivji, 2004). Tanzania's Foundation for Civil Society (FCS) is a key example of this. FCS is donor funded and supports civil society organisations with the stated goals of: poverty alleviation, good governance, accountability, best practices and financial support, thereby following the internationalist discourse and agenda. Nevertheless, there are civil society activists in Tanzania who argue against the role of NGOs as partners in development:

> NGOs cannot represent people if they are not in a position to expose or oppose imperial domination and support the right to self-determination. By being partners in development policy, NGOs let government off hook (Shivji, 2004, p.690).

The above information suggests that a civil society that is imposed from above, whether through the state or international forces, rather than one that relies on the agency and knowledge of individuals in communities adheres to the same fallacies of the development model described in the previous chapter. A key concern therefore for engendering social change in Tanzania is how to mobilise community action without linking people's efforts to organisations that will undermine them.

2.3.3.2 Civil Society in South Africa

In South Africa, on the other hand, local civic organisations held a strong position in the struggle for democracy in South Africa. Young South Africans in particular played a key

role, which is most evident from the Soweto 1976 revolt[57]. As a consequence, a close relationship developed between civics and the government after independence (Seekings, 1997; Mayekiso, 1996). Many members of the South African National Civic Organisations (SANCO) set up in 1992, serving worker and township interests, took up positions in the government after independence in 1994. SANCO also held a key role in negotiating local government reforms on the eve of independence and in drafting the RDP and other public policy documents (ibid). As a result, South Africa experienced a decline in the level of civil society organising after independence. Furthermore, the changing patterns of discontent led civics to become more localised and to respond to pluralist interests (ibid). Other contributing factors for this decline include changes in the institutional environment and a reduction of resources, as funders shifted their support in favour of bilateral links with the newly formed democracy[58]. Civil society activists describe the downward trend as not only due to new domestic challenges but also as "the forces of transnational capital, which denude the ability of nation-states to make their own policy" (Ferguson, 2006, p.105). As a result, the civic movement in South Africa has been undergoing a period of re-definition since 1994:

> Then, our common enemy was apartheid; today we face confusion about who to struggle against. Then, the political economic vision shared by most activists was socialism; now we lack clarity about our long-term goal. Then, we saw the role of civil society as revolutionary; today, civil society is sometimes posed as a pliant partner to shrink-the-state, or merely as a watchdog for social democracy, and more rarely, as a stepping stone to socialism via community-based struggle (Mayekiso, 1996 in Seekings, 1997, p.27).

Nevertheless, youth organisations are still supported by the government through the National Youth Service and Umsombovu Fund[59]. The two key functions of these organizations are the provision of products and services, and advocacy. The National Youth Policy emphasises the need to establish networks with civil society groups and to foster public-private partnerships, in line with the ideas of tripartite alliances (market, state, and civil society). There is thus a strong rhetorical drive by the South African government to promote youth development and to collaborate with civil society organisations targeting youth so that government efforts are supported by broad-based youth engagement.

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[57] The Soweto revolt was a series of uprisings by black youth against the Apartheid government that took place on 16th June 1976. The violent response by the South African police force led to many young people loosing their lives. June 16th is a national holiday representing youth day in South Africa and many other African nations.

[58] http://www.anc.org.za

[59] http://www.anc.org.za

Contemporary civil society in Tanzania and South Africa are thus in crisis. Whilst both independence movements originate from civil society, the scale of civil society organising was far greater in South Africa. Furthermore, whilst both countries have experienced a decline in civil society involvement post-independence, the experience in Tanzania was coercive through actively silencing community voices and current activists are promoting the role of NGOs as pressure groups to monitor the activities of the state. In South Africa, the role of civil society groups is still in transition because of the close alignment with the ANC as a revolutionary party. Thus, according to the above information, civil society organisations cannot be said to provide a clear alternative in which young people can voice their concerns and interests.

The above discussion highlights both the possibilities and difficulties in establishing a community framework for empowerment and social change. The complexities and intricacies of community relations and the multiple interests that characterise community life simultaneously constrain and provoke the possibility of empowerment as a framework for improving the well-being of individuals in communities. Nevertheless, it is a possibility that is to be pursued with hope and intent. As Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000, p.267) suggest, "the dialectic of constraint and possibilities is the motor of social change and as social psychologists, we have a role to play in unpacking the mechanisms implicit in this process". The rest of this chapter thus elaborates on how the above theoretical concepts are conceptualised in the Shooting Horizons initiative with the aim of maximising the possibilities for empowerment and social change. In doing so, I emphasise the individual and social dimensions of power that are central to addressing the limitations of participatory perspectives and in establishing social psychological meanings to an empowerment approach.

2.4   Empowering Young Africans

The design of the Shooting Horizons approach is adapted from an existing model of adolescent empowerment provided by Chinman and Linney (1998). The discussion that follows presents an alternative to the Commonwealth PAYE, an alternative that takes the community as its starting point and that reconciles the individual and social determinants of empowerment within a participatory process of knowledge creation and improved social relations. The approach emphasises the strategies that an empowerment approach should adopt to overcome the stigma associated with

development representations. Specifically, the Shooting Horizons initiative focuses on the three following elements:

1. *Developing a sense of purpose*: acknowledging the agency of individuals to build self-esteem and an understanding of their role and responsibility for social change,

2. *Building critical consciousness*: building self-awareness and social awareness through a process of reflection and action,

3. *Social recognition and bonding*: establishing mechanisms to involve peers, families, communities and other social groups to acknowledge and have faith in the knowledge and actions of young people (social identities), through activities that foster understanding, cooperation, trust, and mutual respect between individuals (social capital).

2.5   Developing a Sense of Purpose: Community Agency

In developing practical tools for community work, the starting point is to acknowledge the agency of individuals. By recognising the knowledge and capabilities of young people, empowerment approaches are less likely to define the problems facing them in the nature of their character and focus instead on a critical understanding of the choices (often limited) that are available to them and how they find strategies and tactics in response to those choices. Jovchelovitch (1997, p.18) asserts the possibility of community agency for transforming society: "Social knowledge is not isolated from the contexts in which it takes shape and, indeed, it can only change and acquire new forms because it is permanently constructed by the agency of the people involved". In theorising empowerment in urban African contexts, I am concerned with the process by which young Africans can have greater control over their lives and how they can "construct their own social and cultural models…" (Escobar, 1995 p.7). Agency, in this case, is not measured by access to the values and models of a hegemonic form of power or a reified knowledge system as we are already located in broader systems of institutional control. The experiences of people-centred development in Tanzania and South Africa have already demonstrated the contradictions of resistance struggles that seek legitimacy through dominant and sometimes coercive forms of power in their attempts to oppose international practices. Furthermore, agency is not theorized as merely 'survival skills' of the poor (Bebbington, 2006). The empowerment approach

underlined here opposes a development discourse that claims that "in the face of this power, even if the destitute have agency of some sort, this is merely an agency that allows them to 'defy death" (ibid, 2006, p.3).

Contrary to the pathologising of young Africans as victims through development representations, agency is conceptualized here as their capacity for resistance and action under difficult structural circumstances. Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000, p.258) in their reflections on a social psychology of participation state that: "In the case of less developed communities, there is a long tradition of coping and inventing resources to counterbalance the chronic absence of information, state support and welfare". Burawoy (1985, p.23 in Long, 2001, p.24) suggests that "…within the limits of the information and resources they have and the uncertainties they face, individuals and social groups are 'knowledgeable' and 'capable' … and thus actively engage in constructing their own social worlds…". Ramella and De la Cruz's (2000, p.272) experiences of a participatory adolescent sexual health project in Peru demonstrate that "the lifeblood of participatory processes lies primarily within the agency of the participants themselves". These resources, that individuals and communities develop, are reflective of a range of factors including cultural traditions, identity, real life circumstances such as levels of poverty and social exclusion (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000). Therefore, if we theorized these resources simply as survival strategies of the poor, it would not only undermine the meaning of agency but also restrict the effectiveness of intervention strategies by not taking into account the particularities of each context. In light of the above, and in conceptualising the Shooting Horizons project, I theorize the resources and strategies of young people as a set of values and beliefs that are in opposition to oppressive frameworks (Hooks, 1989).

2.5.1   Agency and Power Relations

This does not imply that these resources and strategies are always positive. Campbell (2003) demonstrates how coping strategies are not necessarily cooperative in situations of extreme poverty and can involve 'vicious' competition. Her findings relate to the fatalistic behaviours that young people may develop in response to discriminatory forms of power that present themselves through stigmatizing representations imposed onto them. Foucault provides a useful perspective on power that helps in situating the possibility of agency and states that:

> Relations of power are not something bad in themselves, from which one must free one's self. I don't believe that there can be a society without relations of power, if you understand them as means by which individuals try to conduct, to determine the behaviour of others. The problem is not of trying to dissolve them in the utopia of a perfectly transparent communication, but to give one's self the rules of law, the techniques of management, and also the ethics, the *ethos*, the practice of self, which would allow these games of power to be played with a minimum of domination (Foucault, 1987, 18 in Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000, p.275).

If we conceptualise power as a force that is inherent in societies, we can then begin to analyse the various forms that it takes – oppressive or productive – and consequently how community agency can be a most effective source of power to redress certain inequalities. To counter the victimisation and dehumanisation of people in oppressive circumstances, power is not seen simply as a negative and imposing force that subjugates people in communities but one that engages people into challenging their situation and becoming responsible social actors. Contrary to the Commonwealth definition that introduces the idea of *responsibility* as a burden resulting from the actions of individuals, responsibility is located at the intersection between individuals and their social environment as a form of resistance to oppressive power. I concur with Biko (1978) that this is part of an emancipatory process to be found at the junctures between the realisation of self and external institutional structures. In other words, for communities of young people to engage effectively with more powerful structures, they must recognise their own agency and understand what they are up against. The aim is not to envisage a situation (or a society) where one can be free from all forms of power but where one can be free from particular forms of exploitation. Therefore, acknowledging agency is also embracing the belief that young people can interact and collaborate in ways that improve their immediate and future living conditions within symbolic and structural constraints; and furthermore, that given the adequate material and symbolic resources, young people will choose to do so in positive ways.

Nevertheless, this process is far from straightforward. The 'double-edged' nature of power (Campbell, 2003) manifests itself in complex ways, conscious and unconscious. An empowering process is one that must allow young people to become critically aware of the knowledge and resources they have, their internalised beliefs, and channel their actions towards positive ends. To this end, the Shooting Horizons project encourages young people to deconstruct their understandings of themselves, of their families and communities, and the broader structures of society. The *rules of law*, *techniques of management* and *ethics* that Foucault refers to relate to the mechanisms

of identification and resistance that are developed through a process of critical consciousness.

2.6   Building Critical Consciousness

Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator, proposes a staged approach to achieve critical consciousness and social action. In a paper entitled: *Education as the Practice of Freedom,* he proposes two key stages of consciousness: intransitive and transitive (Freire, 1974). Transitive consciousness is when man becomes 'permeable', a 'historical being', implying that individuals can locate themselves in the world around them and have developed the ability to reflect on their relationship with nature and society (ibid). Before reaching that stage, individuals demonstrate 'semi-intransitive' consciousness, which is an intransitive phase, where man's interests are concerned with survival and where magical explanations to social phenomena prevail over true causality (ibid). Nevertheless, this stage is *semi*-intransitive because it takes into account man's capacity for critical thought. He describes the process ranging from intransitive thought to critical transitivity to take place through education programmes (Freire, 1970, 1974). This typically occurs in a dialogical process involving students and an educator. Freire's concept of critical consciousness has inspired many community development projects and social psychological studies (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000; Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000; Guareschi and Jovchelovitch 2004; Cornish, 2006; Campbell et al., 2005).

Freire (1974, p.4) notes that critical reflection is a distinctly human activity, the result being "the critical capacity to make choices and to transform reality". Critical consciousness has also been described as "unveiling the contingent and historically situated nature of knowledge and unblocking the subject's understanding of her relationship to knowledge" (Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000, p.277). It is thus a process of empowerment that can enable young people to acknowledge and appreciate the knowledge that they have as valuable and necessary for community development. Reaching critical consciousness is characterised by various stages or levels of consciousness (naïve, adapted, and fanaticised consciousness)[60]. These intermediary stages are dependent on the level of exploitation and oppression that exists in different social contexts (Campbell, 2003). Critical consciousness is the final stage and is

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[60] Chapter Six is the analysis of participants' levels of consciousness and provides a more detailed description of these different levels.

characterized by in-depth explanations and causal principles in thought processes, the refusal to transfer responsibility onto others and openness to dialogue (Freire, 1974, p.14). Hence, conscientizing young people is thought of as an important mechanism for channelling agency into positive social change practices. In other words, the subjective aspects of agency determine the direction of conscientisation and the possibilities for resistance to oppressive frameworks. In the paragraphs below, I analyse subjectivity as a complex social dynamic that produces consciousness but that can, at times, do so in regressive or contradictory ways.

2.6.1 Consciousness, Social Cognition and Affect

The experiences of anti-racialism and Self-Reliance demonstrated the complicity of resistance movements in sustaining stigmatizing representations and their impact on people's identity, behaviour and ability to enact social change. In Tanzania, this occurred through the exclusion of communities from participation in decision-making processes, thereby contradicting the principle of Self-Reliance. In South Africa, it was the denial of differential racialisation across identity positions that further excluded certain sectors of society from the benefits of anti-racialism. Some of the legacies of both resistance movements reinforced the exclusion of certain communities from the development project by silencing their agency. Resistance to oppression can thus have counter effects to an empowerment process if it does not take into account the less visible dimensions of discriminatory power. In the current neo-liberal development framework, the objectification of people through images of poverty and underdevelopment facilitates their continued dehumanisation, and the focus on macroeconomic indicators of wealth excludes those with limited access to resources, despite claims to a people-centred development.

Post-colonial and feminist authors provide useful insights into the mechanisms of discriminatory power that elucidate some of the difficulties in achieving critical levels of consciousness. *Internalization* and *projection* (Fanon, 1967), in the postcolonial literature, are socio-cognitive concepts that shed light on the intersections between representations and identity. Furthermore, the concept of *over-determination* (ibid) describes the affective impact of discriminatory power. These concepts, explained in the following sections, are useful to elaborate on how unconscious and affective forms of power and social stratifications impact on subjectivity and the possibility for resistance.

2.6.1.1 Internalization and Projection

Fanon (1986 in Hook et al., 2004, p.101) speaks of internalization as the process whereby "external, socio-historical reality is assimilated into 'internal' and subjective reality" hence showing how individuals are shaped by the context in which they are located: "even the contents of the unconscious mind, of dreams, fantasies and so on (…)" (ibid, p.101) is shaped by that reality. As a result, individuals can unconsciously reproduce stigma onto themselves or by projecting it onto others. The mechanism of projection is explained as a "means of avoiding guilt" (Hook et al., 2004, p.121). For example, when individuals take on attitudes that stigmatize others, they are often distributing the blame for their own oppression. The individual is therefore caught between two mechanisms, one that denies him/her a positive self-concept as a result of representational practices and one that encourages him/her to search for a positive self-concept in relation to others. Hence, resistance to stigmatization must enable young people to become critically aware of the unconscious beliefs that they hold of themselves so that they are able to transform discourses of blame and victimization and fatalistic behaviors. Howarth (2002a) demonstrates how black teenagers in her study used stigmatizing representations against others in an attempt to maintain a defensive positive self-concept. By internalizing negative beliefs about themselves, in this case racialising beliefs, they tried to find areas in which they could be superior to others by also projecting stigmatizing beliefs. Hence, stigma not only produces stigma but is also resisted by stigma.

2.6.1.2 Over-determination

Furthermore, Fanon does not limit his explanation of oppression to socio-cognitive processes alone. He also alludes to over-determination, as a type of oppression "that lies beneath discursive consciousness" (Hook, 2006, p.208). In addition to its representational dynamics (conscious or unconscious), racism, for Fanon, is also an affective or bodily experience of stigmatization. Hence, bodily appearance and experience is central to maintaining oppressive power, whereby the black person is over-determined from without, in other words, "the possibility of existence outside of external appearance is denied to the Black" (Gibson, 2003, p.20). Over-determination therefore occurs when a person's character or personality is fixed, based on external or physical characteristics (such as skin colour), and therefore inescapable. This then leads to affective or bodily responses that are outside of the rational realm and difficult to change.

Fanon's concept of over-determination can explain how acts of resistance are often curtailed by bodily responses. Over-determination illustrates the difference between the possibilities of *understanding* resistance in the rational or conscious realm and of *enacting* resistance as an embodied practice. Returning to the development context, Baaz's example of North-South partnerships described in the previous chapter (see Chapter One, p.36) can be interpreted as a problem of over-determination. The silence of the Tanzanian partners, in what was meant to be a participatory and collaborative process, was described as a conscious form of resistance by the Tanzanian partners. However, silence, as an embodied response, is also indicative of fear and submission (Hooks, 1989). The impact of this is the *re*-presentation of Africans as passive, reinforcing the idea that Tanzanians are lacking in capacity to act and thereby describing the behaviour of Tanzanian partners within pre-established beliefs and re-attributing the blame of underdevelopment onto African populations.

Over-determination thus invites an exploration into how power manifests itself in ways that are detrimental to attempts at resistance. Evidence suggests that if power mechanisms are too strong, empowerment schemes can have little impact and actually do more harm than good (Jovchelovitch, 1997) and result in people changing their ideological perspectives to echo dominant ideas (Ledwith, 2001, p.172). The silence of Tanzanian partners appears as a submissive or fatalistic form of resistance (Freire, 1970; Fromm, 1971) and similar to some of the coping strategies that young women adopted in the study by Phoenix (2009) also described in Chapter One (see p.38). What these examples show is that resistance, in some contexts, pushes individuals into what Freire (1974, p.15) describes as 'fanaticised levels of consciousness' because they have resigned themselves to the status quo. In the development rhetoric, young people in Africa are already defined by a set of representational images, in this case, those associated with a lack of moral values, as well as poverty and underdevelopment that already control the resistance paradigm. Thus, empowerment processes must seriously consider the implications of mobilising people around social change in the absence of the appropriate conditions for resistance.

2.6.2   Resistance, Social Cognition and Enacting Change

In the midst of oppressive contexts, postcolonial and feminist authors have examined how the silence of individuals and communities is a common behavioural manifestation of an underlying fear to oppose dominant frameworks (Biko, 1978; Hooks, 1989;

Bhabha, 1994). This fear, I argue, is related to the combined workings of power apparent in internalization and over-determination. Bell Hooks eloquently speaks of the fear of being unheard, of being silenced, the fear of taking on that responsibility, which is nevertheless necessary:

> Moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonized, the exploited, and those who stand and struggle side by side a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible. It is that act of speech, of 'talking back', that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject – the liberated voice (Hooks, 1989, p.9).

A large part of the consciousness process is therefore, enhancing young people's ability to express themselves in an alternative framework for resistance. The idea of *freedom* suggested in the Commonwealth definition, in environments where young people are stigmatized and their agency is re-appropriated, is further compounded by a compliance to internalised authorities (Fromm, 1971) and affective responses, and is a myth that sustains the status quo (Freire, 1970).

Rather than focusing on the elusiveness of freedom, a social psychology of empowerment centres on the need for recognition (Chinman and Linney, 1998; Howarth 2002b; Jovchelovitch, 2007). In the community psychology literature on internalised stigma, Cornish (2006) demonstrates the difficulties associated with resisting stigma in the context of sex work in India. She singles out three factors that contribute to challenging stigma: the ability to assert rights; the opportunity to identify with other also stigmatized but more powerful groups; and the possibility of seeing real positive achievements amongst peers. All of these factors relate to the question of recognition. Hence, in empowering young people in urban African contexts, it is imperative to address the lack of recognition of their knowledge and actions so that the development of positive identities is supported by a social environment, where their voices can be heard and their efforts are not in vain. Therefore, getting young people to speak out through a process of critical consciousness must be supported by activities to promote social recognition.

2.7   Social Recognition: Social Identities and Social Capital

Struggles over knowledge and power are often referred to as a 'politics of recognition' (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Mkandawire, 2009). A politics of recognition firstly recognises that people have agency, and secondly, that this agency is recognised by others:

> It is in the interpersonal and social domains that one becomes visible and acknowledged. The need which corresponds to this process of assessing one's resources or one's right to act and initiate change in one's social and material environment is the need for social recognition (Moscovici, 1976 in Foster, 2003, p.237).

Theories of adolescent development also point to the need for recognition, which is associated with a sense of belonging and affirmation that is necessary for positive development (Chinman and Linney, 1998). Empowerment entails an uneasy process whereby individuals become critically aware of themselves and the world around them, destabilising some of their internalised beliefs. Therefore, young people need opportunities to participate and be recognised in positive roles by engaging in active processes necessitating the presence of others. Of particular importance are interactions with their peers (for peer approval) and with significant adults (as mentors) (Chinman and Linney, 1998; Howarth, 2002b; Campbell, 2003). The activities of the Shooting Horizons project will therefore adhere to the need for building relationships amongst the young people themselves and between young people and members of their communities. Through this process, young people will co-construct social identities and negotiate their relationship with the world around them.

Hence, the process of social recognition relates to the concepts of social identities and social capital introduced previously in this chapter (see p.61). It is worth mentioning here the different types of social capital that the Shooting Horizons project seeks to address. The literature alludes to two types of social capital: bonding and bridging (Putnam, 1995). Bonding social capital refers to how these processes take place within homogenous groups. In this study, it represents the values of trust and reciprocity that might be formed amongst the young people involved in the project leading to a positive common identity (Campbell, 2003). Bridging social capital refers to the relationships that take place across social groups, for instance, the alliances and networks to be forged during the project that could attract material and symbolic resources of benefit to the young people (ibid). Given the stigmatizing representations of development that exclude communities from the development paradigm and the complex psychosocial power mechanisms that produce and constrain the resistance paradigm (through positive or discriminatory and fatalistic behaviours), the analysis of social capital constitutes a significant aspect of how individuals find recognition in their social environment.

The processes of social recognition, in many ways, represent, for this project, the intersection between the individual and social determinants of empowerment. They determine the extent to which young people are recognised for their activities in the community and the positive benefits thereof for self-esteem and behaviour. Social identities and social capital are closely intertwined in this process as "social action is seen as the basis on which communities can collaborate in transforming the structures and representations that disadvantage them and negotiate their social identities in this process" (Campbell and Murray, 2004, p.7). Hence, the social activities that take place through the Shooting Horizons initiative will serve to evaluate the possibilities and limitations of youth empowerment as an approach to social change. The Commonwealth definition describes social action as something that is taken on the basis of a free and informed decision-making process, and further that young people must accept responsibility for the consequences of these actions. In the current empowerment approach, both decision-making processes and action are intrinsically social in nature and position the agency of young people against the institutional structures and representations that surround them. Hence, the consequences of young people's actions constitute a shared responsibility between young people, the community and the broader institutions of society.

2.8   Conclusion To Part I

This introductory section has offered a social psychological perspective on the role of knowledge, representations and identity in engendering social change. It brought us to question what happened between the time of struggles for independence from colonialism, characterised by their humanist aspects of solidarity, trust and self-determination and the current era of development, characterised by confusion, fear, and silence. It also demonstrated the need to investigate the meanings behind a development paradigm for social change and the contradictions of resistance movements in recognising some of the most marginalised groups in society. The victimisation of young people through development representations, policy documents and reports that nevertheless claim to address their needs contribute to exonerate the discriminatory practices of development institutions and undermine the potential of young people as agents of social change.

To reverse these trends, I propose a theoretical framework for empowerment as an alternative to development policies and practices. This framework focuses on the

community as the site of intervention and suggests that effective social change is only possible within an individual-social dynamic. I propose that as social psychologists, we can have an important role in promoting social change processes that acknowledge community agency. Instead of victimizing young people, an empowerment approach is enabling as it raises awareness, builds positive social identities, and promotes social recognition through social action processes. The photographs and stories that appear throughout this text are an intrinsic part of a process whereby these young people are imparting knowledge in spaces that are not usually available to them. By focusing our efforts with the groups in society who experience the realities of oppressive contexts, there is the potential to address the intricate power relations that exist between different social actors and enable real changes in the community.

However, we must also realise the shortcomings of these tools. Empowerment is a complex process and community psychological interventions teach us that working with communities towards demonstrable social change requires a long-term investment to de-stabilise the unconscious and institutional processes of power. Lessons from the Black Consciousness Movement and the Self-Reliance approach, supported by feminist and postcolonial analyses, can help elucidate the complexities between the moment of consciousness and social action. They reveal how the level of internalised beliefs and the degree of repressive institutional contexts impact on the possibilities of building cohesive social identities and enhancing the social capital of communities. Furthermore, the ambivalence of power processes also contributes to the complexity of opposing a rhetoric that appears to support the interests of the community. This is particularly difficult in communities characterized by low levels of material and social capital where stigmatizing representations are felt most profoundly and social action often translates into social competition. Black feminist writings (Hooks, 1989) have pointed to the potentially devastating impact of a lack of community support such that "naming the pain or uncovering the pain in a context where it is not linked to strategies for resistance and transformation created for many women the conditions for even greater estrangement, alienation, isolation and at times grave despair" (ibid, p.32). Hence, theorists must still address the difficulties of putting solidarity into practice in the face of excessive conditions of power whilst maintaining the interests of the community as paramount.

In Part II, I present the methodological design of the Shooting Horizons initiative that incorporates the theoretical concepts outlined in this chapter – agency, critical

consciousness and social recognition – through a variety of methods. These concepts are deemed essential for channelling young people's behaviours into positive roles. In a context where respect and status are linked to material wealth and oppressive power, young people can easily divert their energies into harmful practices. The methodology therefore seeks to lessen the burden of guilt and victimisation, unblock the agency of young people and incorporate spaces for dialogue and community action. Moving away from the Commonwealth PAYE, a social psychological perspective highlights the importance of *community* as the basis for youth empowerment, the need for *social justice,* and a more critical understanding of the values of *choice*, *responsibility* and *freedom* as empowerment outcomes that are determined within the individual-social interface. Contained in the word *empowerment* is a direct reference to *power,* which is at once a driving force as well as a significant impediment to reaching the individual and social outcomes of empowerment processes. The Shooting Horizons initiative is therefore located at the intersections of power processes and within the individual-social patterns of stigmatisation and resistance.

Chapter Three - Summary

Empowering Methodologies

Chapter Three explains the rationale for an ethnographical approach based on a series of methods and activities organised through the Shooting Horizons initiative. The presentation of the methodology starts with current debates in ethnography and how critical perspectives can provide an appropriate basis for measuring empowerment processes. As part of this discussion, I expose the debates around the focus on 'otherness' and the assumed neutrality of scientific and academic principles in ethnographical research. Responding to these critiques involves a deconstruction of scientific legitimacy, which I establish through a reconsideration of objectivity in the research process. The result is a methodological framework for the Shooting Horizons project that considers the effects of power on representations and identity and that considers the difficulties in producing alternative perspectives in dialogical encounters between the participants and the researcher. I thereafter explain how the methodology minimises the reproduction of stigmatizing discourses in participants' perspectives by incorporating a process of critical consciousness and the adoption of creative methods, focusing on Photovoice, in establishing a framework for dialogue and the production of alternative representations.

Chapter Three – Empowering Methodologies

...Some ancient seeker after Truth realized that he who went on destroying others did not make headway but simply stayed where he was, while the man who suffered those who created difficulties marched ahead, and at times even took others with him...

Mahatma Gandhi[61]

3.1   Designing Methods for Youth Empowerment

Mahatma Gandhi's words echo those of Paulo Freire, Steve Biko, Homi Bhabha, Bell Hooks, and other postcolonial writers and researchers quoted throughout this thesis, who strive to make visible the knowledge of those who endure livelihood struggles in order to elucidate and enrich our understanding of the patterns and dynamics of power in society. The young Africans who took part in the Shooting Horizons project represent one such group of individuals, who march ahead in the face of much hardship. My choice of methodology resonates with the need to provide a space for those individuals whose stories go largely unheard.

Inspired by social psychological concepts, community psychology interventions and a people-centred development agenda, I designed, set up and facilitated a community-based initiative called Shooting Horizons, which forms the basis of the methodology in this study. The Shooting Horizons project integrated a combination of qualitative methods and participatory processes in a framework of critical consciousness and social action. Over a period of 22 months in neighbourhoods of Dar es Salaam and Soweto, I held five workshops with 39 young people during which time they learnt narrative techniques and were engaged in an interactive process of dialogue and community action focusing on social change in the community. The workshops took place with participants in youth centres and followed a series of scheduled activities that combined discussion groups, focus groups, individual interviews, photography and writing exercises, and fieldtrips. During this process, they developed photo-stories about social change that described their lives, their communities, their beliefs and aspirations (see Appendix 1), which culminated in a series of exhibitions open to the public to showcase their work.

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[61] Ghandhi, 1961, vol 2, p.25.

The conceptualisation and design of the Shooting Horizons project established the methods for data collection and analysis and for answering the central research question, which is, whether a social psychological approach to youth empowerment can provide young people with the tools to enact social change. Hence, the methodology presented here is a central aspect of this study as it largely determined the achievement of empowerment processes and outcomes and the ability to measure these. The approach to youth empowerment provided in the previous chapter raises two key points that the Shooting Horizons project was concerned with:

a. Whether it effectively imparted symbolic resources so that young people felt empowered as a result, and
b. Whether it led to material changes in the lives of young people.

The first point relates to the process of empowerment: how identities are re-negotiated through re-presentational projects deriving from the process of conscientisation and social recognition. This can be measured through the development of positive individual and social identities and increases in social capital resulting from social activities and interactive processes. The second point relates to the impact of the empowerment process on young people's identities and living conditions over a period of time. The methodology presented in these pages provides a framework to address these goals and mainly focuses on the first point, the *process* of empowerment, which constitutes the starting point of an empowerment agenda and also the most feasible to evaluate in a limited space of time.

3.1.1 Outline

In Part I, I defined empowerment as a people-centred mechanism reliant on community agency that can assist young people in accessing some of the resources they need. I argued the importance of focusing youth empowerment research at community-level and the need to locate it within the broader social context of development. I also introduced some key concepts that helped to understand how agency is played out in the social spheres of the participants. In particular, how the agency of young people is influenced by internal and external factors that are intertwined in ways that produce and limit empowerment outcomes. I described how discursive practices on Africa, on development, and on young people can be stigmatizing and also generate ambiguous meanings that are reified and legitimised through powerful institutional structures that

claim to support the needs and interests of young people. Finally, I also touched upon political and historical phenomena that influence community concerns and practices, such as the shortcomings of resistance movements that relied on civic engagement, which, however, were based on narrow conceptualisations of identity in these contexts.

Cutting across these three levels of analysis (internal, external, historical) is an unequal distribution of power processes that both enable and constrain the agency of individuals in communities to achieve their own interests. The current chapter delves further into these dynamics and investigates how to formulate a methodological base from which to empower young people, using social psychological understandings of power, and to develop a social psychology of empowerment.

I start by introducing the concept of ethnography as the fundamental tool with which to observe and evaluate the empowerment process. As an approach widely used in development studies, it may appear as a surprising choice given the criticisms of development in this study. Hence, the presentation of the methodology starts with an evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of ethnography and how critical perspectives in ethnography can provide an appropriate basis for measuring empowerment processes. As part of this discussion, I expose the debates around the focus on 'otherness' and the assumed neutrality of scientific and academic principles in ethnographical research. Responding to these critiques involves a deconstruction of scientific legitimacy, which I establish through a reconsideration of objectivity in the research process. The result is a methodological framework for the Shooting Horizons project that considers the effects of power on representations and identity and that considers the difficulties in producing alternative perspectives in dialogical encounters between the participants and the researcher. In other words, the methodology seeks to minimise the reproduction of stigmatizing discourses in participants' perspectives by incorporating a process of critical consciousness and the adoption of creative methods, focusing on Photovoice, in establishing the possibility of dialogical encounters.

3.2   Ethnography: An Overview

Ethnography is an approach widely used by development anthropologists (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994; Long, 2001) and characterised by long-term fieldwork excursions (Bryman, 2004), similar to community psychological studies that emphasise the need for a long-term involvement with communities towards social change

(Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000). It is often referred to as participant observation, inferring that the researcher plays a participatory role in the context of the research (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994; Long, 2001). There are varying levels of participation, from active participation to passive participation (Bryman, 2004). The current study is inspired by 'actor-oriented' approaches to ethnography (Long, 2001) because it is interested in the knowledge created through interactive and participatory processes between the researcher and the participants. Actor-oriented approaches focus on how "meanings are produced and negotiated in practice and how development processes and interactions have different significance for the various actors involved" as a way of explaining social change (Long and Long, 2002 in Lewis and Mosse, 2006, p.9). This contributes to social psychological studies that prioritise the dialogical space that is created by knowledge encounters in public spheres to understand the production of social knowledge (Jovchelovitch, 2008).

In order to record the process of empowerment in the Shooting Horizons initiative, I relied on a combination of different methods. In addition to interviews and focus groups, which are more common tools used in social psychological research, the narrative methods, characteristic of ethnographical approaches, allowed me to record the less obvious aspects of knowledge systems and practices as they were enacted in social spaces and over time. Narratives are displays of 'meaning, emotion, memory and identity' (Rappaport, 1995) that are often indicative of the less explicit patterns of social consciousness. Adopting participatory processes and recording participants' narratives allowed me to investigate the representations and identities of individuals whilst they developed new ways of thinking and new strategies of interaction within their communities. It also enabled me to report on the more informal occurrences during the research process that sometimes highlighted important understandings that other approaches may view as errors in the processing of information or in behavioural responses to social phenomena.

Ethnography is thus a qualitative perspective, the significant difference from quantitative research being the focus on understanding the meanings and functions of human action (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). It is an approach that produces explanations to phenomena rather than testing hypotheses or relying on macro-economic indicators of poverty or underdevelopment to define the conditions of social groups. Ethnography has also been at the centre of the debate around scientific investigations into human behaviour and has, for the most part, sought to reject the

reliance on experimental methods and positivist approaches to scientific enquiry (ibid). As I demonstrated in Part I, development discourses rely on a quantifiable norm of what it means to be developed or not and, more often that not, individuals in communities remain marginal to the development project because of economic models and assumptions that define them as poor and underdeveloped. Hence, an ethnographical study of social change can challenge some of the controversies in the development discourse.

3.3   Critiques of Ethnography

3.3.1   The Concern with Otherness

There are, however, some areas of critique to ethnographic approaches. In anthropological studies, ethnography is often concerned with the 'local' or the 'other' (Mosse and Lewis, 2005) or, more indignantly, with Western interests in non-Western societies (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994), or with describing the primitiveness of other cultures (Ferguson, 1997). Furthermore, focusing on communities has been criticised as being narrow and as ignoring the impact of broader structural constraints on local settings (Long, 2001). As Purcell explains, "although the language of empowerment is spoken by development-focused agencies, community-based organisations are often treated by central and local states as objects to be organised, rather than independent subjects controlling their own future" (Purcell, 2009, p.111). Hence, focusing on the 'other' or the community rather than on the relationship between the development rhetoric and community practices, allows development interventions to ignore the impact of their own assumptions and positioning in community contexts.

3.3.2   The Myth of Scientific Neutrality

Furthermore, ethnography has been said to be a 'naturalistic' science by observing people in their own environment (ibid), based on selection and relevance criteria that are not set by the people under observation but by the academic discipline within which it operates (Jarvie et al, 1983). There is also assumed neutrality accorded to the researcher's role. Jarvie (1983, p. 218) states that an anthropologist cannot "penetrate and touch reality". What he/she is aware of are the appearances or reactions that his/her presence generates (ibid). Hence, ethnographers have been accused of not knowing what reality is because the results of their studies are measured against a

norm that is only relevant to themselves and can serve to perpetuate stigmatizing representations of the local and the other.

For example, let us consider the case of an ethnographer going to do fieldwork in an African setting to observe a development intervention. Ferguson's (1990) enlightening study of the effects of an international development intervention in Lesotho describes how the so-called farmers targeted under the project did not actually define themselves as farmers and, hence, community farming priorities were vastly different from the aims of the development intervention, which did not produce the intended effects as a result. In evaluating the project, Ferguson concludes that "development failures are easily written off as resulting from poor administrative capacity and an inability to make 'tough' political choices" (ibid, p.263). Without a critical understanding of the intervention, our ethnographer is likely to find that farmers in Africa are lacking in knowledge and capabilities and are to blame for their situation, whilst attributing a neutral role to the international institutions, whose precepts are viewed as scientific knowledge and reflecting true reality. Without questioning the meaning and intentions of development interventions and by who they are set, the possibilities for social change are arrested before they even begin and instead produce or reinforce the existing stigmatizing representations of poverty and underdevelopment.

3.3.3   Neutrality versus Objectivity

On the other hand, ethnographers have been criticised for the potential of becoming overly immersed in the lives of the people under investigation and losing sight of their role as researchers and of the commitment to producing 'objective' data. This is often referred to as 'going native' (Bryman, 2004) and relates to the value of insider-outsider perspectives in research. It is also the subject of much controversy, for instance, in debates around feminist standpoint theory (Harding, 1986; Collins, 1990) and postcolonial writers, who believe that it is from the most marginalised that one can gain superior understandings of the effects of power (Bhabha, 1994). Furthermore, it raises the important question or possibility of taking on the perspective of the other, which is key to contemporary social psychological studies investigating the "new regime of encounters between different knowledge systems" and the possibilities for communication and dialogue thereof (Jovchelovitch, 2008, p.24).

These latter points are central to the above criticisms, as they put into question the reliability of ethnographic methods in producing objective scientific research. In the following paragraphs, I argue that critical perspectives in research can resolve some of the above criticisms of ethnography by focusing on the processes of power that shape our understandings of science and objectivity.

3.4 Responding to Critiques: A Focus on Objectivity

3.4.1 Objectivity and Critical Research

Social psychological researchers have equated the analysis of power processes in society as precisely constituting the critical dimension of psychological research (Hook et al., 2004) in order to reveal how ideas of social change can fall into the trap of merely replicating and sustaining inequalities between people. Furthermore, critical approaches are deemed to be more apt at challenging social institutions and practices that contribute to forms of inequality and oppression by promoting avenues for resistance (Howarth, 2004). As argued in Part I, development is a body of knowledge that promotes social change but yet categorises people based on macroeconomic data and represents people in stigmatizing ways based on an assumed lack of knowledge and capability and thereby perpetuates patterns of social exclusion for certain social groups.

Conversely, doing 'critical' research can suggest that one is doing the 'right kind of research' (Ahmed, 2004) particularly when theorizing contentious issues such as stigma where the symbolic implications of what is said and who says it can have ambiguous effects. Critical development perspectives, for instance, do not necessarily challenge what it means to be poor or underdeveloped but tend to tells us more about problems in approaches to development by the powerful development institutions – thereby explaining the vast amount of critiques ranging from structural adjustment polices in the 1980s to the more recent rhetoric of capacity-building and good governance (Mosse and Lewis, 2005). These critiques do not necessarily have an impact on the everyday lives of people or challenge the stigmatizing representations of development. On the contrary, they tend to sustain these images by blaming the poor for an underdevelopment that doesn't seem to change despite the *critical* efforts of development theory and practice. Furthermore, they remain scientifically unquestioned because of the legitimacy accorded to development knowledge.

Thus, a critique of development must go beyond the assumption of development as a positive mechanism of social change. Resistance, in this study, is to be found in challenging the contradictory and ambiguous impact that development discourse and practice has on practices of representation and identification. Arguably, the most significant contribution of critical perspectives is thus a more in-depth look into the role and the effects of power in context, by focusing on people's representations and identities (Howarth, 2002) rather than on numerical facts. Central to critical studies is thus an attempt to deepen our understanding of the intricate mechanisms of power that determine the objectivity of the research process.

3.4.2   Objectivity as Perspective-taking

The critical dimension of this study is that it reverses the idea of value-free *scientific* knowledge versus the *primitive* knowledge of communities by providing an alternative perspective on the objectivity of science. Objectivity here is not measured through the level of distance maintained from the people under study but through methods that reflect the intention and motivation of the research and their logic in responding to the theoretical questions (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999). It is not about reaching *consensus* in dialogical processes, which could reflect the dominant view, but rather how effective the chosen methods are in revealing the different perspectives of the participants. This research claims that development is an arena in which stigmatizing power displays itself in ways that inhibits the well-being of individuals and communities and that, through an empowerment process, the perspective of those most marginal to development processes potentially represents its most vehement critique. However, this is not a straightforward process and is dependent on the power differentials between knowledge systems in the research encounter, including the 'material, social and cognitive' resources available to the participants (Jovchelovitch, 2008) and the knowledge, skills and motivations of the researcher/facilitator (Campbell, 2003; Braden and Mayo, 1999). Furthermore, the institutional contexts in which the research takes place can also impact on the objectivity of the data. By institutional contexts, I refer to the role of academic thinking, youth and development policies and the youth centres and communities in which the project takes place as representative of a broader set of social meanings and practices that are implicated in the research process. Social research must therefore consider the "conditions under which [knowledge] is transformed" (Jovchelovitch, 2008, p.24).

Hence, in formulating a methodology for empowerment, the ethnographical approach in this study re-conceptualises the 'objectivity' of the research process in the following areas:

- Challenging the neutrality of research through an approach that takes into account power processes in the intersection between community perspectives and development agendas; and
- Promoting the objectivity of dialogical encounters through a section on researcher reflexivity, a process of critical consciousness and the adoption of creative and participatory methods for empowerment.

3.5   Challenging Neutrality: In-between the 'Local' and the 'Global'

3.5.1   Critical Perspectives in Ethnography

Developments in ethnographic research have recently undergone a shift towards understanding processes of local-global relations (Mosse and Lewis, 2005) through studies that provide a "powerful commentary on hidden processes, multiple perspectives or regional interests behind official policy discourses" (ibid, p.1). In contemporary society, the sometimes dramatic interfaces between competing knowledge systems (Jovchelovitch 2008) means that power processes become more complex and hidden. The *Aid Effect* edited by Mosse and Lewis (2005) is an ethnographic study that provides a series of articles revealing the 'hidden agendas' of international development discourses of "aid, policy reform and good governance" (p.1). They show the contradictions between the rhetoric of a people-centred development agenda and the ever-increasing interventions of international agencies in the "internal affairs of development countries" (ibid, p.2) reflecting the exploitative relationship and concealing much of the dependency of the West on Africa (Mosse and Lewis, 2005; Saadawi, 1997). This represents a step in the right direction and away from narrow and victim-blaming approaches to development and provides a more objective analysis of development because it acknowledges that the impact of development interventions depends on a range of factors that determine the relationship between development policies and practices and the local contexts in which these take place. Yet, these critiques do not always emanate from the voices of those who suffer the hidden agendas of international development and crucially whether they share these same perspectives.

3.5.2   Feminist and Postcolonial Contributions

In an empowerment approach, objectivity comes from the ethnographic narratives of those who experience the effects of exploitation. Feminist standpoint theory proposes that objectivity in representing experiences of oppression is best conveyed from the standpoint of those most marginalised by the workings of power (Harding, 1993). Postcolonial criticism makes similar claims and is said to "intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development… of nations, races, communities, people" (Bhabha, 1994, p.246). What these perspectives have in common is an acknowledgement that power is not experienced equally by different groups in society and that those who are oppressed can also oppress others. For instance, the different positionings of white and black women in feminist resistance (Collins, 1990) and the experience of oppression in post-independent African nations (Fanon, 1963) expose the intersections between race, class and gender in the experience of oppression. The commitment to social change must therefore locate empowerment processes with those most affected by oppressive structures. Rather than promoting a narrow perspective, focusing at community-level and addressing the concerns of young people, in this study, fulfils the objective of locating a resistance framework to development alongside "subaltern groups that continue to enact a cultural politics of difference as they struggle to defend their places, ecologies, and cultures" (Escobar, 2000, p.14), thereby acknowledging that coming from a privileged standpoint, one may not fully appreciate the effects of power in their entirety.

3.5.3   Knowledge Encounters

Nevertheless, acknowledging the experiences of the oppressed can give the impression that community knowledge actually represents 'objective truth'. Throughout this thesis, I refer to different types of knowledges as global versus local, oppressive versus productive, or internalised versus strategic, in an attempt to avoid hierarchical definitions and to acknowledge the centrality of power in describing community practices. As pointed out in the theoretical section, social psychological approaches recognise how local and global knowledges are intertwined such that individuals and groups are not outside of the wider institutional practices of society. Hence, classifying knowledges in clearly demarcated categories is not only based on preconceived ideas and value judgments about what constitutes *modern* and *scientific* or *traditional* and *primitive* forms of knowledge but can also lead to the assumption that there is

something authentic about community knowledge, and that it can exist outside of this interface. Understanding the socio-cognitive dimensions of power in oppressive contexts sheds light on how individuals can oppress self and others and hold beliefs that represent the dominant perspective. Therefore, objectivity is not achieved by blindly accepting community knowledge because its holders are marginalised, but through a critical questioning of the perspective of the other. In doing so, the knowledge and motivation of the researcher or facilitator is crucial in presenting a different perspective that can challenge some of the beliefs of the participants. The next section on researcher reflexivity provides an overview of my perspectives on academic research and my experiences of development that led me to choose the methodological approach in this study.

3.6   Researcher Reflexivity

3.6.1   Questioning Academic Elitisms

An issue of concern in conducting this research is the fact that it is located within a Western institution and thus could be viewed as contributing to Western thought on Africa, further concealing the value of an African perspective. A number of postcolonial critiques have already pointed to this fact (Moore-Gilbert, 1997, Ahmad, 1992). In carving out a methodological framework for this study I was reminded of Audre Lorde's (1984) famous citation: "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house". Using social psychology as the theory and ethnography as my method, two disciplines that have been complicit in the production of stigmatizing knowledge of Africa, involves a degree of reflection. I had to question whether and how my work could fall into the trap of reinforcing and legitimizing research principles that could further disempower the communities that I worked with. Although it is important to keep questioning the possibilities and limitations of social research to minimise these risks, it is also crucial to act. Silencing oneself out of fear of saying or doing the wrong thing also prevents critical action.

3.6.2   A Social Justice Agenda

Whilst I acknowledge the above dilemma, I agree with Mishler and Steinitz (2001, p.2) who state that our contributions to social justice "[have] to do with whom we ally ourselves, the nature of our collaboration with them in carrying out our studies, and how we negotiate ways to combine our different interests to make our findings useful and relevant to our shared political aims". Much of this research is precisely that,

figuring out what these 'shared political aims' might be between all actors in development who are searching for alternatives by focusing on those ideas that remain largely unheard in the formulation of development policies and practices. Rather than engaging in a purely academic effort of capturing the nature of the social world, searching for universal validity, trudging into the muddy waters of relativism or even questioning the actual possibility of scientific knowledge, my aim for social research is to seek social justice and address the real impacts of discriminatory practices as experienced and told by the people concerned.

3.6.3   Closing the Gap between Academia and 'Real Life'

Feminist and postcolonial authors have criticised the fact that academics often separate themselves from the people under investigation and thereby contribute to the hierarchical positioning of social groups (Hooks, 1989). I consider that it is our responsibility in studies of social change to broaden our alliances and networks from the grassroots to development organizations to academic and political agendas. Such alliances could be conceptualized as a way of organizing and mobilizing towards social transformation. In this case, I am concerned with making young African voices visible, which may have not been heard otherwise, to inform future activities and theoretical perspectives. The relationship between theory and praxis is increasingly being upheld as another area of concern for social psychologists (Howarth et al, 2004, Hooks, 1989) and is an engagement to change society (Ramella and De La Cruz, 2000). If we separate academia from real life, our ideas may simply end up as 'slogan and rhetoric' (Gibson, 2004). The choice of social psychological and postcolonial concepts and the combination of ethnography and creative methods attempt to bring a different mode of reflection and to incorporate multi-disciplinary and multi-perspectival methods as part of the current agenda towards a social psychology of empowerment, moving away from the 'truth effects' of social scientific methods (Hook and Howarth, 2005). Setting this new or more 'critical' agenda adheres to the belief that, in a study of empowerment, objectivity is more likely to be achieved through a more personal and emotional engagement by the researcher with his/her subject of study and the breaking down of cultural boundaries of academic understandings of science (Holliday 2000).

3.6.4   My Experiences of Development Work

The ideas in this study are influenced by my academic and professional experiences. During the course of my career, I have worked in the administration of development

projects (in health, gender, youth, and development finance) both for international development organizations in the UK and the USA and NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa. More recently, I have been involved in policy, strategy and communications as a board member of a Tanzanian youth NGO and an international youth NGO based in the Netherlands. Thus, I have been positioned at different ends of the development spectrum and, throughout, these experiences have been fraught with contradictions and ambiguities in the discourses and representations between the everyday talk and practices of individuals in communities and those of development practitioners both in formal and informal settings, in policy documents, and marketing/fundraising materials, to mention a few. As the main facilitator in the interactions with young people in the Shooting Horizons project, I drew from my personal experiences of strategies for coping and resistance that constitute part of my identity, and from my consciousness of the possibility of establishing a dialogue on the boundaries of development spaces. This research embodies my wish to contribute to social justice, not only as an intellectual and political project but also as an emotional and self-conscious project to fight inequality and to transform our realities.

3.7 Objectivity in Dialogical Encounters: Participatory and Creative Methods

In addition to the motivation of the researcher, the methods used to empower young people are paramount to creating new and more critical perspectives for social change. Given the constraining effects of power on young people's identities and behaviours and the need to make young people an integral part of the research process, the Shooting Horizons project focused on participatory processes, critical thinking, creative techniques and social action to build alternative understandings of social change.

The methods that I describe in the following paragraphs illustrate the role of creative methodologies in enhancing the dialogical process. 'Dialogical encounters' are characterised by "recognizing the perspective of the other as legitimate" (Jovchelovitch 2008, p.29) and as such determine the possibility for empowerment and action. The ethnographical approach in this research seeks to expose a narrative of resistance and emancipation to the discourses that undermine the knowledge and capabilities of young people. Objectivity is therefore the extent to which the participants gained visibility and recognition for their actions and whether their narratives constituted an alternative perspective to the discourses that stigmatise them. I argue that through a

process of critical consciousness, supported by the development of photo-stories, participants were able to voice their concerns, build self-esteem and actively mobilise around a social change agenda. In order to do this, the Shooting Horizons workshops incorporated two key methodologies: Photovoice techniques and critical consciousness. The remainder of this chapter is a presentation of the combination of Photovoice methods and critical consciousness for the Shooting Horizons project. I discuss how these methods achieved the components of an empowerment process, by highlighting the level of ownership of the research process by the participants and the advantages of creative or artistic methods.

3.7.1   Introducing Photovoice

Photovoice[62] is a narrative tool that is typically organized in the form of community projects during which participants learn photography skills and create their own photo-stories to be showcased in exhibitions. Photo-stories are a collection of photographs taken by the participants themselves that depict an aspect of their lives accompanied by a caption.

Photovoice has been described as a method whereby people with little power can empower themselves, induce change, inform policy-makers, develop personal and social identities and build social competency (Strack et al., 2004); and as a method by which people can identify, represent and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique (Wang and Burris, 1997). Photovoice has been further defined as a method that addresses injustice, inequality and exploitation in culturally appropriate ways (Castleden et al., 2008). It is inspired by feminist research theory (insider perspective), Freirian empowerment (active participation, agent of change) and documentary photography (social issue), which mirror the theoretical motivation of this study. The definition given in the Photovoice Manual produced by the Photovoice organization states that:

> Photovoice seeks to bring about social change in marginalized communities and minority communities by providing photographic training through which project participants can advocate and improve the quality of their lives… Photovoice projects enable people in need to document their own lives, as only they can really know them. In this way the projects channel the unique subjectivity of the participants into a direct and powerful form of human communication (The Photovoice Manual, 2007)[63].

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[62] http://www.photovoice.org
[63] http://www.photovoice.org

3.7.2 Photovoice, Narratives and Perspective-taking

The above definitions introduce Photovoice as a narrative of resistance and emancipation. Jovchelovitch writes that narratives are a means of construction and a means of expression of everyday practices, cultural traditions, social memory, and identities that characterise a community of people, and also reflect the larger societal and historical contexts of the participants (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000). Unlike a scientific approach to social knowledge that relies on empirical proof, narratives seek to establish coherence between human intention and action and the consequences thereof (Laszlo, 1997). In the Photovoice process described in these pages, participants' lives were represented and interpreted in a dialogical space and linked to identification processes and broader institutional and historical contexts in order to make sense of their individual experiences within a larger social framework. Narratives thus have a 'constructive character' (ibid, p.159) as they are produced through an active process, during which the narrator is composing his/her version of reality. The Shooting Horizons project represents one such dialogical space, characterised by a diversity of representations held by participants and the researcher as holders of different kinds of knowledge. For instance, the young participants in this study have insider knowledge of their situation, strategies and tactics for living under oppressive conditions, and, as the researcher, I have insider knowledge on how they are viewed in development narratives, the priorities of development policies and interventions, and the possible impact these have on them. As indicated by Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000), narratives are useful in projects where different 'voices' are at stake. Researcher and participants are informed by a 'system of referents' (ibid), implying that stories are necessarily understood from different perspectives and are thus interpretations of the world and not claims to truth (ibid). This dialogue is the context in which alternative understandings of community life are constructed through the production of narratives of social change that aim to overcome the stigmatizing discourses of development. Furthermore, through story-telling and representation, narratives engage the observer by creating emotional understandings (Rappaport, 1995, Laszlo, 1997). The production of written stories and photographs through Photovoice methodology has the potential to capture the attention of audiences through a 'richer language' (Humphreys and Brezillon 2002) that challenges the non-conscious feelings in social relations (Laszlo, 1997). Hence, narratives not only describe situations but also expose the consciousness and affect of the respondents (Laszlo, 1997). In the following paragraphs, I describe how the Photovoice methodology used in this study focused on critical thinking (through conscientisation)

and creative development (through photo-story production) to enable participants to reflect on their situation and to channel their thoughts, actions and feelings in the most effective ways.

3.7.3   Photovoice, Critical Consciousness and Emancipatory Narratives

The process of critical consciousness involves creating awareness of the institutional patterns of exclusion as a necessary component in understanding the causes of reality (Freire, 1970, 1974). In Part I, I described how young people are represented and defined by community members as well as national and global development discourses in ways that impact on their knowledge of themselves and their communities and these are questions that can be addressed in a conscientisation process. The current ethnographic study drew on these perspectives and encouraged participants to participate in discussions and think critically about the possible causes of their situation beyond local constraints. For instance, questioning definitions of poverty and development provided by the grand narratives of development were some of the issues discussed with participants so that their understandings could shift towards a broader understanding of society. Within a conscientisation process, one can investigate the phenomena of development through the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of the participants.

Critical discussions also benefit participants in terms of organising around common issues and providing spaces for expressing resistance and finding alternatives. In these spaces, the realities of individuals in communities can be viewed and appreciated by taking into account their 'specific conditions of power and contestation' (Alvesson and Deetz, 1996 in Howarth, 2004). However, critical discussion does not necessarily imply reaching agreement but rather acknowledging the multiplicity of realities present in community life (Foster-Fishman et al. 2005), coming together within those realities and mobilising around strategies for social change. Through the construction of narratives, participants were engaged to think critically about the relationship between themselves, their community and the broader society. In that sense, the narratives developed by the participants also formed part of an emancipatory process of defining oneself rather than being defined by others. Narratives are said to be emancipatory as "the process of creating a narrative enables the person to give meaning to the constant change in his or her life, to bring order to disorder" (Murray, 2000). Thus, the process of creating photo-stories was both a personal and shared process that came from

discussions and reflection about issues arising in the community, about how to represent these issues and how to promote strategies for emancipation (ibid). Emancipation is also concerned with being heard and recognised by others (Hooks, 1989), which was made possible through the workshop activities but also through sharing more broadly the visual works resulting from the process.

There have been studies using Photovoice addressing First Nations in Canada (Castleden, 2008); child workers (Bolton et al., 2001); HIV/AIDS (Mitchell et al. in press); youth (Strack et al., 2004); health promotion (Wang et al. 1998); community-building (Wang et al. 2004) amongst others. Some of the advantages recorded by these studies are listed below:

- ✓ Providing community spaces for interaction
- ✓ Improving policies and practices
- ✓ Increased communication between different strata of society
- ✓ Gain insight into local knowledge and learn from people's expertise
- ✓ Satisfaction of doing work that is valued by others
- ✓ Opportunity to innovate
- ✓ Recognition of humanity of others and restoring humanity of privileged
- ✓ Having fun

- ✓ Opportunity to define 'own' problems and not to be defined
- ✓ Sharing power
- ✓ Fostering trust
- ✓ Developing sense of ownership
- ✓ Creating community change
- ✓ Building capacity
- ✓ Increase self-esteem and peer status
- ✓ Affirm ideas and creativity
- ✓ Appreciation and new ties
- ✓ Increase access to power (resources)

(Reference: Wang et al., 1998; Wang et al. 2004; Foster-Fishman et al. 2005; Strack et al., 2004; Castleden, 2008; Mitchell et al., in press)

However, just as Photovoice initiatives can do the above, can they also be used to promote the transmission of development messages from the top-down, for instance through "initiatives to change people's attitudes and behaviours" (Braden and Mayo, 1999, p.191). Introducing photographic methods in the social contexts described in this study is already an indication of cultural influence (ibid). Rappaport (1994) proposes that society, community, and individual perspectives are embodied in three narrative typologies: dominant cultural narratives, community narratives, and personal stories. Furthermore, the literature suggests that narratives tend towards dominant discourses and that the latter are difficult to resist (Rappaport, 1994). The question that remains therefore is how Photovoice promotes the voices of those on the margins of civil

society rather than those with the loudest voices (ibid). Will the analysis of the photo-stories reveal an underlying discourse that reflects the grand development narrative?

3.7.4   Photovoice and Creative Development

There is a need to investigate how, on the one hand, narratives are produced by power, how they reproduce power, and how, on the other hand, counter-narratives can be developed as a means of challenging dominant discourses (Murray, 2000). This brings us to question how far artistic methods, such as photography and written texts, resist the agendas of policy-discourses. Having established the social change agenda and the conscientisation process, central to the Shooting Horizons initiative was the creative artistic component of the process. Photography and written narratives are art forms that "... can be used to give voice to, and make visible, otherwise hidden groups and community-based issues" (Purcell, 2009, p.112). The literature on community arts demonstrates how art forms foster creative skills leading to participation in community life in general, in issues of urban regeneration and social exclusion, and developing self-expression and talent, a source of economic activity, leading to improvements in the quality of life (ibid). Artistic creations are also a useful way of communicating with members of the public through the innovative and emotional content of photo-stories that attract audiences and enable us to see young people in a different light.

Furthermore, the link between the rationale of the methodological design and the artistic or technological method of representation is important in establishing spaces for resistance:

> "It is not enough for art to represent a political event for others to observe. It must also provide a context within which others can take action" (Schwarzman, 1993, in Purcell, 2009, p.114).

I never thought my work could be seen and recognised by other people. Remy, 16

3.7.4.1 Visual Methods

Visual methods have been described as insightful in "understanding the relationship between the agency of subjects and their socio-cultural contexts" (Ramella and Olmos 2005, p.2). Bleiker and Kay (2007) corroborate these findings through their study on

differences in approaches to photography. They refer to three typologies: 'naturalist', 'humanist' and 'pluralist' photography. "Pluralist photography…seeks to validate local photographic practices in an attempt to create multiple sites for representing and understanding the psychological, social, and political issues at stake" and "to overcome the stereotypical image of the passive victim" (ibid, p.141). Naturalist and humanist photography on the other hand seek to represent true objective reality or to invoke compassion and pity (ibid). Pluralist photography therefore attempts to provide different representations of an issue in ways that incorporate the "agency, history, belonging, [and] social attachment" of the photographer (ibid, p.149). I propose that Photovoice is a form of pluralist photography, because participants are the photographers who are documenting their lives and their communities.

3.7.4.2 Creative Ownership

Another advantage of a Photovoice approach is that it gives participants control over the research process because they are in possession of the tool (Ramella and Olmos, 2001) and "it offers the participant greater 'editorial control' over the material she/he chooses to disclose" (Holliday, 2000, p.510). Ramella and Olmos (2001) refer to this as the ability of participants to 'situate' themselves and their stories, meaning that they determine the content through a process of 'enhanced expression and reflexivity' (ibid). This ability has been described elsewhere as "a practice of mediation whereby the represented person takes an active role in the process of inscribing social meaning…" (Debrix, 2003, in Bleiker and Kay, 2007, p.151). The satisfaction of developing new technical skills also leads to increases in self-esteem, which represent an important element for empowerment (Strack et al. 2004, Castleden et al., 2008).

> *I never expected one day I would learn about photography and using a camera. Now I can even work as a photographer.   Juma, 18*

3.7.4.3 Communication

I suggest that photo-stories can also be theorized as a 'rich language', where participants 'tell' using words and 'show' using images, generating innovative conceptualisations and new understandings that further strengthen the agency of participants (Humphreys and Brezillon 2002; Ramella and Olmos 2005). Photo-stories

are colourful and effective communication tools that inspire others and enhance collaboration and mutual understanding between the researcher and participants (ibid).

> *Before I used to look at photos in the newspapers but I could not tell what it was about or how it was taken but now I know even how to read and understand the photo which doesn't have any explanations and I can tell what happened there. Simon, 19*

The above discussion exposed the value of artistic methods and, in particular, the production of photo-stories in unblocking the agency of research participants and raising their self-esteem. It also described Photovoice as an effective communication tool to challenge existing images. In doing so, these methods are deemed more effective in providing the tools for re-presenting resistance and mobilising around social change from the standpoint of the participants. Photo-stories are the product of a process of critical thinking and active involvement in the community and are generated from the creativity and talent of participants. The methods presented here are therefore contributing to the objectivity of the research process by voicing the multiple perspectives of the participants without making any claims to truth.

Furthermore, developing photographic narratives within a Photovoice project is itself an empowering process because of the ownership and involvement in the research: "a research or evaluation method is an empowering process when it offers an opportunity for action and reflection that fosters the progressive development of participatory skills and political understandings" (Foster-Fishman, 2005, p.277). In Photovoice projects, participants are 'active producers' of knowledge about themselves (Holliday, 2000), and, as a result, their productions represent records *of culture* and not *about culture* (Strack et al, 2004). Finally, these records of culture become part of a process of historisation, "moving from silence into speech as a revolutionary gesture" (Hooks, 1989, p.12).

3.8   Conclusion

In a study of empowerment, the methodology takes on a central and critical role, as it is within the research process that participants develop skills and adopt strategies that

lead to empowerment outcomes. Therefore, the consideration of the effects of power was a key element at each stage of the design, from the historical assumptions of science and, in particular, of ethnography as a discipline leading to ambiguous effects, to my role and agenda as researcher and facilitator, to conceptualising Photovoice workshops.

I contend that objectivity in qualitative perspectives is determined by how the methodology responds to the aims of the research. Therefore, in studies that attempt to de-stabilise the workings of power, objectivity should be concerned with the 'surprise factors' (Bauer and Gaskell 1999) or the alternative ways and meanings attributed to social phenomena that derive from the research process. By integrating critical research concepts and creative methods into an ethnographic approach, I attempt to provide spaces for disruption and contradiction through praxis that encourage resistance and/or that conceive of alternative ways of seeing and doing (Hook and Howarth, 2005).

I also argue the importance of linking the rationale and aims of the methodological framework to the various tools for data collection. Photovoice methods are defined as creative and artistic tools for enhancing self-esteem and participation. I also recognise their potential as effective tools for communicating ideas and mobilising around new re-presentational projects.

The next chapter will describe in more details the design and tools of Photovoice workshops, including the differences in approach, depending on the social settings and the profile of the different groups of young people involved. I also present the rationale and aims of the different types of data sources and propose a framework for analysing the data and presenting the findings.

Chapter Four - Summary

The Shooting Horizons Project

Chapter Four describes the methods and analytical techniques that I used to run and evaluate the Shooting Horizons workshops. I discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the different youth centres in which the projects took place, and describe the sampling methods and profiles of the participants. I thereafter elaborate on the design and implementation of the workshops, including a description of the activities, events, overall implementation and how the combination of different methods (focus groups, discussion groups, interviews and photo-stories) enriches the data. Finally, I outline the analytical framework that includes a thematic approach to analysing and triangulating the data as a valuable method for uncovering the possibilities, contradictions and surprise factors that constrain and promote empowerment outcomes.

Chapter Four - The Shooting Horizons Project

4.1   Initiating the Project

The name Shooting Horizons is inspired by the idea of young Africans empowering themselves by shooting snippets of their lives through powerful images that express history in its present form, that tell tales of today for tomorrow, invoking memories of those who lived the events, so that their story weaves its tentacles to the rebirth of a new meaning, a new people, a new horizon... The idea of 'a shooting' also alludes to the potential that images have to halt people's horizons and thus the need to contest the portrayals of Africa as disease-ridden, destitute, violent and corrupt that so often invade our consciousness; and instead, to provide young people with the tools to represent themselves so that they realize their future in a dignified way.

In July and August 2007, I visited Tanzania and South Africa to explore the possibilities of conducting my research in these two countries. Over a period of two months, I met with Program Managers and Directors of NGOs and Community-based organisations (CBOs), photographers, academics, and media professionals in Dar es Salaam and Johannesburg to discuss my research and the possibilities of forging linkages and establishing Photovoice trainings. Based on the contacts made over this period, I was able to establish links with the youth centres that form part of the Shooting Horizons project. This process was not without its twists and turns, however, and upon my return to Dar es Salaam in December 2007, it took several months to get the project off the ground. In March 2008, I approached the Dogodogo Multimedia Centre and Kiwohede Trust, which are the two main organisations in Dar es Salaam that provide assistance to young men and young women living on the streets or living in very difficult circumstances. These also have a national reach with drop-in centres and boarding centres throughout the country. After several meetings with program management staff, in which I presented a concept paper and a project proposal (Appendix 10), both institutions agreed to host the project and further meetings were held to discuss timetables and how to fit the Shooting Horizons activities within the other activities of the centres. The first workshop with the Dogodogo Multimedia Centre started in May 2008 and thereafter with Kiwohede Trust in July 2008.

There are a number of organisations in Soweto already working with young people and it therefore took much longer to find an organisation to host the project. This also

raised concerns about the validity of establishing a project in the midst of a multitude of other resources already available to young people. However, due to the innovative approach of the Shooting Horizons project and my knowledge and experience of working in South Africa, I felt that it made sense to pursue my ideas there, rather than somewhere where I had little knowledge of the culture and socio-political context. In December 2008, I met a photographer, with whom I discussed my project and who subsequently introduced me to the staff at Soweto Kliptown Youth (SKY). After months of searching, it only took a brief meeting at SKY to agree in principle to establish a Shooting Horizons initiative in the centre. In May 2009, I started the workshop with SKY participants.

Hence between March 2008 and January 2010, I ran six Shooting Horizons workshops, five in Dar es Salaam and one in Soweto. All together, 39 young people participated and 37 completed the project, nine from South Africa and 28 from Tanzania, between the ages of 12 and 19. These were conducted with the Dogodogo Multimedia Centre, Kiwohede Trust and Soweto Kliptown Youth (SKY). In addition to the youth centres, a number of other organisations also collaborated in getting the project of the ground and making it a success (see Appendix 9). In the paragraphs that follow, I present descriptions of the youth centres and profiles of the participants who took part in the project in order to provide a better picture of the social contexts in which the projects took place.

4.1.1   Outline

The story of Shooting Horizons starts and ends with the young people who took part in this study. Without their enthusiasm, dedication, openness and honesty, we would have missed out on so many of the experiences and insights for living that they so willingly offer. The opening chapters of this thesis provided a glimpse into the lives of the young people that I worked with, illustrated through their own stories and photographs. In this chapter, we get to know them better. It provides readers with a detailed presentation of the overall organisation and implementation of the Shooting Horizons project with young participants from three youth centres, two in Dar es Salaam and one in Soweto. It is divided into two parts: the first part focusing on the elements involved in the conceptualisation and implementation phase; the second part focusing on the methods used to record and analyse the data collected.

I start with a description of the youth centres to explain how I established contact with them and the various settings in which the project took place. I thereafter outline the design and structure of the workshops, including the topic guides developed, ensuing activities and the required materials to run the projects. This also includes a section on ethical considerations. In the second part of the chapter, I explain the types and aims of the different data sources and the record-keeping activities that took place. I propose a thematic analysis, supported by coding frameworks for examining the data, as a valuable method for uncovering the possibilities, contradictions and surprise factors that constrain and promote empowerment outcomes.

4.2   The Youth Centres

4.2.1   Dogodogo Multimedia Centre

The Dogodogo Multimedia Centre is a boarding centre for young men located on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam that provides food, shelter and vocational skills to young people for a maximum period of two years. Dogodogo also has two drop-in centres in the inner city areas where young men can find shelter and food on an occasional basis. Before arriving at Dogodogo, most of the young people live in the streets of Dar es Salaam and

Photo 1: Dogodogo Centre Participants

survive by soliciting money, occasional jobs, and petty crime. The majority of these young men hear of the Dogodogo centre through word-of-mouth on the streets. They come from different parts of the country and usually arrive in Dar es Salaam, either having fled from difficult family situations, losing their parents and/or carers, or in search of jobs. The participants in the Shooting Horizons project were from the Dogodogo Multimedia Centre. In order to attend the Multimedia Centre, young men have to be recommended by staff of the drop-in centres. Recommendations are based on the level of commitment that they show in participating in activities of the drop-in centres and general attendance. If selected, they have the option of undertaking vocational training (carpentry or metal works) or artistic training over a two-year period. The Shooting Horizons project was run with the arts class. In this class, they learn dance, music, drama, and computer technology. This particular class had also been involved in other spontaneous activities such as visual arts and audio-video recording. Thus, participants had experience of working together, discussing issues and participating in a variety of projects.

The centre is fairly well funded, mostly from foreign agencies. At the end of the two-year period, students are expected to find study opportunities and/or jobs. They are partly supported in this process but many end up back on the streets, which is a critical issue for the Dogodogo Centre. The management and staff of the centre were very supportive of the Shooting Horizons project on the basis that it would give students professional skills. The other classes at the centre teach carpentry and metal works and, at the end of the period, each student receives a toolbox to start-up their own business. Students from the arts class currently do not receive anything and the Shooting Horizons training was seen as a potential way to provide students with professional interests and possibly digital cameras. The general environment of the centre and the interest and participation of the staff contributed to the overall success of the workshop.

4.2.2   Kiwohede Trust

Kiwohede is a drop-in centre for young women and provides vocational and life skills. The young women who attend Kiwohede live in very difficult circumstances. Many of them engage in sex work or live in abusive domestic situations, often having been trafficked from villages and towns throughout the country and sold into domestic work. Many have lost one or both their parents, some live with relatives, mainly stepmothers. Attendance at the centre is sporadic and largely depends on whether they have transport money and on other family/work demands. Unlike the Dogodogo Centre, Kiwohede does not provide food or shelter and students often go without food during the day.

Kiwohede Trust is located in an inner city neighbourhood with very few facilities. The First Lady of Tanzania is a patron of the Trust and it is thus well recognized but, nevertheless, seems to receive limited funding. The Trust provides counselling and family planning services including regular HIV testing. This is done by the staff themselves, who are qualified nurses. Decision-making processes are centralized within a hierarchical administrative structure. There is one director, a programme manager and a secretary, who seldom get involved in activities and remain in their offices for the most part. Volunteers come on a daily or weekly basis to teach and provide counselling. The hierarchical structure provokes a tense environment and several incidents occurred during the workshops resulting in one young woman being expelled from the centre. The director was also not enthusiastic about the Shooting

Horizons project even though she initially approved it. Hence, the environment was not conducive for developing critical thinking as it impaired participants' ability to build confidence and self-expression. It was particularly significant because of the acute vulnerability of the young women frequenting the centre. Nevertheless, the young women from Kiwohede worked very hard on the project and contributed to some of the most insightful and critical discussions.

4.2.3   Soweto Kliptown Youth (SKY)

Soweto Kliptown Youth is a community youth centre located in Kliptown, Soweto. Children and young people of all ages are welcome at the centre, which also runs a nursery for very young children. The centre is spacious and fairly well-equipped, despite the lack of electricity and running water. The adolescents who attend the centre are young people who live in Kliptown. They all attend school, sometimes far away from their homes, and frequent SKY mainly in the late afternoons. They can participate in various activities, such as dance, drama, prayer and counselling sessions, depending on availability. They also go there to do their homework, to read and to relax and play pool. Many of the young people also rely on SKY to provide breakfast and lunch. The youngsters are organised into key groups with a leader in each group. It is during the school holidays that the centre really comes to life and welcomes young people from neighbouring suburbs or other parts of the country. Many activities are organised including fieldtrips to various cultural events.

Photo 2: SKY Centre

The centre is a saving grace for many young people in the Kliptown community. The lack of resources in Kliptown contribute to an unsafe environment and by 6pm, the streets are pitch dark because of the lack of electricity and young people must reach home before that time. The lack of water and sanitation means that children are often found playing in a hazardous environment. There are also several Shebeens (drinking places) on street corners where young women engage in sex work from a very early age. What is particularly depressing and shocking about Kliptown is the irony of the situation, it being the oldest area of Soweto and host to Freedom Square, yet remaining one of the most under-resourced. Just across the railway line from SKY is a large monument that was built to mark the ratification of the Freedom Charter, and, right next to that, is a four-star hotel, where tourists and visitors come. Furthermore, new builds

(townhouses and flats) are springing up in the area. None of these developments have benefited the community around SKY who still mainly live in shacks. This particular community is often referred to as the 'island' because it is located across the railway and not accessible by road. Residents of the island are confronted with these differences everyday and it contributes to an underlying anger and disillusionment, leading to a lack of care and respect for their community.

SKY relies on private and institutional donations and has been supported previously by the National Basketball Association (NBA) and South African Airways (SAA). Bob Nameng, the founding director of the centre is a charismatic personality and well respected by the young people and members of the community in general. He imparts values of responsibility and respect, but when it comes to

Photo 3: Bob Nameng

management, processes are slow. There is one other staff member, TK, and volunteers who assist with cooking, cleaning, washing of clothes, although much of this is also done by the young people themselves. The centre has an interesting history. Bob was an orphan from a very young age and grew up in the streets of Soweto until a woman he met decided to give him a chance in life and took him in to live with her. He subsequently built the centre around her home where she still lives and is a key personality in the community. It is a very welcoming and homely place.

4.3   Participants and Sampling

Table 2 below provides the list of young people who participated in the project, their age and gender. Selecting which young people would participate was entirely decided upon by the staff of the centres. The only requirements on my part were age limitations – adolescents between the ages of 12 and 19 – and the fact that I had only five cameras and therefore wanted to work with groups of five, with each participant having their own camera, or groups of ten, with two participants sharing a camera.

- With the Dogodogo Centre, the selection process was straightforward. The arts class was deemed the most suitable with which to run the project, as it fitted into their curriculum. It was also fortunate that it was a class of 10 students. All participants completed the project.

- There are over 75 young women at Kiwohede but attendance is irregular. The staff of Kiwohede asked the young women who were interested in the project to sign up on a sheet of paper on a first-come first-served basis, until we reached 20. These were then divided into four groups of five, so that four separate workshops could be held, because of the limited space available at the centre. In total, 18 young women completed the project. Of the two remaining, one participated in all the activities except the final photo-story production. She was a sex worker and did not wish to talk about or expose her circumstances to the group or a wider audience. The other young woman stopped coming to Kiwohede for unknown reasons.

- At SKY, Bob, TK and group leaders selected the participants and ensured a mix of young women and young men of different ages. We initially had a group of 12, but three participants dropped out early on and stopped attending SKY altogether for several weeks. This is a common occurrence at SKY, particularly with young people who have dropped out of school because it is difficult to monitor their whereabouts and there is not much for them to do at SKY during the day when others are at school.

Table 2: Participant List

Dogodogo Multimedia Centre			Kiwohede Trust			Soweto Kliptown Youth		
Name	**Age**	**Gender**	**Name**	**Age**	**Gender**	**Name**	**Age**	**Gender**
Simon Jackson	19	M	**Group 1**			Gabaza Tshifiwa	12	F
Adam Godfrey	16	M	Rose Abraham	15	F	Ntombifuthi Gosa	15	F
Mussa Ali	16	M	Melba Sabatino	14	F	Siphiwe Thula	14	M
Juma Lucas	18	M	Aisha Simba	16	F	Thamsqana Nathi	16	M
Ali Shamte	18	M	Lubna Sango	17	F	Andile Xhego	17	M
Omari Majaru	17	M	Cynthia Makonde	17	F	Tandani Nefolovhodwe	16	M
Remy Mbwette	16	M	**Group 2**			Thabang Tsakane	18	M
Peter James	18	M	Biubwa Bendela	16	F	Lerato Metsi	16	F
Godfrey Kapesi	17	M	Linda Kessy	18	F	Mpho Lerotholi	16	M
Amani Chale	16	M	Fahari Makani	15	F			
			Khadija Mariki	15	F			
			Eda Ulanga	13	F			
			Group 3					
			Eline Namfua	16	F			
			Neema Mussa	15	F			
			Amal Kawala	15	F			
			Naima Saif	16	F			
			Esta Lyimo	12	F			
			Group 4					
			Pendo Mgumia	15	F			
			Sia Sala	15	F			
			Asma Mussa	16	F			
			Maisha Tarimo	15	F			
			Faida Eyakuze	15	F			
Total young women	**23**		**Total Tanzania**	**30**				
Total young men	**16**		**Total South Africa**	**9**		**Grand Total**	**39**	

Having established the context of the project and the profile of the participants, I now turn to the design and implementation of the workshops.

4.4   The Shooting Horizons Workshops

4.4.1   Designing the Workshops

The design of the Shooting Horizons workshops was mainly based on Photovoice methods. Having already discussed the value of Photovoice as a methodology in Chapter Three, the following paragraphs will focus on the 'transparency' (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999) of the process or how the specific activities were scheduled and adapted to fit into the conceptualisation and design of the workshops. The following presentation thus covers the workshop design including the topic guide developed for the discussions, the scheduling and description of the workshop activities, and the materials or equipment needed.

In responding to the research concerns, the series of workshops were organised around two central foci. Firstly, developing a community narrative (also referred to as a narrative of resistance or social change) and, secondly, unblocking and recognising the agency of the participants. Based on these goals, the specific topics discussed in these workshops were organized around three broad themes: *representation*, *identity* and *social action,* critical consciousness being an operating principle underlying all three themes:

- Theme 1: *Representation.* The aim here was to investigate the content and purpose of participants' representations of the world around them. The analysis will identify the representations of development present in the discourses of the young people and the extent to which they are reproduced and/or challenged.

- Theme 2: *Identity.* The aim here was to investigate how participants positioned themselves and their communities in the development discourse and how their understandings of development impacted on their identities. In particular, the analysis will seek to identify victim-blaming and alternative discourses.

- Theme 3: *Social action.* The aim here was to investigate and evaluate strategies and actions towards the production of resistance and alternatives. This includes the processes of social recognition and building social capital.

Table 3 below outlines the links between the themes, the topic guides and corresponding methods for the workshop. Based on these, I created workshop schedules (Appendix 7). These were different in each case, according to the centre, the time available, the characteristics of the groups, and the involvement of the photographer. They were also revised on a daily basis in preparation for the following day, depending on how the discussions evolved in each group. A degree of flexibility in

the design was meant to allow participants to influence the structure and content of the workshops as much as possible.

Table 3: Topic Guide and Corresponding Methods

Theme and problem statement	Topic guide	Methods
REPRESENTATION: Challenging the grand narratives of development	What is poverty? What is development? Who is responsible for development? What is aid? Where in the world would you live and why?	Discussion groups Focus Groups
IDENTITY: Locating self and community in development discourses	Who am I? Who are we? What is my future? Why do we learn? How do we learn? What is photography? How do we represent self and community? How can we contribute to development?	Discussion groups Photo-elicitation Photo-novella Photovoice Story-telling Interviews Focus groups Fieldtrips
SOCIAL ACTION: Activities for social recognition and building social capital	What, who, how, when, and why of photo-stories Engaging with the community Networking for support	Photovoice Fieldtrips Exhibitions/Publications

4.4.2   Scheduling the Activities

The topic guide above provided a general outline for designing the sequencing and implementation of each workshop activity. In doing so, I was also guided by the Photovoice Manual and Campbell et al.'s (2007a) suggested four-pronged strategy for working with communities that I adapted below:

i.   *Participants think critically about their situation* – Activities responding to this were the initial discussion groups where participants got to know each other, discussed their situation, how they interpreted the world around them, formulated ideas and goals for the workshop, and the focus groups on development;

ii. *Develop a sense of confidence and capacity to challenge it* – In the second phase, participants acquired photography and story-telling skills through exercises and games to develop their abilities and self-confidence. Discussion sessions were held on the uses of photography, the role of learning, and activities to build the cohesiveness of the group, such as participatory exercises and fieldtrips;

iii. Collectively negotiate locally appropriate and realistic individual and collective strategies – This third phase involved group discussions during which participants came up with ideas and strategies for the production of their photo-stories and debated them as a group. They debated the design, content, and purpose of the photo-stories, conducted field research and critically reflected on the process and their final creations;

iv. Identify and build the types of strategic alliance most likely to facilitate effective action – This set of activities ran parallel to the other phases and included all the activities relating to the exhibitions and media publications of the photo-stories, as well as activities to gather financial and in-kind support for the project as a whole.

4.4.3   Workshop Activities

In the paragraphs that follow, I provide a description of the purpose and content of the activities. Not all activities were conducted in each workshop and not necessarily in the exact way they are described below. This was partly to maintain variety, but also depended on the time and material available, and other institutional constraints. The specific methods included: discussion groups, focus groups, photo-elicitation, photo-novella, fieldtrips, Photovoice, exhibitions and publications, follow-up interviews and focus groups.

Discussion Group Sessions[64]

Discussion was part and parcel of the whole process. These sessions were participatory and touched upon specific items, such as setting the goals and rules for the workshop and understanding its rationale, or formed an integral part of other activities, such as discussing themes that came out of the photography exercises or the focus groups. Each workshop started with introductory discussions and ice-breakers to put participants at ease, to get them talking and laughing and to find out about each other.

- The aim of discussion was to develop critical thinking and new ways of understanding, finding causalities and an overall vision of the project.

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[64] See Appendix 3 for the full transcription of the flipcharts used during the discussion groups.

Focus Groups[65]

Sessions about development were held in the form of focus groups. In these sessions, participants shared their views on the topics, asked questions and related their realities to broader socio-historical contexts and the current economic and political situation. Focus groups were usually conducted towards the beginning of the workshops (second session) to get a sense of participant's understanding of these themes so that the following sessions could be adapted in accordance with levels of knowledge in the group. These sessions also set the scene for their photo-stories.

- The aim of this activity was to discover participants' views on development narratives and how they located themselves in the development discourse. It was similar to discussion group activities except that the facilitator was more directive and focused on specific issues to be discussed.

Photo Elicitation Techniques

Photo 4: Dogodogo Training – Photo-elicitation Exercise

Photographs were used to prompt discussions around specific topics. In one activity, I handed out photography magazines and/or newspapers to participants. They had some time to choose a photograph that spoke to them and had to explain the reasons to the group in responding to the following:

Why did you choose that photograph? What is the story behind it? What do you like about it? How does it make you feel? In other cases, we looked at photographs as a group and guessed the stories without looking at the captions until afterwards.

- These exercises aimed to get participants thinking about the power of photography in delivering messages and the possible ambiguities. They were accompanied by group discussions about the role and effectiveness of photography in representation and in responding to the aims of the project.

Photo-Novella Techniques

Photographs were taken by the participants themselves but guided by themes set by the facilitator. For example, in one activity, I asked participants to take six photographs about their environment, three of things they liked, three of things they didn't like.

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[65] See Appendix 3 for a sample focus group transcription.

Thereafter, they explained to the group what they thought should be done to change these. Participants were also engaged in competitive exercises, where they had to take a number of 'different' photos of the same object. As a group, participants looked at the photographs taken by their peers and determined the levels of 'difference' and graded each other.

- The aim of these exercises was to think more critically about representation through photographs. Participants thought about how to represent a situation, what they wanted to tell viewers and how they wanted viewers to respond. They also realised that not all viewers necessarily read the photographs in the same way as they were intended and thus started thinking about how to represent issues in more creative and innovative ways.

Fieldtrips

Fieldtrips to photo exhibitions and outings to various places were decided upon as a group (usually to somewhere that participants had never been before and preferably a photographic exhibition). During fieldtrips, participants practiced taking photos and got a different perspective on where they live.

- The fieldtrips were fun, they built cohesiveness in the group and interest in the project. They also created awareness and ideas for photo-story productions.

Box 2: Fieldtrips

Participants from the Dogodogo Centre went to a photography exhibition on Japanese childhood sponsored by the Alliance Française of Dar es Salaam. Three groups from Kiwohede went to Coco beach to practice taking photos and to see a part of Dar es Salaam that they do not usually frequent. One group went to the village museum to learn about different cultures in Tanzania. The group from SKY went to a photography exhibition about June 16th 1976 at the Hector Pieterson memorial, where they learnt about the role of young people and photography in the liberation struggle.

Photo-Stories (Photovoice Techniques)[66]

The development of photo-stories produced a community-life series and a self-portrait series. To design and produce photo-stories for the community-life series, participants started by coming up with ideas and debating them as a group. Once these were agreed

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[66] See Appendix 1 for the full list of photo-stories.

upon, they created plans to include the *who, what, why, how, and when* of their photography project before conducting their fieldwork and story-writing. For the self-portraits series, we focused first on story-writing and sharing ideas on how to communicate and represent personal issues. We also looked at DVDs and pamphlets of other Photovoice projects that gave participants ideas on how to present their work. This was done towards the end of workshops so as not to influence their story ideas.

- Participants developed communication skills in using Photovoice techniques. They realised their own creativity and ability to tell their own stories and represent themselves and developed a sense of purpose and role in the community.

Exhibitions And Publications[67]

This activity required networking with individuals and organisations for support and media coverage/publications. Preparing exhibitions involved selecting, printing and framing photos, editing stories, finding venues, creating invitation lists and flyers, distribution, and preparing speeches. During exhibitions, guests were invited to share their impressions on pieces of paper that were stuck on the wall for others to see and to encourage the dialogical process.

- The aim of exhibitions and publications was to allow young people's voices to be recognised by a broader audience. It was an important source of self-esteem for the young photographers and occasionally a source of income.

Follow-Up Interviews And Focus Groups

Individual interviews and focus groups were conducted six to twelve months after the workshops. These were semi-structured with guiding questions such as: What did you think of the project? Do you have recommendations for future projects? How did it compare to other similar projects? What, if anything, did you learn from the project? What has changed in your life since the project?

- The aim of the follow-up interviews and focus groups was to gather participants' reflections on the process and the impact it had had on them.

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[67] See Appendix 2 for a selection of notes from the exhibitions.

4.4.4   Materials and Equipment

Digital Cameras

In the Shooting Horizons project, participants learnt the use of digital cameras from professional photographers[68]. This included switching on/off, inserting batteries and memory cards, and other functions depending on the expressed level of interest. They also learnt basic lighting, framing and composition. Digital cameras are user-friendly and contain a large and easily accessible storage space (Ramella and Olmos, 2005) that gave participants ample freedom to practice taking photos. Participants also gained computer skills in downloading photos and basic photo-editing techniques. Furthermore, using digital cameras enabled participants to collaborate in the learning process and to develop mutual understanding along the research process (ibid), especially in workshops where several participants shared the same camera. Furthermore, digital data is instantaneous, easy to share with participants, and thereby facilitated the photo-novella and photo-elicitation activities, and developed reflexivity, as participants became observers and critics of their own photos.

The disadvantages associated with digital cameras were the initial cost, wear and tear of the cameras, and the lack of electricity at SKY. Furthermore, working with hard prints would have been valuable for comparing and selecting photographs and getting a better sense of how the final productions would have looked in advance.

Other Equipment

The following materials were also used during workshops: A projector (Dogodogo centre only), flipcharts, notebooks and pens for participants, a digital recorder, a computer and photography software, batteries, memory cards, photo magazines and books, the Photovoice manual, and CDroms.

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[68] See Appendix 9 for the profiles of the photographers who participated in the workshops.

4.5   Ethical Considerations

4.5.1   Consent

The conduct of the Photovoice workshops was guided by the principles of the Code of Ethics and Conduct of the British Psychological Society: respect, confidence, competence and integrity. The purpose and content of the Shooting Horizons project was explained to participants by the teachers in the youth centres and thereafter by me in the various groups. I explained their right to withdraw at any time and that they were in no way obliged to answer questions or talk about things that they did not wish to share.

I explained the implication of exhibiting their work and having their names exposed to the public, particularly if they took self-portraits accompanied by personal life stories. They had the option not to participate in the exhibitions or of using pseudonyms if they so wished, but all participants wanted to use their own names, which was considered an important aspect of being recognised. It also showed trust and belief in the project. However, in order to protect the identity of the young people, I used pseudonyms for all the participants whom I refer to in my own writings throughout this thesis. Consent forms were prepared and translated into Swahili, where necessary, which they had the opportunity to read and question before signing (Appendix 5).

4.5.2   Issues in Representation

Ethical considerations also covered issues relating to photographing members of the community and the potential resistance they would encounter. Consent forms were prepared for that purpose as well. However, participants felt uncomfortable using them. They felt that people would shy away from participating in the project as a result of too much formality. The view was that by asking for signatures, members of the community would think that the young people were to benefit financially from the photographs taken of them. Nevertheless, the forms assisted participants in developing ways of communicating the project to others.

Discussions around emotional content and how they wanted to be perceived by viewers formed an integral part of ethical discussions, particularly with regards to de-stabilising discourses of pity and victimisation. Many of the young women started off the project wanting to invoke pity and compassion in viewers. However, as the findings

will demonstrate, the final productions often depict another image of these young women.

The description of the youth centres and the participants, as well as the workshop design and activities above provided a more detailed picture of the Shooting Horizons initiative and the practical ways in which the methodology responded to the theoretical framework and the central aims of this research. In the pages that follow, I provide a short narrative of the trainings with each centre to give readers a better sense of the overall experience of the Shooting Horizons project. Following that is the second part of this chapter that presents the analytical framework for the data.

Box 3: Dogodogo Training

Activities. The first workshop with the Dogodogo Centre took place every morning over 10 days in the Multimedia arts classroom. Participants had other activities to attend to in the afternoons. On the first day, Mwanzo Millinga, the photographer attached to this location, provided an introduction to the project and to photography in general. He asked participants to share their views on the aims of photography:

Mussa	➔	to send messages through photos
Remy	➔	to do photography as a profession
Simon	➔	to learn how to use cameras
Omari	➔	to become a famous photographer
Adam	➔	to advertise information
Juma	➔	to educate people
Ali	➔	to understand better/ to illustrate

Photo 5: Dogodogo Flipchart 1

Over the course of the workshop, activities focused on developing ideas and how to represent these most effectively through photographs. We looked at and discussed photographs from magazines, stories from newspapers, and previous Photovoice projects. There were also many photography exercises, including competitions and ample time to practice downloading photographs on the computer. At the end of each day, we had a feedback session focusing on: *what have we learnt?* For the fieldtrip, participants from Dogodogo saw a photography exhibition on Japanese childhood and had a guided tour of the exhibition, which gave them many ideas for their photo-stories.

Assignments. At the end of each day, cameras were left with participants to enable them to practice taking photos. Occasionally, specific photography assignments were given for the next day. After the 10-day training, each participant was given a camera for five days to take photos for their final photo-stories. Many expressed the wish to go to their home areas. They came up with a plan of *Who? What? Where? When? How?* and a budget to include transport and food if necessary, thereby gaining project administration skills in the process. This also built confidence by imparting trust and responsibility towards participants to direct their own creations. Thereafter, individual participants, Mwanzo and I spend time choosing the photographs. They had to choose a maximum of three photos for the exhibitions. This was a lengthy process as there were hundreds of photos to choose from. During that time, they also worked on their stories. Once the creations were completed, we discussed their experiences of the process in a focus group.
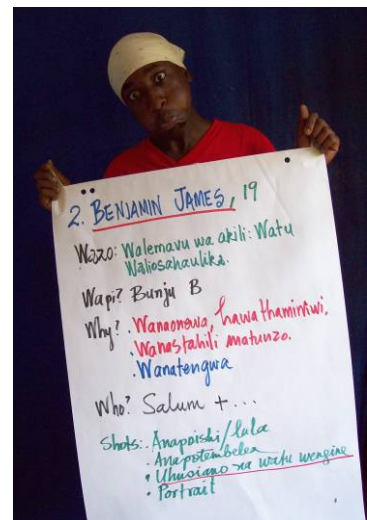
Photo 6: Dogodogo Flipchart 22

Exhibition. The Dogodogo exhibition took place at the Mawazo Gallery in town. It was well attended. Mwanzo and Simon, one of the participants, delivered speeches. Participants decided to sell their photographs and sold seven altogether.

Box 4: Kiwohede Training

Activities and facilities. At Kiwohede, four workshops were conducted back-to-back over four full days (Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday), with four groups of five participants. One day per workshop was a fieldtrip outside of the centre.
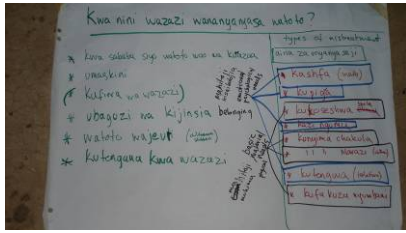
Photo 7: Kiwohede Flipchart 21

Many of the young women had never been to areas of the city outside their immediate environment, so it was an opportunity to give them another perspective of Dar es Salaam. The one-day break in the middle of each week was to allow participants time to think about the project and develop their stories. There was no separate room available to conduct the workshops, which therefore took place in one of the corridors. Furthermore, security issues meant that the cameras could not be left with participants overnight, so all of the work had to be done during the workshop sessions. Participants were also reticent to go out in the surrounding community to conduct photo-exercises and staff members felt it would be putting the young women at risk. During photo-novella exercises, participants ventured outside but in very close proximity to the centre. All the participants opted for personal life stories accompanied by self-portraits in most cases. The focus on personal life stories allowed us to make links between participants' personal life circumstances and the broader society. Group sessions were very informative and allowed for a high level of critical discussion.

Participation. At first, there was a problem of attendance, which I subsequently realised was due to individual home circumstances and lack of transport money to get to school. Some days, participants did not have any food for the whole day, which impacted on motivation and concentration. I thereafter provided each of them with lunch and transport money and attendance remained 100% after that. It took time for the young women to participate in the sessions and to feel comfortable with sharing ideas. This depended on how well they knew each other previously, the age of the participants, and the atmosphere at the centre. The hallway space meant that discussions could be overheard by people in adjacent offices. This was not ideal because of the confidentiality and sensitivity of some of the issues discussed. Nevertheless, after many ice-breakers and fun activities with the cameras, participants relaxed and participation increased.

Assignments and Exhibition. Since cameras could not be left with participants, the assignments focused on story-writing from day one. Each participant had a different theme. For instance, one participant had to write a letter to a friend who wants to come to Dar to tell her the advantages and disadvantages of moving to the city, another participant had to write a letter to the President... The final personal life-stories that they wrote revealed their willingness to share their knowledge and personal circumstances, often with very emotional content. It was much easier for them to do this on paper than orally. As a result, I encouraged participants to read and share their stories with each other during the fieldtrips where we had more privacy. On the last day of the workshops, individual sessions were held during which stories were finalized and typed and photos were chosen for the exhibition. During these sessions, participants were also advised on the sensitivity of some of the issues they raised. The exhibition was held at Mawazo Gallery and was well attended. Two participants gave speeches and the event was filmed to develop campaign material for the institution.

Box 5: SKY Training

Photo 8: SKY training

Activities and facilities. The young people from SKY were attending school during the day and we had a maximum of two hours available between the time they reached the centre and the time to go home. On the weekends, participants had domestic responsibilities and attended church. Therefore, sessions were run twice or three times per week and over a period of six months. During the first discussion group at SKY, participants decided on the goals for the project:

➔   To see what Kliptown is
➔   To seek help
➔   To create a news story
➔   To show life in a shack
➔   To express yourself
➔   To talk about activities @ SKY
➔   To learn about development
➔   To learn to use cameras
➔   To see our photos in Tanzania
➔   To respect our community
➔   To change
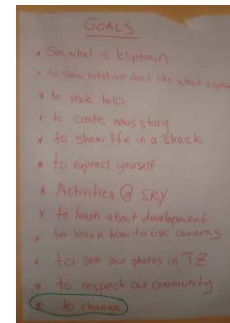
Photo 9: SKY Flipchart 1

Photo 10: SKY Fieldtrip

The cameras were left at the centre and participants were given photography assignments to carry out over the days where there were no sessions and over the weekends. The main difficulty with the project was the lack of electricity for uploading and viewing photos. We also often ended the sessions in the dark.

The fieldtrip took place on a Saturday and represented a highlight of the training. The visit to the Hector Pieterson memorial inspired participants to understand the value of photography in communicating their stories. It also helped the cohesiveness of the group.

Participation. Attendance was poor throughout the training. It was also the only group with which I had disciplinary issues. Participants didn't know each other well at first and the difference in age was most felt in this workshop, therefore, the extended length of the project was actually beneficial to fostering relationships between them. Once settled, young people participated well in the sessions, they were lively and imaginative.

Assignments and Exhibition. In the third month of the project, participants had to decide on their final story ideas for the exhibition. The most difficult aspect of photo-story production was to get participants to write their ideas down on paper. They were very comfortable with communicating them orally but not in writing.

Photo 11: SKY Exhibition

Many of the final stories were handed to me on the morning of the exhibition. Nevertheless, the exhibition was a significant motivational factor in the course of the training and everyone worked hard to make it a success. A large room at SKY was cleared and the walls were painted. Food and drink donations were collected in the community and flyers were distributed widely. The presence of the Director General of Science and Technology was an additional motivational element and the young people felt proud of the attention that was given to them. Speeches were prepared by four participants. The exhibition also included photo-stories from the Tanzanian participants, which was a focus of media attention.

4.6 Organising the Data

4.6.1 Data Sources

The multiple sources of data collected constitute the 'corpus construction' and 'thick description' for the analysis (Bauer and Gaskell 1999). The table below outlines the data sources, their content and purpose. The bulk of the data was collected during the trainings, although taking field notes spanned the whole period of the research. The follow-up interviews and focus groups were conducted six to twelve months after the trainings. These represented a key method in measuring and validating the empowerment process.

Table 4: Data Source, Content and Purpose

Data Source	Content	Purpose
Photo-stories	Photographs and stories prepared by participants about something they want to change in their community. Either self-portraits and personal life stories or stories from the community.	As the final product of the workshops, these photographic series represented the outcomes of the empowerment process.
Workshop flipcharts	Flipcharts contain information on the aims and rules of the workshops, topical points raised during discussion groups, information for fieldtrips and exhibitions, and plans for photo-stories.	Flipcharts are a 'teaching tool' to document the discussion groups. Participants saw visual evidence of the knowledge they shared. Flipcharts stayed on the wall throughout the workshop to show organisation, sequence and progression of the discussions, how they linked together.
Focus group transcripts	These transcripts constitute records of the one-hour focus groups with each group, recorded and transcribed (and translated) on issues of development and identity.	To analyse the development discourses of the participant and how they located themselves within the discourse, how they understood their role and responsibility for development, and the role of government and international institutions.
Exhibition notes	Exhibition notes recorded impressions of both participants and viewers at the exhibitions, sometimes on particular works or on the whole exhibition in general.	To involve viewers in providing a commentary on the work of participants. To boost personal recognition, satisfaction and to continue the dialogical and participatory process.
Fieldwork notes	Fieldwork notes are the daily records of my observations on the process and content of the planning and implementing phases of the workshops and the project as a whole.	To keep a record of valuable knowledge, such as difficulties, insights, surprises, etc. To change or improve process on an ongoing basis and to assist in the analysis of other data sources.
Interview and focus group notes	These notes are records of individual interviews or focus groups with participants 6 – 12 months after the workshops.	To get the impressions and thoughts of participants retrospectively. To see what impact the process had on their lives.

4.6.2   Recording The Data

In ethnographic studies, gathering field notes is a central method of data collection (Bryman, 2004) and is an essential way of keeping a record of the process over time. Taking notes can happen at different times throughout the period of study. I always had a pen and notebook on me to write down important information from the start of my field research. During the workshops, I would usually diarise my impressions/thoughts each day either during lunch breaks or at the end of the day to avoid disrupting the participatory process. These notes included action points, to do with administrative and networking issues, my thoughts on discussions and collaboration with staff of the youth centres, on how projects were advancing, including anecdotes, difficulties, successes, and improvements to be made for the following days. These notes were referred to in writing all sections of this thesis and not just the findings.

Photo-stories were designed and laid-out in PDF format, including English translations (Appendix 1). I took photographs of all the flipcharts and exhibitions notes, some of which appear in the text (Appendix 2). Focus groups were taped, transcribed and translated[69] (Appendix 3). Due to technical problems, I was unable to record the follow-up interviews and focus groups and therefore took written notes. Photographs were taken throughout the project to illustrate the environment and the different stages of the workshops.

4.6.3   Analysing the Data

The data were examined using a thematic analysis to evaluate the content of the photo-stories, focus groups and interviews; and the fieldnotes will be used to support the analysis. A thematic approach allows me to investigate the multiple representations that inform development narratives from the standpoint of the community and to analyse the social change process through an observation of these themes in the various phases of the project: the discussion phase, the change strategy, and the feedback given by participants after the workshops. In addition to the thematic analysis, I will conduct a Freirian analysis of the levels of consciousness of the participants, supported mainly by the discussion group data. In this way, I investigate not only the understandings of the participants but I also provide insights into the socio-cognitive processes that guide those understandings.

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[69] For Tanzania only. Trainings were conducted in Swahili.

The thematic analysis is based on a grounded theory approach. Evidenced in its title, grounded theory relies on the observation of reality (Hayes, 2000). In this case, the testimonies of the young people represented descriptions and insights into their lived realities. Grounded theory is also interested in the different ways in which concepts come up in the data rather than the number of occurrences of each concept (ibid). This is done through coding the data, which is a lengthy endeavour because it relies on an iterative process, which is a cyclical process of identifying and refining codes by continuously returning to the data (ibid). The photo-stories, focus group transcriptions and interview notes were coded and grouped into themes and organising themes. The coding framework illustrated in Appendix 4, demonstrates how the same codes came up in the different data sources, despite being linked to different organising themes, depending on the context in which they were raised. For example the code 'Education' came up under four global themes: 'Defining Development', 'Social Challenges', 'Critical Awareness' and 'Knowledge and Capabilities', because the concept was raised both as an explanatory factor for underdevelopment, a challenge for young people who do not have access to education, and a strategy for social change. This demonstrates the relationship between the different data sources and will enable me to identify causal links, ambiguities and contradictions, thereby enriching the analysis with comprehensive explanations to different phenomena. Table 5 below outlines the global themes that came up from the different data sources and their explanations.

Table 5: Global Themes and Explanations

Global themes from photo-stories	Global themes from focus groups on development	Global themes from follow-up interviews and focus groups
Social challenges: The main factors affecting the living conditions of young people and their communities	**Defining development:** The explanations for differences in access to material resources between individuals, communities and nations	**Knowledge and capabilities:** The practical skills developed through the Shooting Horizons initiative
Coping strategies: The activities that young people and members of the community engage in to survive and improve their living conditions	**Victim-blaming discourse:** The explanations for differences in access to symbolic resources between individuals, communities and nations	**Critical awareness:** The new levels of understanding developed, in particular insights into community strengths and weaknesses
Change Strategies: The demands that young people make on different sectors of society to improve their living conditions	**Stigmatizing knowledge:** Cultural and internalised beliefs that contribute to differences in access to resources	**Recognition:** The processes whereby young people realise their own strength and the impact of social support
	Resistance and alternatives: Values and strategies that contradict victim-blaming discourses and stigmatizing knowledge.	**Hope:** The impact of the process in broadening young people's perspectives on life and restoring faith in the future

4.7   Conclusion to Part II

Part I of this thesis outlined the theoretical framework for a youth empowerment project towards social change. This framework pointed to the community as the focus of the intervention, the main reasons being to avoid individual-focused approaches to youth empowerment that blame and victimise young people, to avoid top-down approaches to youth development that undermine the agency of young people, and to avoid programmes and policies that represent young people in stigmatizing ways. The methodology presented in these two chapters responded to these theoretical tenets through a combination of methods to unblock and enhance the knowledge and capabilities of young people and to foster critical awareness, all of which respond to the theoretical frame.

The Shooting Horizons project aimed to provide a space for airing development knowledge from the standpoint of the community thus reflecting the particular realities

of the participants by the participants themselves without making claims to universal truths. The focus on critical thinking throughout the process meant that participants were encouraged to reflect not only on the content and aims of the study but also on the research methods, thereby making participants owners of the project and imparting them with the ability to determine its course as much as possible.

The ethnographic rationale adopted in this study is thus in contrast to scientific studies that seek to provide 'objective' or 'true' accounts of human behaviour in society and that dismiss much of the political motivation behind research. As Maguire (1987) suggests:

> The alternative paradigm concept of uniqueness brings the focus of research back to individuals and groups on the particular social context being investigated. The purpose of research is shifted from constructing grand generalisations for control and predictability by detached outsiders to working closely with ordinary people, the insiders in a particular context...to understand their realities (Maguire, 1987 in Burton, p.167).

Visual and artistic methodologies are a powerful and creative way of representing the self and community and an attractive method for engaging young people. They also represent an avenue for keeping records and documenting knowledge. I argued in these chapters that through the production of photo-stories, young people can construct narratives that create 'meaning, emotion, memory and identity' (Rappaport, 1995) and that, through an organised community initiative, young people can be recognised in a supportive environment and mobilise around an emancipatory agenda.

The description of the Shooting Horizons workshops established the potential advantages and limitations of the different environment of each youth centre for conducting such a project. Finally, an overview of the research design explained the content and process of the workshops including the specific activities and different types of data gathered. I described the thematic analysis based on multiple sources and measures of the data as responding to the theoretical framework in order to uncover the multiple perspectives apparent in community life. Having reached a clearer understanding of the context, the methods and the proposed analytical framework, we can now turn our attention to the findings of the research.

Chapter Five – Summary

Representing Lived Realities

Chapter Five evaluates the themes arising from the photo-stories and from the process of photo-story development and observes the contradictory representations that young people use to describe their situation. Young people's narratives are stories of self-reliance and self-determination but also demonstrate the pervasiveness of stigmatizing beliefs that they hold about themselves, their communities and their leaders and the low levels of social capital in their communities. Young people often position themselves as contributors to their own oppressive circumstances and blame themselves and others through individualistic and gendered discourses. The visual and narrative representations developed by participants also reveal how discourses of victimisation and resistance can co-exist in complex identification processes and thus how easy it is to misrepresent young African voices in the absence of a more critical account of their knowledge and understandings.

Chapter Five – Representing Lived Realities

...One day I learnt
a secret art,
Invisible-Ness, it was called.
I think it worked
as even now you look
but never see me...
Only my eyes will remain to watch and to haunt,
and to turn your dreams
to chaos.
(M. Jin (1987) Strangers on a Hostile Landscape)

5.1   Creating Spaces for Empowerment

The narratives of the young Africans in the Shooting Horizons initiative invite us to assign new meanings to the processes of social change. By turning our attention to those obscured voices that tell us of the lived realities of those on the margins of society, we can begin to challenge the historical patterns of exclusion and discrimination that pervade our societies. Emerging from these narrative positions, the analysis of the Shooting Horizons project in the pages that follow seeks to promote counter constructs to the grand discourses of development and affirms the different directions for living envisaged by people in communities.

The chapters leading up to this point have argued that enacting social change implies a critical understanding of the *spaces in-between*: the individual-social interface, the discrepancies between institutionalized and community knowledges, and the gaps between theory and practice. Empowerment is in essence the possibility of re-defining oneself within those in-between spaces through an emancipatory credo that links revolutionary ideas with social practices. In South Africa and Tanzania, Biko's doctrine of Black Consciousness and Nyerere's principles of Self-Reliance went a long way in filling that space. Most of all, they demonstrated the will, determination and capabilities of people to free themselves of the shackles of oppression. This analysis draws partly on those historical narratives so that young people's perspectives are located on the backdrop of the social consciousness of their communities. The flipside of these discourses is the historical context of colonialism and apartheid rooted in ideological discourses of racialism and economic exploitation. It is from the legacies of that period of history that we are drawn into the current era of development, with its own ambivalent spaces, in between the politics of aid and the neo-liberal regime, serving to conceal the neo-colonialist practices of powerful nations. This has reinvigorated the

nationalism of African states creating its own in-between spaces, between a people-centered ideal and elitist and classist pursuits. A social psychological study of empowerment therefore entails a critique of the development narrative and the emancipatory narrative in an approach that redefines community as a space of *in-betweens*, a citizenry of people sharing common interests and different agendas. As Bhabha writes, it is in the recesses of nationalisms that "alternative constituencies of people and oppositional analytic capacities may emerge – youth, the everyday, nostalgia, new 'ethnicities', new social movements, 'the politics of difference'" (Bhabha, 1990, p.3).

The findings of this study will consistently refer to how a 'politics of difference' is imbued in the narratives of the young people who expose alternative claims to dominant discourses. But their journeys are both produced and halted by the legacies of the past, as they often collude, in a naïve and fanaticized consciousness (Freire, 1970), with an underlying racialized and gendered discourse of postcoloniality, intertwined with economic and sexual oppression. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, an internationally acclaimed novelist on politics and language in East Africa, captures in these few words the need for an empowerment agenda:

> To alienate people from their cultural way is to deprive people of the power to connect with the world and their base. Unless you know where you are from it is almost impossible to know where you are going next. In other words, if an individual loses the sense of the way to his or her homestead it is very difficult to know how to connect with anything around them (Ngugi, 2002, p.6).

This section aims to destabilize the undermining ideological discourses of development and critically evaluate the emancipatory discourse to re-define the lives of young people within a social psychological perspective. It starts with the young people themselves, who, through their own words and images, provide us with insights into their *cultural way* - the challenges they face and the resources they have, thereby attributing meaning to their situation. It continues with an account of how they perceive the causes of their realities and how they formulate explanations to social phenomena thus showing their level of *connection with the world and their base*. Thereafter, an analysis of the areas of disconnect, between their perceptions and their lived realities, points to the need to retrieve a *sense of the way* through the process of conscientisation, whereby young people realize their power to *re-connect* with themselves and their communities.

5.1.1 Outline

The theoretical concepts outlined in the opening chapters serve to contextualize the findings. I investigate the role of representation and the intricate practices of power in creating knowledge, portraying difference, and the impact of these mechanisms on forming social identities that both enable and constrain empowerment processes. In this chapter, I begin with the photo-stories, as the end product of the Shooting Horizons project, to present the lived realities of the participants through their own words and photographs so that readers can get a sense of their lives and the challenges they face. I discuss the themes that came up in the collection of photo-stories and in the follow-up interviews and focus groups that comment on the process of photo-story development (see Appendix 4 for the full list of themes and codes). Based on their testimonies and a discussion thereof, Chapter Six will present a thematic analysis of the focus group and discussion group findings as explanatory values that assign meanings to the themes outlined in Chapter Five. Through young people's explanations of the causes of their realities, I also examine their levels of consciousness based on a Freirian analysis of the process of conscientisation. Finally, the analysis presented in these two chapters is supported by testimonies and biographical anecdotes throughout the text.

5.2   Re-presenting Self and Community

The photo-stories produced by participants consist of two series: a self-portrait series by young women from Kiwohede Trust[70] and a community-life series by young women and young men from the Dogodogo Centre and Soweto Kliptown Youth. The content of the photo-stories was coded and organized into three grand themes: *social challenges, coping strategies and change strategies*, each of which was further divided into sub-themes. The presentation of the photo-story data is complemented by thematic findings and anecdotes arising from participants' experiences in the community and collected through follow-up focus groups and interviews. The thematic presentation is followed by a discussion that introduces the broad categories that cut across the different data sources and that will constitute part of a more detailed analysis at the end of Chapter Six.

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[70] Stories by Aisha, Lubna and Melba are biographical accounts of individuals in their family and/or community. All the other photo-stories are autobiographical.

5.3   Social challenges

The theme 'social challenges' incorporates the main factors affecting the living conditions (social and psychological) of young people and their communities. The key set of challenges that came up under this theme concern relationships and social interactions in the community (with families, peers and individuals in general) and structural forms of poverty (access to education and lack of infrastructure). Table 6 outlines the coding frame on which the various themes were constructed.

Table 6: Photo-story Codes - Social Challenges

Organising themes	Themes	Codes	Explanation
Social challenges	Family breakdown	Parental separation Parental death	Young people move homes and are separated from their mothers after parents separate Young people loose parents and carers due to illness
	Mistreatment/ abuse	Trafficking Rape Child labour and exploitation Access to basic needs Participation in illegal activities Abandonment Forced marriage Sexuality	Young women are trafficked from villages to town on the pretence that they will be sent to school Young women are raped by their employers Young people are mistreated by stepmothers, who favour their own children Young people are abandoned and end up in streets Young people are denied basic needs – food, healthcare within the household Young people are used in illegal activities – buying alcohol for their parents Young women are not paid by their employers Young women are forced to get married at an early age
	Access to education	Fees Pass rate Drop-out Girls education Rural education Pregnancy/sexuality	Young people have limited opportunities to go to school because of school fees and associated costs Many young people cannot pass exams to enter secondary schools Young women have fewer opportunities to attend school because families prioritise male child and girls are kept at home to do domestic work. Young people drop-out of school due to pregnancy or peer pressure There are fewer education opportunities in rural areas
	Structural poverty	Water shortages Sanitation Electricity Food Housing	Young people live in poor housing conditions Young people live in the streets and go without food People in the community live in shacks with no running water, electricity or sanitation

5.3.1   Relationships and Social Interactions in the Community

It is through the self-portrait series that we discover the most personal facets of the participants' lives in this study. In this series, participants' testimonies reveal aspects of their family lives, in particular the importance of their relationships with their parents and their peers, which also represent the most important sources of conflict in their lives. The majority of the young women attending Kiwohede Trust had either lost one or both their parents to death, in most cases from illness. Some mentioned malaria and

one young woman mentioned AIDS, but usually the causes were unknown or not disclosed. The most significant loss in these young women's lives was that of their mothers. In addition to their mothers passing away, many young women had been taken away from their mothers, when their fathers re-married other women or in a few cases because they were born to unmarried women in which case other members of the family were caring for them. In patriarchal societies, where children belong to their father, young women either remain with their fathers or are sent to live with their paternal relatives and are raised by their stepmothers[71]. Many young women very seldom see their mothers after that. Breakdowns in family structures, and especially the separation of young women from their mothers, often marks the beginning of many problems for young women in the family:

> *"My mother is married to another man in Dodoma. She left me when I was very young. I was only five years old. I have only seen her four times". (Faida, 15)*

> *"One day a woman came to our house. I didn't recognize her until my dad told me it was my mother…" (Amal, 15)*

When young women are sent to live with stepmothers, they often become the victims of domestic abuse. Their testimonies reveal how, due to limited resources in the family, mothers are often over-burdened and prioritise their own children over their stepdaughters by withholding food and school fees and making them responsible for the bulk of household chores:

> *"When I was two years old my dad left my mum and married another woman. I lived with my stepmother. When I started school and reached standard three she started mistreating me. I fetched ten buckets of water everyday, washed clothes and sometimes I missed school because of the amount of housework. Her own children went to school and they never helped me…"(Amal, 15).*

> *"In 2003 my mother died of malaria… After the funeral we remained with our dad… Six months later, he married another woman. We thought she would help us to fill the gap that our mother left but instead she mistreated us and sometimes she didn't give us food" (Biubwa, 16).*

> *"I used to live with my mother but she passed away when I was in standard five. I had to go to my father's place but my stepmother didn't like me and she mistreated me. She beat me and didn't give me food. She also threatened to kill me… I asked my dad to give me money for the uniform and school materials but my stepmother told him we get them for free at Kiwohede. She just wants to keep his money for herself" (Asma, 16).*

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[71] Stepmother usually refers to the father's wife but in some cases refers to an aunt from the paternal relatives.

When young women complain to their fathers or male carers, it can result in additional retaliation by their stepmothers including physical abuse:

> *"…My uncle's wife didn't want me to stay with them. She didn't give me food and other things I needed. I told my uncle. He then asked her but she denied it and beat me so I couldn't tell him anymore" (Naima, 16)*

Family breakdowns can also lead to young women being trafficked from villages to towns on the pretence that they will be sent to school. When they arrive in Dar es Salaam, they often work as servants in people's homes for little or no pay. Their parents, who are sometimes deceived by relatives and members of the community, do not necessarily know this before letting their daughters go:

> *"A woman brought me to Dar es Salaam promising that she was going to take me to school…but really she wanted me to become her housemaid! I suffered a lot there. Her husband wanted me as his lover but I refused and so he started insulting me. He prevented me from eating the food in the house so I had to use my salary to buy food" (Linda, 18).*

> *"I started to work as a housemaid but my boss mistreated me. She refused even to give me my salary" (Rose, 15).*

> *"I decided to become a helper for a certain woman but she ended up not paying me so I decided to quit" (Asma, 16)*

These factors contribute to the vulnerability of young women who live in situations where they have very little recourse to support and often become the victims of rape and other forms of abuse. The violence associated with sexual encounters and the cultural beliefs around adolescent sexuality contributed to sexuality being a somewhat tacit category that cut across many of the photo-stories from both Tanzania and South Africa. Through testimonies of sexual abuse, prostitution, teenage pregnancies, and sexual health, young people revealed their anxieties and difficulties in dealing with their sexuality. Juma's story about Zena is one of the few positive accounts of a young woman's experience of pregnancy in which he described her as happy and cared for:

"I hate seeing young women who get pregnant being abandoned and left suffering"

Zena is resting at her brother in law's business thinking about what her life will be like now that she is pregnant. She is helping to sell fish. Although she is pregnant, she is happy.

Juma, 18

However, many young people spoke of sexuality as something to be avoided:

> *"This young woman used to like men whilst her older brother was studying hard. Overtime, she started sleeping with men and didn't return home. Girls, let's enjoy school and not fall in love with men" (Melba, 14).*

Sexual desire for young women was generally presented as something to be feared, hidden, or to be ashamed of because of the possible health and social consequences. The stories below show how young women themselves made links between sexuality and pregnancy, drugs, peer pressure, school drop-out, shame on the family, HIV/AIDS and forced marriage; and, at other times, female sexuality was seen as irresponsible through stories that highlighted how young women use sex and/or pregnancy as a source of income and as a way of mitigating their circumstances.

Lubna's story below about Asma illustrates how sexuality is often related to drug consumption and peer pressure, which led Asma to drop out of school:

If you are not taught by your parents, you will be taught by life

Lubna, 17

I am Asma. I was born in Mbeya in 1992, I am living in Dar es Salaam with my parents. Both of them are working. I used to go to secondary school like my brother. My parents were happy to see us studying hard. I liked studying but later on I got involved in troublesome activities with my friends from school. I started smoking weed. My parents knew about it and they warned me but I didn't listen to them because I was already suffering from the effects of smoking weed. Soon after, I fell pregnant by a guy from our group. I went back to my parents but they chased me away. I left but returned later to ask for forgiveness. They forgave me and I changed my ways. I am continuing with school and my baby is doing fine.

Eline's story raises the emotional consequences of forced marriage at a young age. Some parents want their daughters to marry early because they are concerned that they will get pregnant before marriage and bring shame upon the family, as well as the responsibility of additional children:

> *"In October last year, my aunt found a man to marry me. I was only 15 years old and the man was 45. I refused, and my mother refused…they tried to force me and so I got distressed…" (Eline, 16).*

Ntombifuthi makes a clear linkage between material poverty and sexual behaviour. She believes that young women in Kliptown get pregnant to improve their living conditions:

"...girls fall pregnant because they want the social grant to make a living. Teenage pregnancy is a result of poverty. We live in shacks but we are survivors!"

Ntombifuthi, 15

In the above stories and photographs, young people expressed their feelings about some of the most intimate and painful aspects of their lives. These stories illustrate the need for improving family and peer relationships and to overcome the mistreatment of young people, all of which indicate low levels of bonding social capital amongst families and communities.

Through the process of photo-story development, young people's relationships with community members were also 'tested' (Freire, 1974). In both Dar es Salaam and Soweto, participants experienced resistance (negative and defensive attitudes) from community members who did not wish to participate in the project. Their testimonies pointed to a lack of dignity, trust and cooperation in the community. Young people explained these as feelings of shame, jealousy and the suspicious attitudes of community members, which resulted in instances where photographers were subjected to violent threats. Furthermore, participation in the project was also used as an opportunity to solicit money and food from the photographers.

Shame and jealousy. Community members feared being represented in a negative way by photographers and often didn't want to expose their lives to others because of the shame associated with living in poor conditions. Participants also described the resistance to the project as the jealousy of community members who were confronted with young people wanting to do something positive in the community.

> **Ntombifuthi** lives in Kliptown and is in grade 10. She wants to study law in the future specifically the criminal justice system For Ntombifuthi, this project was her first experience of photography and using a camera. She learnt a lot about the challenges of interacting with community. She explained how in developing her story of 'life in a shack', it was difficult initially to find anyone who would allow her to take photos in their private space because they feared being exposed in a bad way. She also felt that people in the community did not want to see others doing well.

Mistrust and suspicion. Community members were also suspicious of photographers' intentions. Some individuals believed that photographers would sell the photos to make money out of their situation and use them for harmful purposes:

> *"I faced a lot of problems following my subject because some people thought I had bad intentions. Some…thought I was going to sell them or take them to a witch doctor because nowadays people are using mad people to get money from witchdoctors"* (Simon, 10).

> *"Some people have got negative minds, so they ask why should you photograph them and where are you taking the pictures?"* (Adam, 16)

> **Lerato** is 16 and in grade 10. It was her first time to use a camera. She had participated in a photography project before but the difference with this one was going out into the community and interacting with people. With her topic on business in Kliptown, many people were suspicious and threatening and wouldn't allow her to take photos.

Threats and opportunism. The following quotes demonstrate how individuals in the community often solicited payment or food in exchange for allowing photographers to take their pictures:

> *"When I went to coco beach, I met this person I wanted to take his picture then two people saw me and they asked me why I was taking pictures. I told them I wasn't and they said they won't allow me to leave until I pay them 500 shillings"* (Godfrey, 17)

> *"My subject was pregnant. I talked to her and she agreed but…at last she told me she was hungry so I should buy her food as a reward for taking her pictures"* (Juma, 18)

> *"I had very difficult subjects, they were mechanics so I had to beg them. At first, they refused unless I give them money…"* (Remy, 16)

Photographers also faced violent threats from community members who didn't want their photos taken. Omari, for example, who had received permission from Barack's mother to photograph him, was subsequently threatened with a stick by the father who

didn't know about the project. The reason for his reaction was not given but could relate to the feelings of shame and suspicion described above.

> **Siphiwe** wanted to do a story on security in Kliptown. However, she was quickly put off by the police who shouted at her for trying to take photos of them. She changed her topic to crèches. Siphiwe is now 15 and in grade 9. In the future, she would like to be an airhostess and travel around the world.

In addition to the photo-story findings, the above testimonies from participants' experiences in the process of photo-story development further described the low levels of bonding social capital in the community. Their explanations illustrate how limited material resources can affect people's self-esteem and dignity and lead to feelings of shame, jealousy, mistrust, anger, and the disbelief that young people could be up to 'something good'. Hence, the lack of material and symbolic resources in these communities prevented some individuals from participating in a social change effort. The following paragraphs provide more details on the key material concerns that young people raised in their photo-stories.

5.3.2   Structural Poverty: Education and Infrastructure

Another set of social challenges relate to material or structural forms of poverty. Access to education for young people was a common concern for all the Tanzanian participants who attended the youth centres. The majority expressed their wish to attend formal secondary education rather than vocational training. These young people were unable to go to school for a variety of reasons but mainly due to school fees and associated costs (uniform, transport, etc.). The quality of the education provided was also an area of concern, as many young people had not passed the exams to enter secondary school.

In addition to the lack of funds, young women described how they had fewer opportunities to attend school than young men because their parents would prioritise sending boy children to school. In families with limited resources, young women are kept home to help with domestic work. Furthermore, sending young women to school is seen as a loss of investment as they are expected to marry, after which they become the responsibility of the husband (and his family):

"I asked my dad to send me to secondary school …but he said girls don't need to go to school"(Asma, 16).

Participants also mentioned the lack of educational opportunities in rural areas meaning that many young people have to migrate to towns and cities to go to school:

"Our parents cannot afford to pay for our school fees. I did my standard seven exams but I failed… One day, my brother and my aunt came from Dar es Salaam to take me. They brought me to Dar es Salaam and promised to take me to secondary school… I am against sending children from the villages to town" (Khadija, 15).

In addition to the above concerns, young people are also affected by the lack of infrastructure in the communities they live in. These are characterized by water shortages, poor sanitation services, lack of electricity, poor housing and lack of nutrition. Access to food and water are key concerns that came up amongst both Tanzanian and South African participants. Several of the stories by young women at Kiwohede mention the lack of food, as does Athisipe's story about SKY. Andile and Ali expose the problem of water shortages in Soweto and Dar es Salaam. Ali also demonstrates how the lack of infrastructure can be a source of distress within the family:

"In Kliptown community, water is a problem because many people use the taps mainly every hour due to too many people living in a small area".

Andile, 17

Water Shortages

"I was beaten by my father because I lost seven buckets of water. I slept outside for two days because I was afraid that my father would continue beating me"

Ali, 18

Ntombifuthi's story below illustrates poor housing conditions in Kliptown including the lack of electricity:

Life in a Shack

"A shack is a form of shelter for many people. It is cold when the weather is cold and hot when it is hot. Without electricity we find a way of doing things, for example we use candles for light and coal for heat".

Ntombifuthi, 15

The above stories and testimonies demonstrate the close ties that exist between structural forms of poverty and harmful and stigmatizing practices that occur in communities where competition for limited resources is rife. The stories also reveal the significance of the relationships that young people have with their parents and/or carers and the difficulties associated with sexuality and gender differences for young women in particular and how these impact on the cultural, social, and psychological well-being of young people. As a result of the social challenges described in the above stories, young people and members of their communities develop a range of strategies to cope and mitigate their circumstances.

5.4   Coping Strategies

'Coping strategies' are defined as the activities that young people and members of their communities engage in to survive and improve their living conditions. These include a range of activities that demonstrate the resourcefulness and creativity of young people and community members but ones that can also lead to risky situations. Table 7 illustrates the coding frame on which the various themes were constructed.

Table 7: Photo-story Codes - Coping Strategies

Organising theme	Themes	Codes	Explanation
Coping strategies	Risky/harmful practices	Drugs Alcoholism Petty crime Violent crime Prostitution	Young people are involved in petty crime as a source of income to survive Young people are involved in illegal activities as a source of recognition Young women sex workers support each other with childcare responsibilities and to get off living in the streets
	Knowledge and resources	Professional skills Income Work ethics	Young people start their own businesses and learn professional skills They are successful because they work well together, and exchange ideas
	Hope and determination	Artistic talent Future plans Migration to cities Nature/environment	Young people involved in the arts want to be recognized for their talents Young people want to be nurses, doctors, lawyers, presidents, etc. The beach is a source of relaxation and good thoughts
	Family/community networks	Hand-outs Begging Skills and recognition Basic needs Safety	Young people seek handouts for school fees Young people live with extended family to support them Young people beg on the streets Young people frequent youth centres to stay off the streets Youth centres provide food before and after school Young people learn art and sports and perform to local and international audiences
	Religion	Hope Healing Africanism Humanity Love	Religious activities provide hope, healing to community members Religion is a source of pride and solidarity

5.4.1 Facing Limited Choices: Strategies and Tactics

In order to cope amidst trying conditions, young people are involved in a range of activities. Some of these activities put young people at risk. I define these as activities where young people use coping strategies that put themselves and others at risk of violence, abuse, ill health and punishment by the law. Although these activities can build skills and resources, the context in which they take place does not assist young people in building the symbolic resources that they need.

Young people sometimes engage in pick pocketing, theft, gambling and drug-related trading and consumption as ways to relieve the stress they are under, both emotional and financial:

Why do young people take drugs and alcohol?
They think they will relieve their stress.
They think they will be cool when they use this.
They think they will be clever.
They think they will be strong.
They think it's a good life style for them.

Mpho, 16

These activities can also constitute a source of recognition amongst peers and within the family and are sometimes ignored or even sanctioned by parents. Parents also expose their children to risky activities from a young age. Mussa reveals how, as a young child, his grandmother used to send him to buy illegal alcohol (Gongo), and did a story about a girl in a similar situation:

"When I was younger, my grandmother used to send me to buy Gongo."
Mussa, 16

Conversely, the stories illustrate the other side of risk, which is the resourcefulness of young people in supporting each other in acquiring skills and knowledge and in making a living for themselves to get off the streets. Aisha's story below reveals both the risks involved in sex work and the advantages of getting off the streets. It is an interesting

account of how young women cope, support each other and make choices in difficult circumstances. She describes how young women use sex in exchange for a place to live and at other times as a source of income:

'A Life Story'
Aisha, 16

After finishing school, Mwamini lost her parents. She decided to come to town to look for a better life. She reached town safely but once there, she had neither a relative nor a friend. She was just roaming in the streets and she met this young man called Fikiri. The young man deceived Mwamini into believing that he loved her and because she was in a difficult situation, she agreed to go with him. He took her to his place and after five months, Mwamini was pregnant. She told Fikiri but he refused to acknowledge that he was the father. Instead, he started beating her and mistreating her. He stopped giving her food and finally he chased her away. Mwamini didn't know where to go or what to do. Six months later, Mwamini gave birth. She roamed the streets begging and after sometime she made some friends. They advised her to stop begging and they promised to teach her sex work so that she could get money for her and her baby. Later on, she got sick with AIDS and died after seven months. She left behind her baby who was only four years old.

In the process of developing photo-stories, young people used a range of strategies to collect the photos they wanted. Confronted with a lack of trust about their intentions and resistance from the community, young people relied on their networks of friends and supporting adults to help them establish trusting relationships. In some circumstances, they responded to requests for food or parted with money. At other times, they misled people about the aims of the project or chose to hide in places so that they could take photographs without being seen.

Simon showed irony in his tactics. To construct his story about the mentally disabled man, he spent time with people who knew him in the streets. The quote below shows how he initially gained their trust by playing on their beliefs that help will come from Europe:

> *"I lied to them that I want to help him, that there is somebody who wants to see his pictures then he will take him to Germany for treatment and finally they agreed"* (Simon, 19).

Remy asked a mutual friend of the mechanic to help him do the story about street garages. He was thereafter able to explain the project to him and emphasized the fact that he wanted to show others the hard work that mechanics do. Because of the positive contact established, he subsequently had the freedom to take many high-quality photos, some of which were thereafter published and sold. Remy was also able to return to the same garage to take more photos for a subsequent project.

Thamsqana lives in Kliptown. He is 17 and in grade 11. This was his second time in a photography workshop but his first time to use digital cameras. He enjoyed the freedom in this project compared to the other one, where they had to ask permission every time they wanted to take photos. Thamsqana experienced difficulties with some members of the religious groups he was taking photos of and asked Bob and TK, the youth managers at SKY, to assist him in talking to them which enabled him to develop his photo-story.

The stories below about Makuruti dancers, street garages and business in Kliptown demonstrate the resourcefulness of individuals in the community to make a living for themselves:

Makuruti dancers live in Mbagala…They established their group in 1999.

Juma is a dancer who would like to go far.

Makuruti dancers…would like to be the best artists/dancers in the world. They like their job, enjoy their life and they are very thankful for getting this chance to represent themselves and they hope to be better artists in the future.

Peter, 18

"Encouraging young people to learn and to get professional skills and to earn an income; they will stop wandering on the streets without professional skills".

This is a mechanic. He works with his fellow mechanics who came together as a group and started a business. Their job is a bit dangerous as they are often at risk of accidents. They make good profit because they work well together. They don't fight during work and they get a lot of customers. They often rest and eat together while exchanging ideas.

Remy, 16

Almost everyone in my country or in Kliptown who is running a business is running a business to make a living out of that money… Because of the economic problems getting worse everyday, hundreds to thousands of people are loosing their jobs everyday. And most people are thinking the same ideas and their thoughts are to open spaza shops in their local communities. Everyday in Kliptown we see new people around the corners selling…

Lerato, 16

A closer look at the stories (Appendix 1) reveals that young people were also aware of the potential risks of these activities. Sex workers are often at risk of sexual violence, STIs and HIV/AIDS, and early pregnancy. In Aisha's case, a young woman died leaving behind a very young child. Street garages are unregistered businesses and therefore do not benefit from official support mechanisms in the case of accidents in the workplace or other concerns. Business in Kliptown is very competitive and street hawkers are operating illegally. However, overall, these activities demonstrate the resourcefulness of young people and individuals in their communities and instances of cooperation amongst peers in ways that enhance their living conditions. These are not new experiences and young people recount how young they sometimes were when they started engaging in activities to support themselves and their families:

> *"When I was four years old, my sisters and I started selling doughnuts in the street and used the money we made for buying food and going to school" (Eline, 16).*

Young people also choose to frequent youth centres as a source of support. In many cases, youth centres act as a safety net for those living on the street and provide basic needs, such as food and shelter. They also run activities to develop creativity, self-confidence, and peer relations:

'Soweto Kliptown Youth'

At SKY we are doing so many activities like dancing, singing, acting, sports...During the school holidays, we have camp at SKY... At SKY, we have feed the children for kids that are attending school early in the morning before they go to school at 7am. Then after school, they feed the children by 3pm. At SKY, we are safe because in the streets they are abusing children.

Gabaza, 12

Hence, through their stories, young people demonstrated the range of strategies they use for living and acknowledged both the positive and negative sides of these activities. In doing so, they also challenged many of the negative images that are held against them, their communities and their environments. Young people generally see themselves as social actors who are capable and knowledgeable:

> *"The truth is, most street children are very capable, the important thing is to give them a chance in life" (Adam, 16).*

5.4.2 Hope, Pride and Determination

A parallel discourse to the strategies and tactics for living that young people describe, is the hope, pride and determination that they have. Their stories illustrate that they want to be nurses, doctors, lawyers and presidents. Those who are involved in the arts want to become famous and recognised for their talents. They also want to help others and take responsibility and pride in contributing to their survival and to that of their families, which can be seen through some of the goals young people articulated for their photo-stories:

> *"It reminds me of my life on the street. I want to help those who remain by revealing their conditions" (Adam, 16).*

> *"I am a dancer just like them…I want to make them known so they also get chances" (Peter, 18).*

> *"I took these pictures to ask families with children not to abandon them" (Omari, 17).*

Their stories also demonstrate the courage that they have to flee abusive family contexts and confront the streets. Only in a few cases did young people express disillusionment:

> *"I had a dream of becoming a nurse but I have to change my dreams because I can't do that without going to school" (Eline, 16).*

For the most part, these young people have energy and drive for living; they remain optimistic about their future despite their situation. Notwithstanding the conflict that exists within their families and communities, these relationships represent a source of support and often they are the only source of support that is available. In cases where parents are unable to raise their children, the stories reveal how young people are brought up by family members and/or get support from their families for specific effects such as school fees.

Religion is also an important source of pride and solidarity in the community and provides hope and healing to community members. The stories on religion demonstrate the respect that young people have for the different types of religion existing in their communities:

We have different kinds of religions in Kliptown.

Christians believe in God and they know that God is the provider and the creator of heaven and earth. They believe in God as their saviour.

Living humans believe in ancestors. They believe that ancestors are angels that guide then in whatever they are doing and others pray to them and the ancestors will pass their prayers to God and their ways will be opened so that they have many opportunities in life.

The majority of people living in Kliptown believe in traditional healers. People who not only can connect with the ancestors but also can tell you where you come from, meaning your past or background and they believe that they are chosen and there is no one chosen other than them.

Thamsqana, 16

Young people also appreciate and make use of the environment in which they live. The adjacent photo-story by Godfrey illustrates the importance of the beach as a source of relaxation and good thoughts. This photo-story exemplifies most poignantly how young people capture beauty in the most trying of circumstances.

"If you go to the beach, you get good thoughts"

Godfrey, 17

In addition to representing their lived realities, the Shooting Horizons project provided young people with the opportunity to express what they believed to be the social changes necessary to improve their situation. The following paragraphs illustrate the change strategies that young people articulated in their photo-stories.

5.5 Change strategies

'Change strategies' are defined as the demands that young people make on different sectors of society to improve their living conditions. These relate to both the provision of material and symbolic resources and focus on improving relations in the community, the provision of services by the government, and the role of creative methods to promote social change efforts.

Table 8: Photo-story Codes - Change Strategies

Organising theme	Themes	Codes	Explanation
Change strategies	Role of government	Services Financial and strategic Support	Governments should provide education in rural areas Government should provide social, financial and strategic support at all levels Government should raise taxes from local business to help the community Government should provide sanitation and adequate water services
	Family/community	Care and support Parental responsibility Adult education Youth centres Education	Communities should provide care and support to those who are marginalized Parents should plan their pregnancies so that they can care for their children Parents should send their children to school Parents should be educated not to mistreat their children Extended family should help send children to school People should stop selling drugs and alcohol to young people
	Law	Punishment Children's rights Protection Education	Legal steps against those who mistreat children Children should have rights to property after death of father Children should be protected against excessive labour Children have a right to education

5.5.1 Changing Social Conditions and Community Relations

In their stories, young people view the government as the key provider of services and make very specific demands relating to a range of issues arising from their photo-stories. They ask that governments facilitate access to education by providing schools in rural areas and assist children who are transferring from one school to another:

> *"…education should be provided in villages as well as towns" (Khadija, 15).*

> *"the government should simplify the procedures for getting a transfer when students move from one region to another" (Esta, 12).*

Furthermore, that the government should raise taxes from local businesses to help the community:

> *"[Businesses] will also pay rent in the form of a tax so that they can contribute in governing and sustaining the country and the economy" (Lerato, 16).*

And provide adequate sanitation and water provision:

> *"The Kliptown community should have got their sanitation fixed a long time ago but the government refuses to do its pledge to satisfy the needs of people under the ANC government that states 'UBUNTU NGU MUNTU NGABANTU'[72]. The Kliptown community can be very happy if water affairs can fix all the taps and people can get fresh water and carry on with their lives" (Andile, 17).*

The two photo-stories below illustrate requests for the government to improve the public transport system and the support structures for orphans and children living in the streets:

Transport in Kliptown

…"Talking of bad things that we face, we lack social, financial, and strategic support from our local municipality, provincial government and also our national government. The above mentioned teams were supposed to be working hand in hand with us but to my surprise they are not doing that. Our national government is sometimes making life difficult for them and us too by not meeting our needs halfway. This is sometimes a result of unnecessary strikes of which costs some people their lives".
Thabang, 18

Challenges of Life in the Streets

"The photos show a street child in Ubungo and it's surroundings, buses and people doing business…Many street children live a very tough life because they have nobody to help them. It's everybody's responsibility to help children so I am asking the government to increase the number of orphanages".
Adam, 16

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[72] "To be human is to affirm one's humanity by recognising the humanity of others" (approximate translation)

In their stories, young people also make demands on their families and communities. In many of the stories from Kiwohede, young people demand that communities assist children with school fees; Mpho's story states that adults should refrain from selling drugs and alcohol to young people (see Appendix 1); and others claim that communities should give care and respect to those who are marginalised, like the mentally disabled:

People with mental illness: The forgotten people

People with mental illness suffer a lot and they have nobody to take care of them. I am asking society to take care of them and give them a descent place to live in order to protect them from various hazards like eating in the dumps. They suffer a lot and some are dying from unknown causes. I met this man at Bunju market. He doesn't have a place to stay. He roams in the streets. Some people beat him and chase him away. He used to be a fisherman. One day his boat got lost because of strong winds. He was with other fishermen but he was the only one who survived. He was rescued after one month at sea and was taken back home. He stopped fishing and because he stayed at home idle for a long time, he got into drugs. This is the cause of his madness. His family rejected him and he is now living in the streets with no help.

Simon, 19

Young people also give adults practical advice on changes they could make that would benefit them. These relate to the attitudes and practices of parents and community members. They write that parents should plan their pregnancies so that they can take better care of their children:

> *"Parents should be responsible and care for their children…also, they should plan their pregnancies so that they can take care of the children they have" (Faida, 15).*

They write that parents also need to be educated so that they stop mistreating children and that they should send their children to school. For young people, going to school and frequenting youth centres also represents a preventative measure to many of the problems that they might face:

> *"I would like to go to secondary school but my parents cannot afford it that is why I go to Kiwohede… In my opinion, they are helping us a lot here, otherwise we would be selling our bodies to men and getting HIV and other infections" (Cynthia, 17).*

> *"At SKY we are doing so many activities…we are safe because in the streets they are abusing children" (Gabaza, 12).*

Furthermore, the Kliptown community runs a crèche for very young children which needs the support of the community:

Here in Kliptown we have three crèches and these are very poor so they need more support... Some other children are not very able, some are able but they treat all children the same. Some children have clothes and some others do not have proper clothes. So Kliptown, stand up and support poor Crèches and I wish God can give them more and more power to make a better life for the children. Your children learn a lot at Crèche, so parents, lets support children.

Siphiwe, 14

Finally, young people also make reference to the law and are aware of the rights that they should have, such as education and protection against excessive labour. They also state that the law should intervene against those who mistreat children:

"We children should fight for our education and all our rights. We should preserve our culture and fight against child labour" (Eda, 13).

"It's not good to mistreat children even if she is not your child, legal steps should be taken against those who are mistreating children" (Pendo, 15).

Young people's stories thus demonstrate the knowledge they have about how to improve their lives and provide us with insights into community relations and conditions from their own perspectives. The role of their parents and/or carers is once again pivotal to the strategies they articulate for social change. In addition to these, young people show an awareness of the broader institutions of society and how these institutions could do more to provide them with the necessary support, thereby alluding to insufficient levels of bridging social capital. Hence, in describing their lives and their communities, young people put forth strategies and ideas to change their circumstances. Therefore, to complement the thematic analysis above, I conclude the presentation of the photo-story data with a discussion on the process of photo-story development and how it involved young people in the process of social change. The following section thus presents young people's experiences of enacting social change through the activities of the Shooting Horizons project.

5.5.2   Enacting Social Change in the Community

The experience of photo-story story development led to positive results at individual and social levels. Participants alluded to increases in self-esteem from the recognition of their talent and creativity by members of the community and acknowledged the benefits derived from the practical and communication skills that they acquired. The experiences described below demonstrate how the activities of the project increased levels of bridging and bonding social capital in the community and led to young people to developing a social conscience and to realising their role as agents of social change.

Through the activities of the Shooting Horizons initiative, young people had the opportunity to establish contacts and build relationships with their peers, community members and members of the public in general. Their photo-stories were showcased in exhibitions for the general public during which they established links with other photographers, artists, members of NGOs, government and other professional associations who attended the exhibitions. In addition to the exhibitions, some of their works were published in magazines and newspapers (see Appendix 8). Participants also invited their friends and families and advertised the exhibitions widely in the community. Through this process, they strengthened their skills in communicating the project to others and gained recognition for their actions, thereby increasing their self-confidence and realising their role in making changes in the community.

> **Remy** is very talented and wants to become an established artist in Dar es Salaam. His photos were selected for publication in Fema magazine and he sold two of them during the Dogodogo exhibition. He was also selected in the first round of the famous Pictet international photography exhibition. These events boosted his confidence and he said: *"I never thought one day other people would be looking at my photographs"*.

Participants also said that they gained self-esteem through the project because they felt *challenged* in comparison to their experiences with other projects that they had been involved in. They experienced situations in which they had to use their knowledge and capabilities and thereby realised their own potential in the process.

Gabaza is 13 and in grade 7. She is a talented singer and enjoyed taking part in the project. She says she attends SKY to stay out of trouble. In the future, she would like the opportunity to take more photos.

The process also motivated young people to participate in social activities by tapping into their creativity. Through the activities of the project, young people developed an understanding of the role of creative methods for critical action. Many expressed the desire to further develop their artistic talents and to become famous.

Since the end of the project, **Peter** has participated in other activities: film-making, animation, and yoga classes. He sees the future in a positive light because he is an artist and has gained skills that he can use to teach others. In addition to starting Form 1, he has put together a band and practices regularly, attends dance trainings and was selected for Visa 2 Dance, an international contemporary dance festival in Dar es Salaam. He also teaches music and dance. Peter was recently wrongfully arrested and beaten by the police, which is a common occurrence for young people in Dar. He has since contacted a local civics group and his local MP to denounce police activities and is organising other young people to challenge police brutality.

For the majority of young people in this project, the Shooting Horizons activities represented their first time to use a camera and to develop skills in photography and computer technology. Hence, young people gained an awareness of a new profession and started thinking about the possibilities for their future. During two exhibitions (Dogodogo and SKY), young people had the opportunity to sell their photographs, whereby they gained additional recognition and saw the role of social action as a potential source of income. Participants also received certificates from the training (Appendix 6). The certificate helped Juma to find a job as an art teacher in a primary school and represented a source of pride for participants amongst their families and peers, and a source of confidence to help them secure jobs in the future.

The Shooting Horizons certificate assisted **Juma** in getting a job teaching art in a school in the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. He intends to start a photography project with his class once he collects enough cameras. Juma believes that artistic methods are effective in delivering messages in the community and in acquiring skills for self-employment for young people who cannot find jobs or go to school.

The only downside expressed by participants was the lack of access to computers and digital cameras beyond the scope of this project, thereby preventing them from developing further skills. Nevertheless, for most participants, the project triggered the desire to learn more skills and participate in other creative projects in general.

> **Adam** has participated in other projects such as the peacemaking workshop given by a local NGO in Dar es Salaam. However, for him the Shooting Horizons project was different because it was challenging and he learnt things that one cannot learn in the classroom. He has found a sponsor to help him through secondary school and came 5th amongst 120 students in his Form 1 exams. In the future, he would like to be an artist and fight against greed and oppression.

Learning about photography also exposed participants to new ways of communicating and understanding through images and raised the role that images have in representational projects:

> *"Before, I used to look at photos in the newspaper but I could not tell what it was about or how it was taken, but now, I even know how to read and understand the photos that don't have any explanation and I can tell what happened there. I have learnt and understood a lot of things" (Simon, 19).*

As a result, many young people developed a keenness in using photography to educate the society. This is obvious through the number of story ideas that young people came up with and wish to develop in the future:

> *"I will take pictures of those children who are humiliated and oppressed, like orphans, and then I will write a book"* (unknown).

> *"I will write a story about street children who are in centres...in order to help them and to make sure the money which should be used for children should be used properly"* (Juma, 18).

> *"...in the villages there are girls who are married while they are still in school and they are married to men old enough to be their fathers"* (Simon, 19)*.*

> *"If I get a camera, I will go for the street children, they way they hide under cars and run away from their home. That's how most of us came and you can jump under more than one car until you reach where you want to go"* (Adam, 16).

> **Tandani** has a keen interest in photography. This was his second photography project and he is even more interested now in pursuing a career in photography. He wants to show others how people in Kliptown live and the historical significance of Kliptown in the struggle for independence in South Africa. Kliptown is the oldest township in Soweto and home to the freedom charter, yet the community still has no school or clinic, running water or electricity to cater for its residents.

These testimonies and anecdotes demonstrate participants' understandings and enthusiasm to contribute to the process of social change. They showed their knowledge of the different groups in society that can contribute to material and symbolic change, the need to enhance self-esteem and communication in the community and to access spaces where they can gain recognition for their own role in this process of social change.

The discussion below brings together the three main themes presented in this chapter: social challenges, coping strategies, and change strategies. In analysing the above findings, I expose the differences between the social conditions in Tanzania and South Africa; I locate the stigmatisation of young people and their communities through contradictory discourses of blame and self-determination; and, the role of social environments, community relations, and methods for social change.

5.6.   Discussion

5.6.1   Differences between South Africa and Tanzania

The photo-stories developed by participants reveal that young people have three main concerns: to be safe (from mistreatment, abuse and risky activities), to improve their material conditions and to go to school. In conveying these concerns, young people refer to different types of poverty that affect them and different strategies for coping and for social change that can be defined as strategies to address bonding and bridging social capital. It is worth noting at the beginning of this discussion that it is in the photo-stories more than in any other data collected that the differences between Tanzania and South Africa are most obvious. Although going to school was a main concern for the majority of young people, this was not raised in the photo-stories developed by the South African participants who were all in school. In describing their communities, the content of the photo-stories by South African participants was equally divided between the material needs and psychosocial needs of the community. In Tanzania, the stories were overwhelmingly about the psychosocial needs and conditions of young people and their communities. This is surprising given that South Africa, as a country, is far wealthier than Tanzania. Per capita income for South Africa

was more than ten times higher than for Tanzania in 2008[73]. However, material inequalities between different groups in society are more pronounced in South Africa. Inequality ratios[74] for South Africa were almost four times higher than for Tanzania in 2008. These inequalities are particularly visible for people living in urban areas and thus in proximity to high levels of wealth. Hence, for young Sowetans, who see so much wealth on their doorstep, having access to material wealth and infrastructure is arguably a more pressing concern. By contrast, for many Tanzanians, the experience of urban life is a more recent phenomenon as many young people in this study had grown up in impoverished rural areas and thus perceived the material aspects of urban settings as superior to those in their villages. In these circumstances, it makes sense that the emotional impact of migration, such as disrupted families, was more pronounced in the testimonies of Tanzanian participants and therefore explains the relative importance accorded to the psychosocial aspects of community life.

5.6.2   Two Parallel Discourses: Dependency and Self-Reliance

Overall, the data from both countries reveals that young people overwhelmingly talk of two distinct sets of social problems. The first is associated with urbanisation, such as breakdown in family structures, drugs, violence, discrimination, and sexual oppression – that are located in the psychological and socio-cultural realms; and secondly, the lack of income and infrastructure – that have to do with material poverty, including adequate water supplies, sanitation, and transport, access to employment/profitable business, and religious freedom. In sharing their lived realities, young people reveal the need to be cared for, respected and recognised for their talents and resourcefulness and the extent to which they are dependent on their families, their communities and the government to provide them with support and services.

Concomitantly, young people show their potential to survive and mitigate their circumstances. They engage in self-employment and income-generating activities; they participate in creative community activities; they demonstrate changing attitudes towards street children and teenage pregnancy; they advocate care and support and social services for particular groups like the disabled; they respect religious plurality

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[73] Per capita income in 2008 for South Africa was 5,685 USD and for Tanzania, 520 USD. Source: World Economic Outlook Database, IMF:
http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2009/02/weodata/index.aspx
[74] Inequality ratios indicate the gap between the wealthiest and poorest groups in society. In 2008, the ratio between the richest 10% and poorest 10% was 33.1 in South Africa and 9.2 in Tanzania. Source: Human Development Report 2008, UNDP.

and the environment; they advocate for the improvement of conditions in rural areas to mitigate urban migration; and they establish relationships through peer networks and with caring adults. These strategies for coping and change that they propose and enact come from their faith and determination in the future and their knowledge of what is required to survive and make changes. Unlike the former discourse, the latter exposes the extent to which young people are resourceful and self-reliant and are able to interact socially in ways that are beneficial to them and to establish positive relationships with peers, family and community-based institutions.

However, the juxtaposition of these discourses brings to the fore many contradictions. The individuals and groups that assist young people also represent the source of many of the problems that they face. As a result, their voices are caught between their aspirations to participate in a society that discriminates and excludes them, and the blame they attribute to themselves, their carers, community-members and governments for their situation. This brings forth the stigmatisation of young people and the low levels of bonding and bridging social capital in community contexts with limited access to material resources. The central element of this section of the analysis is thus to expose the co-existence of these discourses and how young people can sometimes contribute to their own oppressive circumstances.

5.6.3   Blaming Self and Others

In describing their circumstances, young people blame parents and adults in the community for many of their problems. Parents and extended family are blamed for participating in risky activities and/or sanctioning young people who do. What is most striking is how young women denounce oppressive family structures in urban and low resource settings. In such circumstances, women bear the brunt of caring and managing limited household resources and young women are expected to perform the bulk of household chores. This creates pressurising relationships between them, which can turn sour and result in 'vicious reprisals' (Campbell, 2003). It also evokes a victim-blaming language of projection where women and young women blame each other for the problems arising in the family. Young women become the scapegoats in trying family conditions alluding to a gendered distribution of guilt, as mothers compensate for their own experiences of oppression by taking out their frustrations on their stepdaughters. Such practices uphold stigmatizing representations of women as irresponsible and young women as vulnerable, resulting in a loss of dignity that

undermines their possibilities in finding points of solidarity. Men are seldom blamed or referred to as complicit in these situations, thereby not taking into account the impact of a patriarchal system within socially oppressive contexts. The absence of this discourse in participants' stories indicates the lack of parenting responsibilities attributed to fathers. Therefore, the differential treatment of mothers can serve to maintain blame and mistrust, as it is not understood in relation to the father's role in the family, which appears as normal.

Gender biases are also linked to sexuality and decision-making processes in the family. Parents are blamed for having more children than they can cope with. Young women are blamed for engaging in sexual activities rather than going to school or to work. Forced marriage and trafficking also reveal the absence of decision-making power that young women have within the family and the choices on who gets an education are largely based on the perceived returns that could benefit the family rather than the needs and demands of children and young people. As a result, many young women do not go to school because of a perceived loss of investment.

5.6.4   Community Networks and Social Provision: Differences and Similarities

Although the above findings and discourses of blame and victimisation were apparent in both countries, these were much more pronounced amongst the Tanzanian participants. An explanation for this could be the differences between the community environments. Given that the majority of the Tanzanian participants had migrated from their villages in their own lifetime, they often ended up in the streets of Dar es Salaam without friends or family or with stepmothers or extended family. By contrast, in South Africa, the families of the participants had been established in Soweto for several generations. Therefore, the networks and social relationships available to the young Tanzanians were far more fragile than for the South African participants. A second reason would be the differences in levels of social services and social security between Tanzania and South Africa. This is most evident through levels of school attendance and childcare grants provided by the South African government. In Tanzania, the government does not provide social services to young mothers in the form of grants and individuals are required to pay school fees to attend secondary school. Thirdly, the discourse of blame and victimisation is far more explicit in Tanzanian youth policy documents than in South African documents which is also indicative of people's perceptions at community-level.

Nevertheless, Tanzanian and South African participants also shared many commonalities. Young people made similar demands on their governments in terms of service delivery (for water shortages) and on their communities in terms of care and support. The gendered language of blame was also similar in both countries albeit apportioned in different ways: in South Africa, young women were blamed for taking advantage of limited government resources by getting pregnant and accessing the grants; in Tanzania, young women were blamed for irresponsible sexual behaviour and bringing shame onto the family.

5.6.5   Dialogical Spaces in the Community

5.6.5.1 Engaging with the Community
During the production of photo-stories, participants from Tanzania and South Africa had similar experiences in the community and used a range of strategies and tactics to deal with community reactions. Some opted to hide themselves to take photos or made up stories in situations where they faced mistrust and violent threats. Others sought assistance from supportive adults to gain the confidence of others and to legitimate their actions.

The stories that were developed within enabling contexts demonstrated superior results in terms of countering stigmatizing knowledge and enabling positive and alternative conceptualisations. There are five examples that stand out from the Dogodogo centre participants: Remy's story contradicts stigmatizing images of individuals in African communities by valuing the knowledge, resources and hard work of the mechanics in a street garage of Dar es Salaam. Adam and Peter follow suit by exposing the resourcefulness of street children and the talent and commitment of young dancers. Juma's story destabilises the stigma attributed to teenage sexuality by describing one young woman's experience of pregnancy in a positive light. Finally, Simon invites us to consider the plight of the mentally disabled reminding us of the humanness of individuals and exposing the plurality of struggles existing in communities. All of these photo-stories thereby display 'alternative behavioural norms' and 'challenge social conditions that promote high-risk behaviours' (Campbell et al, 2005, p.474).

The stories that were met with violence or those that involved danger were associated with feelings of anger, as young people either felt rejection from the community or fear and resentment towards the subjects they chose and who engaged in harmful practices. As a result, the photographers replicated stigmatizing knowledge of the subjects of their photo-stories or were silenced by the process and took on other projects. For example, Omari depicts the irresponsibility of parents who abandon their children; for Mussa, it is the irresponsibility of parents who make their children complicit in harmful practices; Mpho portrays gamblers and substance abusers in a negative light; and Siphiwe abandons her topic and chooses one that is less threatening (see Appendix 1). Despite the informative aspects of these stories, they do not enhance communicative practices with community members and, on the contrary, serve to further stigmatise them. These experiences demonstrate how stigmatizing representations reproduce stigmatizing practices and lead young people to adopt strategies of distanciation (by blaming problems on others) or fatalistic behaviours (through silence). I argue therefore, that those who sought insightful tactics, such as support from caring adults, friends and peers, to establish dialogue with the community, and who chose stories that represented their communities in a positive light showed higher levels of understanding of the goals of the project and experienced more positive outcomes from the process and in the long-run. Amongst those who graduated from the Dogodogo centre, Simon and Juma are currently employed and Peter, Remy and Adam were able to find sponsorship to start secondary school. Simon and Peter are also actively involved in community activities. The other youngsters are either staying with family and friends or are back on the streets.

5.6.5.2 The Role of Visual Methods
The use of cameras and the production of photo-stories was a key motivator for getting young people to participate and represent their lives and their communities. However, photography, as a representational tool, also had ambiguous impacts for fostering dialogue in the community. The extent of the resistance expressed by individuals in the community from being photographed raised questions as to the viability of photography as a tool for empowerment and social change. In some cases, resistance may have been justified, as participants' representational projects may have worsened feelings of shame amongst individuals in the community by exposing often private and sensitive issues to a broad audience.

A photograph cannot speak for itself, and is viewed and interpreted in various ways depending on what the photographer wants to show and the knowledge of the viewer (Barthes, 1977). Despite the good intentions of the young photographers, they sometimes inadvertently contributed to their own stigmatisation or to the stigmatisation of their communities. For example, the photo-story by Omari can be construed as the depiction of a child as helpless; yet, in one photograph he is performing

"I ask society and the government to educate parents and that parents should take their children to school, like the child in the picture".

Amal, 15

chores (see Appendix 1). Such ambiguous images serve to underestimate the role that children play in contributing to the household. Mussa and Esta also chose to portray children in dire circumstances (see Appendix 1). Using children in photographs has also been criticised as displaying the 'infantilisation of the Third World' (Dogra, 2006) and perpetuating racialized ideas about the need to help Africans. Amal's story (adjacent) was a poignant example of the ambiguity of representation. She originally wanted to show the photograph of a child in school uniform as not having educational opportunities, demonstrating a noticeable contradiction and replicating how photography on Africans is an example of a continuous 'iconography of anonymous victimhood' (Campbell, D. 2003). Following discussions with her, she decided to represent the child in a more positive light and as a school-going pupil.

Nevertheless, the additional time for discussion with the young women at Kiwohede led to important results in the use of visual methods. They developed a keen understanding of the power of photography and the combination of different methods to address problems in the community. Dialogue, critical thought, photography and art featured prominently in participants understandings of methodologies for critical awareness and social change (Appendix 3). They also raised the role of photography for informing, representing, remembering, and as a profession:
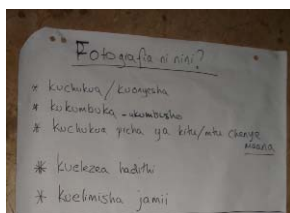
Photo 12: Kiwohede Flipchart 25

What is photography?
To capture and represent
To remember
To take pictures of things/people
with meanings
To tell stories
To teach people

What is photography?
To capture images of things
For keeping memories
Advertising
Information
To explain
Professional skill
Work
Art
To represent oneself

Kiwohede Flipchart 18

The insights above contributed to their understandings of photography as a 'rich language' for stimulating social change (Humphreys and Brezillon, 2002). A closer look at the self-portrait series also demonstrates how young women oppose stigmatizing representations through the photographs themselves. Young women, whose stories were riddled with a language of victimisation, nevertheless constructed alternative images of themselves:

Eda

Asma

Biubwa

Fahari

Khadija

These photographs depict images of powerful young women, perhaps somewhat indignant, but proud and in control, unlike the written narratives. Through visual representation, they were able to show a different side of their identity. It is their usage of the cameras that gave them agency and visibility, in particular those photographs that were taken outside of their usual contexts (during fieldtrips), where they had more freedom to express themselves. The contradictions with the written texts thus demonstrate the potential of photography as a catalyst for social change as young people represent themselves in different ways through different methods, thereby exposing the multiple dimensions of identification (Bleiker and Kay, 2007). As Phoenix (2009, p.103) has argued, *"black women do not simply take on the identities society positions them to occupy, but over time use their collective histories within oppressive social orders to counteract the racism and sexism they experience"*. These photographs demonstrate that the young women at Kiwohede have already started to collectively show resistance. For them, it was more important to be in front of the camera than behind it revealing their desire to be not only heard but also seen. As part of a social change exercise, photographic methods can thus minimize the oppressive effects of representation (Bleiker and Kay, 2007). The young women in this case sent a powerful

message of resistance through the method they felt most comfortable with and demonstrated how photography can help challenge some of the deeply entrenched taboos and stigmas (ibid).

The data presented in this chapter and the analysis thereof demonstrated the skills, resources, will and creativity of young people in adopting strategies for living and the significant role that they can play as agents of social change in the community. The data also presented the amount of blame that young people apportion to themselves, their peers and their carers in presenting their lived realities. In doing so, they fall into the trap of perpetuating the stigma that exists against them and also exonerating the broader power processes in society that contribute to their situation. Hence, exploring the origins of these discourses is deemed necessary to uncover the underlying beliefs that contribute to their understandings and how they are linked to the structures of economic, gender, and sexual oppression described above. In order to tackle this issue, the next chapter will analyse the explanatory themes that present how they perceive the causes of the realities they face and that characterize the beginning of the process of consciousness, where participants were asked to engage critically with development and social change.

Chapter Six - Summary

Interpreting Reality and Enacting Social Change

Chapter Six investigates the explanations that young people give for their lived realities through an analysis of explanatory themes located in a discourse of development and their levels of consciousness. The testimonies of young people reveal the centrality of difference in constructing the material, socio-political and symbolic contexts in which they base their understandings of the social challenges that they face. The findings provide insights into the socio-cognitive processes that young people use to process information and that perpetuate stigmatizing perspectives. The occurrence of naïve and fanaticised levels of consciousness on the one hand reveal the level of fatalistic attitudes and behaviours and the difficulties in challenging entrenched beliefs. On the other hand, the critical awareness that young people present in analysing their situation exposes their potential in changing their situation. The findings elaborate on how conflicting ideological discourses emerge in identification processes that facilitate internalization and victimization thereby leading to self-negating behaviours and on the factors that contribute to the development of positive social identities and social recognition.

Chapter Six – Interpreting Reality and Enacting Social Change

Photo 13: SKY training

The first function of adult education is to inspire both a desire for change, and an understanding that change is possible. For a belief that poverty or suffering is the 'will of God' and that man's only task is to endure, is the most fundamental of all the enemies of freedom (Nyerere, 1978, p.29).

…I would like to remind the black ministry, and indeed all black people, that God is not in the habit of coming down from heaven to solve people's problems on earth (Biko, 1978, p.74).

6.1 In Search of Explanations

The above citations by Biko and Nyerere illustrate the need for interventions in African communities that would enable individuals to acquire the awareness and the tools to explain and react against poverty and suffering. The previous chapter exposed the ambivalence in participants' discourses through an oppositional rhetoric of self-reliance and dependency. Young people demonstrated their knowledge and capabilities for living, yet the stigmatisation of young people translated into a discourse of blame and victimisation. Hence, young people simultaneously colluded with and resisted this discourse as they tried to make sense of their lived realities.

6.1.1 Outline

This chapter attempts to elucidate these contradictions and ambiguities through explanatory themes that expose the links between participants' lived realities, the broader social context, and their internalised beliefs. I firstly present a thematic analysis of the focus groups on development and, secondly, an analysis of the levels of consciousness of the participants based on the focus group and discussion group data and the focus group and individual interviews collected six and twelve months after the workshops.

The thematic analysis locates participants' explanations of their lived realities in the development discourse as a way of linking their daily lives to a broader social context. The focus groups on development were prompted by the question: "If you had the choice to live anywhere in the world, where would it be?" Based on the answers provided, the discussions progressed into discovering participants' understandings of the conditions in which they lived, the positive and negative values that they used to characterize their social contexts in relation to what they perceived to be better or worse conditions elsewhere. These related to both material and symbolic factors, such as access to infrastructure, income and education and elements relating to identity and belonging. The discussions also touched upon the factors that participants believed were necessary to improve their conditions and those that constrained the process of social change. Hence, the explanatory values to the lived realities of young people cut across three levels of analysis – material contexts, socio-political contexts and symbolic contexts. These focused mainly on explanations to the 'social challenges' and 'coping strategies' expressed in the photo-stories and that were discussed as indicating low levels of bonding and bridging social capital in the community.

The analysis of consciousness follows Freire's theory of 'conscientisation' and interprets the dialogue between young people and the facilitator, and between young people and the community (Freire, 1974). The analysis cuts across four levels of consciousness: semi-intransitive, naïve, fanaticised, and critical consciousness and explains the resistance and alternatives that young people propose or, in other words, the thinking behind the 'coping strategies' and 'change strategies' outlined in Chapter Five (or the absence of strategies). Throughout the analysis, I point out the contradictions and surprise factors that arise from the different sources of data and that reveal the more hidden aspects of consciousness.

6.2.   Development through the Eyes of Young People

6.2.1   Material Contexts

This section focuses on the material factors that affect the lived realities of young people and their communities. These relate primarily to structural forms of poverty, such as difference in economic wealth or income and access to education and employment.

Economic differences and income inequalities. In locating themselves in the world, participants spoke of differences in levels of development through a discourse focusing on differences and inequalities between the rich and the poor within a locality, a country or between countries:

> *"Tanzania is poor but there are differences, some people are poor and some are rich"*
> *(Esta, 12)*

> *"There is a lot of poverty in the villages but many people in the towns are wealthy" (Esta,12)*

> *"[South Africa] is a developed country in some places" (Tandani, 16)*

> *"Tanzania is developed but not like other countries in Europe" (Biubwa, 16)*

> *"[South Africa] is a developed country in Africa but in the whole world it's still developing" (Lerato, 16)*

Participants also associated development with the overall state of the economy, income levels and specifically with industry, infrastructure and education:

> *"A country with poor economy is not developed" (Naima, 16).*

> *"I think developing people are those who are wealthy, yes, wealthy people" (Lerato, 16).*

> *"I think that development is making something better, developing countries like... they are developing houses here so there is like a developed place and a less developed place in one area" (Tandani, 16).*

> *"A developed country is one with industries, good roads...and the people there are educated" (Biubwa, 16).*

Tanzanian participants further defined a developed industry as one associated mostly with farming and in South Africa, participants referred to foreign and multinational companies coming to invest and build the economy as a sign of development:

> *"A developed country is the one with enough money and enough, let's say farming like large scale" (Naima, 16).*

> *"I think many of those companies that are here in South Africa, they make the country to grow financially and the more foreign companies come here in South Africa, the more our country will become developed" (Lerato, 16).*

Differences in education. In answering the question from the focus groups about where in the world they would choose to live, both Tanzanian and South African participants referred overwhelmingly to education as the key motivator in choosing a place to live:

> *"Mina, I would like to live in the United States of America because it's a developed country and the education that they get there overseas is better education than South Africa and... because there are more jobs and... ya... it's a nice country... ya" (Ntombifuthi, 15).*

> *"In Canada, they have got good education, everybody can get education even if his or her parents have no money. It's different from here where your parents must have enough money to pay for your school fees" (Biubwa, 16).*

> *"In America, because they are developed and educated" (Eline, 16)*

> *"I want to live in London, because in London, there's everything and a place where you can find yourself and where you can learn, from school..." (Siphiwe, 14)*

> *"I would choose England...the lifestyle is good...and if you make a crime maybe you are sentenced to death or something like that, and people here in South Africa they have a lot of freedom because xxx and that law has been abolished many years ago" (Lerato, 16)*

The above quotes illustrate that both South African and Tanzanian participants were equally concerned with access to education unlike in the photo-stories where this only appeared amongst Tanzanian participants who were not in school. Furthermore, education was central to their understandings of differences in levels of material and structural wealth and overall success:

> *"I think er South Africa, the first need is education, South Africans should be educated so that we can be successful. Ya, they should be educated...So if South Africa can be educated... I think it would be much different" (Tandani, 16).*

Therefore, despite the education enjoyed by South African participants, they nevertheless perceived that they were not educated or that the quality of education was better elsewhere, thereby revealing more hidden understandings about the content of education. A closer look at the data reveals that education was also associated with certain identity factors that defined differences in living conditions. All of the above quotes on education demonstrate a perceived superiority of Western education, which was further explained through higher levels of respect accorded to Europeans or Africans who had studied in Europe:

"...there is this girl, she went to study in Europe, when she came back, everybody respected her" (Aisha, 16).

"If you are from the outside, you are respected" (Rose, 15)

The above quotes link Western education with the image of 'respect' and further statements by participants pointed to other signifiers - language and intelligence - to define Western education. Participants sometimes explicitly equated Western education or its signifiers with development and as the determining factors of differences in levels of development between the West and Africa:

"[Development is] people who have a Western education" (Aisha, 16).

"[Development is] people who speak English" (Rose, 15).

*"We still consider the Europeans as superior because when they came they had superior weapons like guns...they were more developed than us...maybe because of their colour they spread the idea that white people are **more clever**" (Biubwa, 16)*

Hence, income and education were the most significant factors put forth by participants in determining differences in levels of development and participants related these to identity differences between Africa and the West.

Employment and discrimination. The third most important factor raised by participants and that affected their material contexts was access to employment. This did not appear explicitly in the photo-stories but it relates to the theme of 'coping strategies' that described the activities that young people involved themselves in, in order to earn an income. Within this discourse, participants exposed the problem of stigma and discrimination in gaining access to jobs through forms of corruption and racial and gender-based exploitation:

"...another problem is discrimination. You can go and look for work even when you are educated but others will get the job because they are relatives (of the employer)" (Linda, 18).

"To get work, you have to bribe, use corruption" (Esta, 12).

"Some people are not working even though there are jobs but people are running away from them because of mistreatment, for instance in Indian shops" (Asma, 16).

"If a young woman looks for a job and the boss is a man, the first thing, maybe, is she must sleep with the boss..." (Sia, 15).

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As with the education discourse, underlying these findings on employment was also the reference to identity positions - based on race and gender - that reinforce material differences and that facilitate the discrimination of certain individuals and groups in society. Hence, differences in identity were central to participants' understandings of development and demonstrate the need for more critical understandings of development that go beyond income inequalities and economic indicators and that include the identity dimensions that exacerbate the exclusionary and discriminatory patterns of access to material resources. These differences were demonstrated both at macro-level (between Africa and the West) and at micro-level (between individuals). These dynamics are discussed in more detail below through an analysis of the socio-political and symbolic contexts of the participants.

6.2.2   Socio-political Contexts

Cutting across the differences in material and structural forms of poverty, young people raised the problem of discrimination and exploitation as factors that maintained particular forms of inequality and that affected the development of their societies. As mentioned above, this discourse revolved around identity positions, however, unlike the first discourse that reified Western values and institutions, the analysis of socio-political contexts demonstrated resistance to the discriminatory and exploitative practices of Western interventions in Africa. Participants also made links between macro-level practices and their micro-level impact on access to resources and on relationships in the community. The following quote captures the essence of the socio-political dimension of the development discourse:

> *"[Development] is the power to dominate" (Thabang, 18).*

At macro-level, participants explained this dominant form of power on a historical discourse of corruption stemming from colonialism:

> *"We used to govern ourselves and then the Europeans came and colonized us and corrupted our leaders…" (Biubwa, 16).*

Participants also viewed current development practices, in the form of aid, as promoting exploitation, laziness and dependency and thus slowing the development process:

"I think they give aid to deceive us...they increase exploitation, that's why we are not developing" (Naima, 16)

"We are getting everything from outside, it affects us, other people are like maybe lazy because we know that we can get everything from outside so there is no effort to improve" (Eline, 16).

"[Aid] is bad because in order to develop we need to be self-sufficient" (Naima, 16)

In the following quotes, participants made links between these macro-level discriminatory practices and the lack of education and employment, thereby linking material and socio-political contexts and revealing the complexity and ambiguity of the discourse. On the one hand, the exploitation of Africa by European powers led to the lack of education and jobs and, on the other hand, the lack of education is given as the reason for this exploitation:

"I think the Apartheid system has a lot to do with what is happening now because people are not working, they are not educated, they are not able to go to school and work for the jobs that they wanted to do..." (Lerato, 16).

"The Europeans they are undermining us because we are inferior, because we are not educated" (Pendo, 15).

Furthermore, participants referred once again to language to explain the unequal relationship between the West and Africa. They described how Africans collude with a discourse that reifies Western values and undermine themselves as a result:

"English is an international language and they [Westerners] know it because it's their mother tongue, different from us so, maybe that's another thing which makes people to be scared, you know, to consider themselves less" (Biubwa, 16).

The lack of self-determination expressed above, stemming from discriminatory practices and the reification of Western values, coupled with a lack of material resources, breeds a competitive environment. At macro-level, this was exemplified through corruptive practices that were explained as factors impeding the development process:

"[Tanzania is poor] because of corruption and misuse of resources" (Eda, 13 and Naima, 16)

"...it's not like the President doesn't know but the problem is even if they give the money for roads or different things, the money just disappears because of corruption..." (Linda, 18)

At micro-level, young people confirmed these findings and stated that development problems originate from a lack of trust and unity in the community that is undermining the development process and specifically the lack of cooperation between one class of people and another that prevents alliances and access to resources:

> *"… there's no cooperation between one person and another person, there is no relationship between one class of people and other people because you can find that ok …what you have done now is that you are helping us to get this knowledge. This connection it can help us but other people, they don't have this connection. They can see their young people are talented but they cannot develop them, then when we talk about development and solving problems, we cannot solve them individually. So that's what am saying, and that's the source of this thing, the problems" (Simon, 19).*

This brings us back to the centrality of identity and the way it is intertwined with the development discourse of difference, inequality and discrimination. One participant from South Africa offered an alternative view to the above discourses and demonstrated a more critical understanding of the identity impacts associated with educational and cultural aspirations in contemporary African settings:

> *"I should say Africans are known to be a continent that is very humble so…(?) just observe most people, especially educated people, some people who are educated, maybe they got a Matrik[75] certificate, they are not down to earth, and hear the way they talk and hear the language they talk, they use all those words, do you get my point… so education, maybe it is a system that destroys our minds and, in a way, education it pulls us away from our culture so many are afraid of taking their kids to school because they are afraid they will leave their culture" (Thabang, 18).*

Rather than reifying Western culture or blaming problems on Western domination, the above quote demonstrates how individuals can become alienated from their families and communities through the less visible identity connotations that are associated with what it means to be *educated*. This statement thus begins to de-stabilise internalised ideas and assumptions about education as the solution to material and socio-political inequalities and instead it suggests that education, and it's associated identity connotations, can also be part of a broader set of social practices that undermine the knowledge and capabilities of individuals and communities.

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[75] High school diploma equivalent to A-levels or International Baccalaureate

The above discussion also demonstrated the close ties between material and socio-political contexts and hence the need for development to address the discriminatory forms of power that prevent individuals from accessing the resources that they need. The final level of discussion in this first part of the analysis thus focuses on the symbolic contexts of the participants in order to explore the internalised beliefs that they hold in explaining their material and socio-political challenges.

6.2.3   Symbolic Contexts

This third level of analysis exposes the internalised beliefs held by participants or community members to explain the identity factors that appeared in participants' testimonies and that exacerbate the perceived differences between individuals, communities and nations. Young people often referred to differences in access to material resources and socio-political power as stemming from a stigmatizing discourse of ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility that characterizes individuals and groups. There are two distinguishable levels at which participants refer to this discourse:

Firstly, in relation to people's' general attitudes:

> *"Poverty is ignorance, laziness and lack of education" (Esta, 12).*
>
> *"South Africans are ignorant because they don't want to work…" (Tandani, 16).*
>
> *"…the problem is laziness, people want money but they don't want to work"*
> *(Linda, 18)*
>
> *"I think that people who live in shacks think that South Africans are not too developed and that because they are poor they don't know anything…" (Ntombifuthi, 15)*

Secondly, in relation to gender, whereby participants described young women as lazy and irresponsible and as finding easy ways to make a living through prostitution. Young women were also accused of getting pregnant so that they could access the social grant instead of going to work and were further depicted as irresponsible by using the grant money on themselves instead of looking after their children:

> *"Most people, they create their own problems because of their laziness, though they are strong enough they don't want to work. Look at those girls who sell their bodies, it's not that they have nothing to do, they don't want to work because even the young ones continue to be lazy because they copy from the adults"(Peter, 18).*

"South Africans most of us we love mahala (free) things you know… grants… many people especially, they use pregnancy because they want this money" (Tandani, 16).

"…and some of the people don't buy things for their babies, they go and gamble with the grant money and some of them drink up with that money" (Ntombifuthi, 15).

Another set of internalised beliefs served to explain the reification of Western values through a racialized discourse. Participants believed that white skin was beautiful, brought respect, and was a sign of wealth:

"I think it's like Tanzanians and European. Tanzanians, we despise ourselves, Europeans think they are better than us and that their colour is beautiful" (Cynthia, 17).

"Tanzanians think that whites are better because they have more money and are more creative" (Aisha, 16).

"Some girls want to look like Europeans, they don't accept who they are…others think that white skin is more attractive…white skin brings respect. That's what people believe, we think that white skin is beautiful" (Biubwa, 16).

These results occurred mainly with the Tanzanian participants. A possible explanation for this is the centrality of racial difference in the history of Apartheid and resistance movements, which resulted in a less unified concept of a South African nation and thus rendering race a more tacit discourse in the current post-Apartheid reconstruction phase. In Tanzania, on the other hand, there is a strong sense of national consciousness resulting from the Ujamaa movement. Hence, racial differences were expressed more explicitly. For example, in responding to the initial focus group question on where they would choose to live, Tanzanian participants frequently chose their own country, whereas only one South African participant chose South Africa and did so in a hesitant fashion and focusing on economic advantages:

"In Tanzania because I am used to it and I will feel inferior in another country" (Neema, 15).

"In Tanzania because I was born here and I love my culture and there is peace here" (Biubwa, 16).

"In Tanzania because in another country I will be alone and in other countries they speak English and I won't understand" (Naima, 16).

"The people of South Africa are really good you know if you can see it. The people are selling chickens, you know, everything to get money. I think South Africa is a very wonderful place you know and there is a lot of money you know for the people who want to make money" (Mpho, 16).

These statements reveal a contradictory discourse of alienation and belonging and expose the different identity positions that participants adopted during the focus groups. On the one hand, participants reified Western values in comparison to their own and on the other hand they advocated their own values and culture. The juxtaposition of these discourses allow for stigmatizing beliefs to go unchallenged because feelings of inferiority are simultaneously denied through a discourse of belonging and national pride. On the other hand, with the exception of Biubwa, the Tanzanian participants did not refer to the positive aspects of belonging but rather chose Tanzania because of a fear of inferiority and aloneness that they would experience in the West. In doing so, participants reinforce the dominance of Western culture whilst undermining their own.

The presentation above demonstrates an ambiguous and contradictory discourse of racialized and gendered differences that exposes the internalised and stigmatizing beliefs that participants held about themselves and their communities. The stigmatisation of young people and their communities became most apparent through their beliefs in the ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility of individuals. These beliefs constitute the focus of the analysis of consciousness that follows and expose the less visible components of a development discourse that undermines the knowledge and capabilities of people in communities and that was introduced as the common assumption to the different approaches to development described in Chapter One. Hence, the next step of the analysis seeks to uncover an additional layer of understanding of the symbolic realm of participants through a deconstruction of their internalised and stigmatizing beliefs. By investigating the levels of consciousness of participants, I seek to understand further the knowledges that guide the representations of ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility that were used to explain the differences in access to material, socio-political and symbolic resources.

6.3   Levels of Consciousness

In presenting the data, I consider the characteristics of four stages of consciousness as suggested by Freire. Freire describes consciousness as a process that occurs in stages and through dialogical educational programs (Freire, 1974). There are two main stages: semi-intransitive consciousness and transitive consciousness. Transitive

consciousness is thereafter characterized by three stages: naïve consciousness, fanaticised consciousness and critical consciousness. Table 9 provides an outline of these.

Table 9: Freire's stages of consciousness

Semi-intransitive consciousness	"Men…cannot apprehend problems situated outside their sphere of biological necessity. Their interests centre almost totally around survival, and they lack a sense of life on a more historic plane…In this state, discernment is difficult. Men confuse their perceptions of the objects and challenges of the environment, and fall prey to magical explanations because they cannot apprehend true causality".
Naïve consciousness	"Naïve transitivity…is characterized by an over-simplification of problems; by a nostalgia for the past; by underestimation of the common man; by a strong tendency to gregariousness; by a lack of interest in investigation, accompanied by an accentuated taste for fanciful explanations; by fragility of argument; by a strongly emotional style; by the practice of polemics rather than dialogue; by magical explanations".
Fanaticized consciousness	"In fanaticized consciousness, the distortion of reason makes men irrational. The possibility of dialogue diminishes markedly. Men are defeated and dominated, though they do not know it; they fear freedom, though they believe themselves to be free. They follow general formulas and prescriptions as if by their own choice. They are directed; they do not direct themselves. Their creative power is impaired. They are objects, not Subjects".
Critical consciousness	"…critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's "findings" and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analysing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old – by accepting what is valid in both old and new.

(Excerpts taken from Freire, 1974, p.13/14)

The analysis that follows centres on *causation* in participants' understandings of stigma and discrimination as the key explanatory variable used to explain the differences and inequalities in the lived realities of individuals and groups. The content of the explanations provided by participants was analysed and located according to the different levels of consciousness proposed by Freire. Furthermore, the analysis highlights the critical insights provided by young people that challenge the risky behaviours and negative attitudes that take place in community spaces and that propose alternative understandings to the processes of social change. Following the presentation of the data, the discussion highlights the value of critical dialogue to spark the process of consciousness but also some of the difficulties in treating consciousness as a progressive process due to the simultaneous occurrence of all the above stages of consciousness in participants' understandings.

6.3.1   Semi-intransitive Consciousness

Semi-intransitive consciousness appeared in young people's own beliefs as well as in their description of community beliefs. The quotes selected below illustrate an overall concern with death and survival through the use of *magical explanations* that demonstrate a *lack of historicity* in participants' understandings of their realities.

For example, to explain the problems of illness and death that disrupt family life and that were introduced as social challenges in Chapter Five, young people referred to witchcraft or God's will:

> *'Our parents die because it's God's plans'* (Asma, 16).

> *'When people have malaria, they think they are bewitched, so instead of going to the hospital they go to the witchdoctor'* (Sia, 15).

To explain low levels of social capital, such as mistrust between people in the community, participants explained the use of witchcraft and how these beliefs compounded the problem:

> *'People don't love each other so when they get sick, the first thing they will think is that their neighbour bewitched them'* (Sia, 15)

Semi-intransitive consciousness also permeated the social actions of individuals seeking to overcome their lack of access to material resources. Young people illustrated how individuals sought wealth through superstitious practices:

> *"There is this place where there is a small lake, and in that area there is a healer who tells people to go there and go under three times and they will become rich"*
> *(Mussa, 16).*

Furthermore, in discussions about inequalities between different sectors of society, young people referred to the will of God:

> *"Most of us here in South Africa, or most of us Africans, we believe in God so it's because maybe God wanted everything to be like that..." (Thabang, 18).*

These beliefs introduced an additional dimension to the explanations of lived realities based on the material, socio-political and internalised factors described previously

because they alluded to the magical realm or a kind of knowledge based on intangible facts that is difficult to deconstruct. When participants put forth such explanations, they demonstrated semi-intransitive consciousness because they precluded the possibility of human action to improve their life circumstances and, as a consequence, didn't believe in their potential to change their circumstances.

In a similar vein, when asked to explain the causes of mistreatment, participants sometimes demonstrated a lack of discernment in their responses. The quote below demonstrates a *lack of historicity*, as the respondent did not locate mistreatment with reference to a broader context:

"People don't know why mistreatment exists, it just does" (Maisha, 15).

Nevertheless, imbued in some of the above statements was an underlying sentiment of frustration and disdain with community beliefs. Young people alluded to witchcraft as a problem that prevented people from accessing medical treatment and acknowledged that mistreatment existed, implying a questioning of values and demonstrating resistance to social beliefs and practices. In the discussion groups, debates regarding definitions of mistreatment were very topical. For example, participants disagreed on whether parents who did not send their children to school were guilty of mistreatment or not[76]. Furthermore, in a photo-novella exercise, participants staged a situation involving a child being beaten by an adult as a 'shocking' situation; other participants disagreed and claimed that this was a 'normal' occurrence in the community[77]. These examples demonstrate how, through dialogue, young people began to question established values and practices in the community and shifted from emotional to more rational understandings of what constituted 'mistreatment' indicating a shift towards transitive levels of consciousness.

6.3.2   Naïve Consciousness

Naïve consciousness appeared frequently in young people's accounts as they tried to find causation beyond the use of magical explanations. Naïve consciousness exposes a lack of understanding of the material, socio-political and symbolic factors that participants used previously to explain differences and inequalities between individuals, groups and nations. In apportioning meaning to these differences and

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[76] Kiwohede, Group 3, day 1: photo-elicitation exercise
[77] Kiwohede, Group 2, day 2, photo-novella exercise

inequalities as well as to the discriminatory and stigmatizing practices in the community, young people used individualistic, simplistic, and magical explanations and struggled to distance themselves from the emotive effects of their realities, all of which are characteristic of naïve transitivity.

Explaining material differences and inequalities. Referring to development and inequality, the following respondent equated development with monetary wealth but admitted a lack of understanding of the unequal access to resources between social groups:

> *"I think developing people are those who are wealthy, yes, wealthy people. And poor people become more poor… but I don't know why, I don't know what's stopping the country to develop" (Lerato, 16).*

Young people also described how people in villages use magical explanations to spread ideas about differences in educational achievement between Africans and Europeans. Participants stated that such beliefs are the reason that many families in rural areas do not send their children to school:

> *"…there is this saying in the village that there was a hoe and a book, and a white man and an African, and they were told to choose. The African went for the hoe and the white man for the book…" (Simon, 19).*

Participants also oversimplified problems and explained material differences in simple terms, for instance, as the characteristics of individuals:

> *"I think it's because there are some of us who are clever and some of us who are not clever, you know. Some of us who are active and some of us who are lazy, so we are not on the same page. You love school, I don't love school, you know" (Tandani, 16).*

Explaining stigma and discrimination. In trying to explain stigmatizing beliefs and discriminatory practices, participants listed an array of stereotypical representations of young women to explain the differential treatment of young women in the community but with a limited understanding of the underlying beliefs that guide these stigmatizing beliefs. The following flipchart illustrates participants' knowledge of stereotypes:

Stereotypes
To represent someone who
looks different
To be un-accepting of some
people's values

Example: Prostitutes
They are not responsible
They are ignorant
They can't make decisions
They are inferior
They are worthless
They depend on men
They are lazy
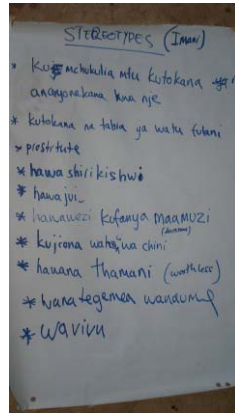
Photo 14: Kiwohede Flipchart 20

In explaining where these beliefs come from, participants relied on individualistic and magical beliefs:

> *"Wrong beliefs/stereotypes come from our ancestors, for example that girl children shouldn't go to school, and our fathers, now, they continue those beliefs" (Asma, 16).*

> *"Our ancestors started those beliefs and then it became like a tradition" (Pendo, 15).*

> *"You might find a very young Zaramo girl who is engaging in prostitution but nobody will bother to help her because they say it's the behaviour of her tribe so nothing can change her" (Simon, 19).*

> *"If a young person is bad/violent, people will say that he must have inherited it from his ancestors, so they can't help you because of that" (ibid).*

Finally, to explain the origins of stereotypes, participants once again underestimated the value of human agency and located problems in the individual, in ways that undermine the potential for individuals to change their beliefs:

> *"[Wrong beliefs come from] people who are bad or have bad ways" (Sia, 15).*

> *"Sometimes people are born like that [bad] …" (Pendo, 15).*

In addition to magical explanations, naïve transitivity is also characterized by emotive responses to phenomena. The discussion groups and the development of photo-stories represented a highly emotional process for many participants. Vocalizing experiences of mistreatment and abuse in contexts offering limited escape provoked feelings of powerlessness. This was particularly noticeable at Kiwohede Trust where young women were living in trying circumstances and demonstrated the need to be noticed

and cared for. During discussion groups, young women talked about wanting to arouse feelings of compassion and pity in presenting their photo-stories. The following flipchart illustrates how some participants emphasised feelings in understanding problems:
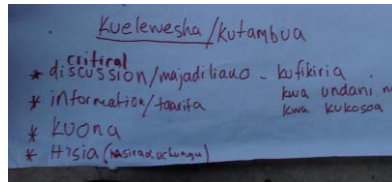
Photo 15: Kiwohede Flipchart 19

How do we understand?
Through critical discussion
Through information
Through seeing
Through feeling (like anger and compassion)
Through intuition and making mistakes

Displays of emotion are drivers for change and constitute a necessary part of the process of consciousness as people become increasingly aware of oppressive social constraints (Freire, 1974). However, despite the resistance expressed, without an appropriate intervention, these emotions can inhibit critical thought and action. As explained previously (see Chapter Five under Social Challenges, p.131), young people's resistance to mistreatment was often met by disbelief and further violence and coincided with predominant beliefs that young people were 'troublemakers'[78]. Thus, if young people cannot find the means and channels to overcome these emotions, it can provoke feelings of helplessness and powerlessness and lead to fanaticized transitivity.

6.3.3 Fanaticized Consciousness

It was sometimes difficult to separate the occurrence of naïve or fanaticized consciousness because young people shifted between stigmatizing discourses that relied on magical explanations to problems (e.g. ancestral creations) and stigmatizing discourses that relied on the laziness, irresponsibility and ignorance of individuals. The key difference was that in naïve consciousness, participants believed that stigmatizing beliefs were somehow 'wrong' and 'discriminatory', whereas in fanaticized consciousness, participants believed in the stereotypes they used as explanations to their situation without realizing their stigmatizing attributes. Therefore, fanaticized consciousness is when young people spoke of the ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility of people in communities to explain their realities. There was hence a lack of causation for the analyst, but it was more hidden to the participants who had

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[78] Kiwohede, Flipchart 21 (Appendix 3)

internalized these beliefs and who perceived them to represent natural and objective reality. In the presentation that follows, I describe how fanaticised consciousness cut across participants' explanations of differences and inequalities in material, socio-political and symbolic contexts.

In the analysis of material contexts, participants accepted poverty as the result of characteristics that defined people in communities (ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility) rather than questioning the roots of those characteristics:

> *"I think people in our community they don't want to work you know they are always just dependent on those who are working you know, they always ask for things, they always want things to be done for them, they don't want to do anything, they just sit in the morning outside and sit in the sun, that's what they do". (Ntombifuthi, 15)*

In the analysis of socio-political contexts, participants accepted exploitation as a problem related to the lack of knowledge and capacities of individuals or groups rather than questioning the practices that led to exploitation and the acceptance of dominant forms of power:

> *"The Europeans they are undermining us **because we are inferior, because we are not educated**" (Pendo, 15).*

> *"The Europeans come here to exploit us **because we don't know how to run our country**" (Maisha, 15).*

In the analysis of symbolic contexts, flipchart data from three separate groups also demonstrated how participants used a discourse of ignorance and irresponsibility to locate the causes of mistreatment:

> Causes of mistreatment?   Lack of awareness/ parents' ways
> (Kiwohede Flipchart 14 and 23);
> Lack of responsibility
> (Kiwohede Flipchart 14 and 28)

Hence participants' discourses often slid into fanaticised understandings that were based on a set of identity characteristics that undermined them. These understandings represent instances of what Freire calls 'irrationality'. A pertinent example of irrationality is further presented through an observation of the contradictions in

participants' views. By juxtaposing the following quotes that come from different data sources, participants demonstrated the hard work they did and that enabled them to go to school and at the same time attributed laziness to themselves and their communities as the reason for not going to school:

> *"When I was four years old, my sisters and I started selling doughnuts in the street and used the money we made for buying food and going to school" (Eline, 16).*
>
> *"It's just that most of the people who live in poor communities, they don't want to think and they don't want to work, they just want things to come to them, ya. I don't know why, because some of them they tell you that they didn't go to school so why must I go because I don't need that knowledge and skill for that job" (Ntombifuthi, 15).*

Fanaticised consciousness thus illustrates how young people undermine themselves and their communities, which then leads to fatalistic attitudes and behaviours. Throughout the findings in Chapters Five and Six, young people's testimonies alluded to a range of fatalistic behaviours and attitudes, including silencing themselves from fear of mistreatment and violent reprisals, engaging in drug and alcohol abuse, disillusionment about the future, etc. These attitudes and behaviours are indicative not only of the coping strategies required to survive in the difficult material, socio-political and symbolic contexts in which young people live, but also of the naïve and fanaticised levels of consciousness that prevent them from realising and using their agency to challenge their situation. Stigmatizing knowledge in a fanaticised stage of consciousness is perceived as true knowledge to participants who have accepted that ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility represent the individual and social identities that characterize their communities and explain their lived realities. Nevertheless, during the course of the workshops, participants began to deconstruct some of these beliefs leading to more critical levels of consciousness that are discussed below.

6.3.4   Critical Consciousness
Critical consciousness appeared in participants' accounts through explanations that rejected the discourse of blame and victimisation and that went beyond simplistic, magical and mythical explanations to phenomena. When participants displayed critical consciousness, they provided alternative understandings to those based on internalised and stigmatizing beliefs and challenged the discriminatory and exploitative practices described previously. These explanations revealed an

understanding of the unconscious, relational and productive dynamics of power that influence social processes.

Throughout the workshops, young people demonstrated a mixture of all four levels of consciousness, which form part of this analysis. Some of the justifications provided so far to explain differences in access to material and symbolic resources have already demonstrated participants' attempts in making causal relationships with a broader social context in order to explain their realities, which is characteristic of critical levels of consciousness. The two flipcharts that follow illustrate the results of discussion groups on mistreatment. The first flipchart reveals the juxtaposition of different levels of consciousness. In identifying the causes of mistreatment, participants used stigmatizing arguments (children are trouble makers), fragile arguments (they are not their birth parents) and more critical arguments (poverty and gender discrimination):

Photo 16: Kiwohede Flipchart 21

Why do adults mistreat children?

They are not their birth children
Poverty
They lost their parents (orphans)
Gender discrimination
Children are trouble makers
Parent's separation

Types of mistreatment
Emotional/psychological:
Insults
To be beaten
Excessive work
To be isolated

Basic/material:
Not to go to school
Not to be given food
Not to have clothes
To be kicked out of home

In the second flipchart (below), participants identified elements in the discussion groups that were largely absent from the other sources of data, such as: the lack of attention accorded to the father's responsibility in the family, thereby acknowledging the problems associated with patriarchy, and mothers being mistreated and overburdened with childcare duties, thereby destabilising the discourse of blame and victimisation. These insights exhibited a more distanced reflection and a refusal to transfer the sole responsibility of problems onto mothers. Furthermore, participants recognized the impact of the social environment: the lack of trust and recognition amongst individuals in the community that leads to powerlessness, insignificance, fear, and other fatalistic outcomes. Such observations displayed a depth of interpretation and a high level of critical thought:
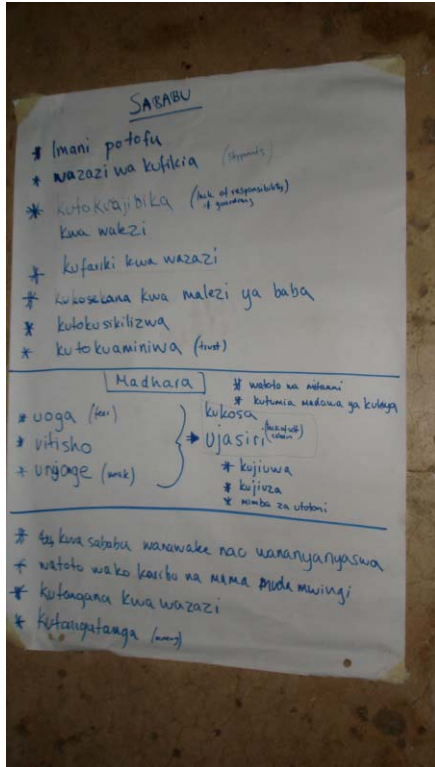
Causes
Wrong beliefs
Step-parents
Lack of responsibility of guardians
Loss of parents
Lack of father's responsibility
Not to be heard
Lack of trust
Mothers are also being mistreated
Mothers are overburdened with childcare
Parents separation
Moving homes (frequently)

Consequences
Fear
Powerlessness
Insignificance
→ Lack of self-esteem

Street children
Drugs
Suicide
Prostitution
Teenage pregnancy

Photo 18: Kiwohede Flipchart 28

Furthermore, in a more general discussion about issues affecting young people, participants distinguished between different levels of causation: micro and macro. The flipchart below illustrates the broader social constraints that affected them, such as poverty, unemployment, discrimination, power and illiteracy; and factors that directly affected their behaviour, such as peer pressure, stress, desire, parents' ways, and family care. Power, in this case, referred to corruptive practices and thus represents a form of dominant power.
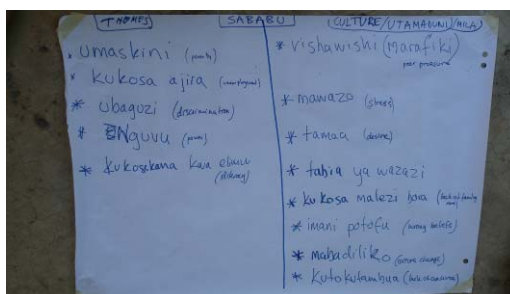
Causes (macro-level)	Causes (micro-level)
Poverty	Peer pressure
Unemployment	Stress
Discrimination	Desire
Power	Parents ways
Illiteracy	Lack of family care
	Wrong beliefs
	Culture change
	Lack of awareness

Photo 17: Kiwohede Flipchart 14

Participants also challenged the discourse of blame and victimisation in the relationship between these macro and micro dimensions of society. When referring to the role of government, young people acknowledged that some groups in society had different needs from the government, such as orphans and the mentally ill (see

Appendix 1), and that there was thus a need for social grants and social services to reach certain sectors of the community:

> *"... some people they do need the grants, it helps, like many people are disabled people and many people criticize the disabled people that they don't look for jobs but I think it's not right" (Lerato, 16).*

Furthermore, participants demonstrated more critical understandings of micro-macro power processes and advocated for the ownership and participation of communities in the instruments of power and governance. Participants from Tanzania claimed that one of the reasons for the lack of development in the country was exploitation by more powerful entities from the outside (see this Chapter, p.168). Similarly, South African participants stated that the lack of development was due to the people not owning the country's wealth, which was in the hands of multinational companies:

> *"I don't think South Africa is a developed country, I don't think it's even developing. Just try and check, most of our mines here in South Africa are run by a foreign company...if you really investigate, the proof behind everything, South Africa is not developing, instead it's going backwards, 10 steps backwards and 5 forwards" (Thabang, 18)*

Young people also located the causes of discriminatory power in the historical context of colonialism and related it to their perceptions of self. They thereby demonstrated an understanding of how discriminatory practices are interlinked and relational and also impact on individual identity and self-esteem:

> *"...because of the racial discrimination...that was the beginning of the mistreatment and because we were mistreated and then we started mistreating each other, it moved from men to women to children, we created a wrong belief from there and finally we came to mistreat ourselves" (Maisha, 15).*

Finally, in addition to their references to dominant power, young people demonstrated an understanding of power as productive, thereby overcoming the language of blame and victimisation. They explained that racism and mistreatment against young women were challenges that made people grow and change.

> *"To me, racism affects me in a good way. Because I get to build my self-esteem too. You see, you don't get to grow if you are not given challenges. And challenges are not there to destroy but to build us, you see, if we let challenges destroy us, then what are they really meant for" (Thabang, 18)?*

> *"The sufferings are the things that make people change" (Esta, 12).*

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The findings described above demonstrate that young people were able to develop a critical awareness of the challenges they face and that, through discussion and argumentation, they were able to reconcile some of the contradictory and ambiguous beliefs that they held. When left unchallenged, these contradictions and ambiguities allow stigmatizing beliefs and discriminatory practices to remain unchallenged. During the discussions that took place over the course of the Shooting Horizons workshops, many participants stated that the project had opened their minds. Several young women from Kiwohede admitted to learning that women were not inferior to men. Others developed an awareness of their potential and their role in building their communities. Young people wanted to teach, encourage and inspire others to do similar activities and to contribute to the development of their societies. Hence, the project triggered a desire in young people to document more stories and got them talking about a range of social issues and mechanisms for social change.

The discussion below brings together the findings from participants' descriptions of the social challenges and strategies for living in their communities described in Chapter Five and the explanatory themes and values presented in this chapter. The analysis thus links the lived realities of individuals in communities to the development paradigm, by providing a more critical account of development that focuses on the identity dimensions that exacerbate differences and inequalities between individuals and social groups and the levels of consciousness that deny people of their knowledge and capabilities to empower themselves and enact social change.

6.4   Discussion

6.4.1   The State of Development: Poverty, Inequality and Difference

A reading of the focus group and discussion group data demonstrates how young people positioned themselves with respect to a larger social environment and through a development narrative. In exploring the explanations of their realities, young people delved into a discourse centred around differences and inequalities in access to material, socio-political and symbolic resources that were exacerbated through underlying discriminatory practices and stigmatizing beliefs. Differences in access to material resources occur within their localities (rich and poor individuals), their countries (urban and rural areas) and globally (Africa as developing and the West as

developed). These differences are maintained through discriminatory practices that were explained by way of corruptive and exploitative practices at micro and macro levels; and, through stigmatizing beliefs that revealed a gendered and racialized discourse originating from the perceived ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility of individuals in these communities.

The findings also demonstrated how participants' testimonies relied on a supposed superiority of economic wealth and Western education to explain differences in levels of development, which also brought forth the less visible identity connotations that reified Western values and practices. The ethic of modernization that promoted the transfer of modern technology and infrastructure developments to developing countries: 'formal education, piped water-supply… and state-building' with associated policies and programmes to institute efficient governance structures (Banuri, 2001), formed the basis on which participants articulated their material needs. It is this same rhetoric that historically served to legitimate colonial expansion and, as many authors have already argued, still underlies much of the existing development rhetoric and practice (Baaz, 2005; Banuri, 2001; Escobar, 1991, 1995; Kothari, 2006; Marglin, 2001). It is not surprising, therefore, that participants reified Western values and institutions and presented African countries as developing countries in relation to the West as a normalised discourse that appeared as objective and accepted social reality.

6.4.2   Development Processes: Resistance and Self-Reliance

Nevertheless, young people also demonstrated resistance to some of the stigmatizing beliefs and discriminatory practices of development. They argued that the mechanisms to enact social change and to curb these inequalities required a shift in socio-political power dynamics and a range of methods to change people's beliefs in the community. Young people supported ideas of self-reliance through discourses on the negative implication of aid as deceptive, exploitative, and causing laziness, thereby echoing African nationalist discourses. In discussing how this shift could occur, young people's testimonies mentioned the need for information and communicative practices to raise critical awareness in the community that would lead to a questioning of cultural values and practices and that would promote a search for alternative ways of thinking and acting. They also mentioned how the experiences of discrimination and exploitation represent the engine of social change, thereby re-conceptualising power as a productive form of knowledge.

Hence, young people's voices shifted between discourses that colluded with stigmatizing representations and discourses that demonstrated resistance through more critical levels of understandings. In responding to the social psychological agenda of this thesis, this analysis is mostly concerned with how these discourses were able to coexist, how the Shooting Horizons project addressed the stigmatizing beliefs that impacted on identification and behaviour and the ways in which it empowered young people to represent and enact social change. Therefore, the rest of the discussion on explanatory findings focuses on the relationship between the social and the psychological in representing difference and inequality, firstly by investigating the origins of identity differences and how they are maintained (through socio-cognitive and affective processes); and secondly, through an analysis of participants levels of consciousness and how different levels of understanding can appear simultaneously and thereby demonstrate the occurrence of conflicting representations of collusion and resistance to stigma and discrimination. Cutting across this analysis is an observation of the mechanisms of power that exacerbate stigma and discrimination and those that create alternative causalities and representations.

6.4.3   Representing difference: Race and Gender[79]

The findings of this study reveal that imbued in the explanations of difference was a stigmatizing discourse based on racialized and gendered identities. In explaining the re-occurring victim-blaming and individualistic discourses, participants made reference to a repertoire of familiar beliefs concerning the laziness, irresponsibility and ignorance of Africans (Hall, 2000; Dogra, 2006; Baaz, 2005). These findings echo what Phoenix describes as "…the recursiveness of arguments that black people are inferior and the creative ways in which new formulations of old arguments are produced" (Phoenix, 1998, p.866). How old notions are re-presented in current discourses alludes to an underlying consistency in beliefs that nevertheless manifest themselves in different ways. Bhabha refers to the concept of 'fixity' as the 'ideological construction of otherness', which allows multiple modes of re-presenting the other through racialized

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[79] Focus groups discussions did not elaborate on ethnic differences as a significant factor in the lives of the young people in this study. Nevertheless, ethnicity constitutes a topical area in African politics (see Mamdani, 1996). Furthermore, the focus groups did not elaborate substantially on class inequalities although differences in wealth were a significant finding to explain levels of development. However, understanding social classes in these contexts (Tanzania and South Africa) is a complex area requiring further research, and not possible to elaborate on here. Economic differences (in access to material resources) are omnipresent throughout the thesis and should be understood as key in provoking and intensifying discriminatory discourses.

and gendered representations because it assumes a fundamental belief in the backwardness or inferiority of the other (Bhabha 1994, p.94). The logical question to follow is how to change those beliefs? As the subsequent paragraphs will demonstrate, the origins of beliefs in the ignorance, laziness, and irresponsibility of Africans are based on a large body of scientific work that serves to prove these traits; therefore, changing people's' beliefs involves a de-construction of the validity of scientific knowledge.

Furthermore, insights into the psychological and social mechanisms that produce representations demonstrate how stigmatizing beliefs and discriminatory practices are multidimensional and interlinked, through 'internalization' and 'projection', revealing the centrality of difference in their manifestation (Hook, 2004a&b). The concept of intersectionality can help elucidate how power operates in relational forms (Brah and Phoenix, 2004; Staunaes, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Intersectionality is understood as:

> "…the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axis of differentiation – economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts. The concept emphasizes that different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into discrete and pure strands" (Brah and Phoenix, 2004, p.76).

Pessimists would argue that stigmatisation and discrimination are therefore inevitable since differences will always exist in society. However, such arguments perpetuate stigmatizing views and rely on a simplistic conceptualization of power that does not take into account its productiveness in establishing new modes of thinking and feeling. Engaging with racialized and gendered differences is thus key in understanding how the well-being of individuals and groups in urban African communities is interlinked through established and internalised beliefs and how these are re-produced through micro-level and macro-level practices. The following paragraphs present an analysis of the origins and occurrence of the three categories - *ignorance, laziness, and irresponsibility* - in the discourse and the significance of 'simultaneously interlocking oppressions' of race and gender in relation to those categories and in maintaining power dynamics (in Brah and Phoenix, 2004, p.78). Following that is a discussion on the validity and coexistence of knowledge systems in representing the 'other' supported by a discussion on conscientisation and the impact of knowledge and consciousness on identity and behaviour.

6.4.3.1 Ignorance and Intelligence (IQ debate)

In representational practices, stereotypes "must always be in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically construed" (Bhabha, 1994, p.95). Ignorance can therefore become an explanation for almost anything to do with Africans, and participants made broad generalizations in relation to representations of ignorance. In all the focus groups, participants raised ignorance as an explanatory value for underdevelopment and equated development with intelligence. Simply put, young people believed that Africans were poor because they were ignorant. When probed further, they explained that people 'who speak English', who have 'a Western education', and 'the power to dominate' are more intelligent (see under Material Contexts, p.164), thereby clearly reifying Western values and institutions and establishing intelligence as a dominant form of power. This also explains the significance of education in participants' testimonies and how it cuts across many themes if education is not only understood as access to school but also access to 'intelligence' as a certain type of knowledge that is superior to theirs and also associated with identity benefits.

The study of intelligence is an important and long-standing area of interest for psychologists and central to understandings of difference and inequality. The race and IQ debate is emblematic in identifying the racial dimension to stigmatizing representations of Africa. Tracing back to the Enlightenment period of European history and the scientific revolution can shed light on how differences in intelligence were created. The Eugenics movement (Galton, 1892), as the study of human improvement by genetic means, led to the belief in the superiority of the white race broadcast through the establishment in 1926 of the American Eugenics Society (Richards, 1997). Their thesis was that "better men could be bred by conscious selection"[80] and this was largely supported through intelligence testing, which was believed to measure innate genetic intelligence. People whose test performance gave them a mental age of 12 or less were classified as feebleminded or morons or 'criminal types'[81]. These studies relied on the belief that science could provide true and objective accounts of racial differences through experimentation resulting in the classification of 'higher' and 'lower' races (Chamberlain, 1902)[82].

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[80] http://www.amphilsoc.org/library/exhibits/treasures/aes.htm
[81] Encyclopaedia Britannica
[82] The Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits in 1898 is said to be first the attempt to use objective methods in race psychology in the late 19th century to show the difference between races. Studies by Woodworth (1910), Baldwin (1913), Pyle (1913), Philips (1914), Strong (1914), Ferguson (1916), Lacy (1918), Schwegler and Winn (1920) found that the negro and pygmy have lower intelligence than whites. Loram (1916)

This body of knowledge is often referred to as 'scientific racism' and has institutionalised racialized representations into the current era of development (Richards, 1997). IQ results led to the institutionalization of many gendered and racialized policies and practices, notably widespread and forced sterilization programmes for women in many countries, which also extended to early population control policies in parts of the Third World (Saadawi, 1997; Shevrington, 1994). This is a poignant example of the link between race and gender in oppressive practices and reaffirms the emphasis on sexuality that appeared in many of the gendered discourses of the participants. In 2006, Kanazawa also used IQ testing to argue that there was a correlation between low IQ in sub-Saharan Africa and low levels of health. Despite his claims being subsequently discredited (Ellison, 2007)[83], it is still an area that underpins so many of the stereotypes about black people as evidenced in Howarth's (2004), Phoenix's (2009), Mirza and Reay's (2000), and Troyna's (1984) papers on race and educational achievement; and Baaz's (2005) and Kothari's (2006, a&b) writings on race and expertise in the development context.

6.4.3.2 Laziness, Irresponsibility and the Unreliable African

"South Africans are ignorant because they don't want to work..." was one of the statements made by the participants, which demonstrates how representations of ignorance and laziness were inseparable and often used to explain the other, indicating a circular argument that prevents the possibility of finding true causality. Young people described laziness and irresponsibility as explanatory values to the victim-blaming discourses that were used to justify the lack of socio-economic activities that would stimulate development in Tanzania and South Africa. There was a strong view that Africans did not work hard and the rationale for foreign aid was explained through the laziness and irresponsibility of people, who either did not work to generate sufficient income (at micro level), or, who squandered resources through corruptive practices (at

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in South Africa showed a hierarchy of intelligence between races: whites, then Indians and then natives. Other studies showed the lower brain weight of blacks compared to whites and other sensory cues, such as lower vision, lower reaction time in infants, lower sensitivity to pain, resulting in the black person having the lowest status as compared to most of mankind.

[83] Other isolated attempts to disprove the reliability of IQ tests (Arlitt test in 1921) linked the social environment to test results, meaning that whites scored higher because of access to better opportunities. Ferguson also believed that the negro in America was 'capable of great progress' because of closer contact with the white race: "This contact gives him the advantages of white encouragement, achievement, example and control, and enables him to appropriate to his own use the products of white genius" (Ferguson, 1916 p.543). Hall (2000, p.249) claims that these beliefs are still very much alive and states that: "Black people are still seen as childish, simple and dependent though capable of, and, on their way to, (after a paternalist apprenticeship with whites), something more like equality with whites".

macro level). Hence, similar to the representations of ignorance above, laziness and irresponsibility was attributed to a wide range of characteristics to define Africans.

These images put forth by participants are reminiscent of the 'passive starving child' and the 'passive aid recipient' that are common representations of African poverty (Baaz, 2005; Dogra, 2006) and that serve to justify the *White Man's Burden* (Easterly, 2006). Tracing back into history, the image of the passive other is as old as colonialism and continues to validate the modernization rhetoric. As far back as the 19th century, Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain stated that "[in] the interests of the natives themselves all over Africa we have to teach them to work" (in Baaz, p.121). Images of irresponsibility (the 'happy native') and unreliability ('the trickster') (Hall, 2000) also reflect current discourses in development policy and programming that focus on building 'good governance' and 'leadership' and associated with widespread depictions of corruption and poor morals in African people and leadership (Mosse and Lewis, 2005).

The explanations that young people gave were further compounded by projecting a gendered discourse of sexuality whereby participants alluded to the laziness of young women who were making a living through prostitution (in Tanzania) or who were blamed for having babies in order to get the social grant from the government (in South Africa). Mothers were also blamed thereafter for being irresponsible and spending the social grant on themselves (especially through drinking and gambling). These findings are pertinent examples of intersectionality and expose how the intersection between low levels of material and symbolic resources worsens the experiences of discrimination for those who are on the receiving end of blame, through multiple layers of stigmatisation. In this case, a combined gendered and racialized discourse in the context of competition for limited resources positioned young women as the scapegoats for many of the social challenges that people face. On the other hand, participants recognised the particular plight of people with physical and mental disabilities as requiring government and community support and street children as capable and resourceful, thereby resisting the discourse of ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility and acknowledging the plurality of struggles existing in the community. Hence young people demonstrated a clear resistance to stigma in particular cases but when referring to the positioning of young women in society, their testimonies were fraught with ambiguities. As I will argue in the discussion that follows, this ambiguity

can be further explained through the simultaneous occurrence of varying levels of consciousness in participants' understandings of social phenomena.

6.4.4   Legitimating Knowledge: Beliefs, Consciousness and Identity Impacts

Laziness, irresponsibility and lack of intelligence divulge how young people participated in devaluing their own knowledge and capabilities and reified Western knowledge and practices. Contradictions between the analysis of lived realities in Chapter Five and the explanatory discourses provided in this chapter indicate a disruption between representations and reality. In this chapter, I have demonstrated how young people described the laziness and irresponsibility of their communities yet, in Chapter Five, their photo-stories described the amount of household duties and responsibilities that they carry and the hard work that they or members of their communities do through self-employment and income-generating activities. Young people spoke of ignorance in their community yet their testimonies demonstrated a sense of awareness of what needed to be done to alleviate their situation. Furthermore, they demonstrated talent, resources and knowledge to survive and live. These contradictions necessitate further discussion to explain how they were reconciled in young people's understandings of their realities. The presentation of participants' levels of consciousness exposed these contradictions through the simultaneous occurrence of naïve, fanaticised and critical levels of consciousness in participants' representations. It also revealed the presence of another set of beliefs, described as a magical kind of knowledge, that cut across both semi-intransitive and transitive consciousness and that led to further contradictions and ambiguities in how participants processed understandings of their lived realities. The discussion below starts with a brief presentation of magical beliefs in African contexts followed by a discussion on the impact of naïve and fanaticised consciousness on identity and behaviour. Thereafter, I explore the concurrence and complicity of knowledge systems in undermining the conscientisation process and thus the need for interventions located in an empowerment approach to cultivate resistance and social change.

6.4.4.1 From Semi-intransitive to Transitive Thought

Freire presents the process of conscientisation in a linear fashion or based on a historical progression. In this discussion, the assumption would follow that semi-intransitivity of thought existed at some point in time during the early stages that established the ideologies and current institutions of development, and critical

consciousness as a possible outcome at some future point in time. This assumption reflects Freire's idea of how modernisation (and globalisation) implies a heightened consciousness because of an increase in the economic base and the complexity of life. However, the findings demonstrate that, although consciousness occurs, it does not necessarily progress in a completely linear fashion and elements of each stage of consciousness can be present in others. The participants in this project demonstrated semi-intransitive consciousness in some areas and critical awareness in others, whilst holding more naïve or fanaticized views overall. I argue that these different types of consciousness have more to do with differences in knowledge systems rather than levels of conscientisation. I illustrate this below with a discussion on the differences between the idea of magical beliefs in semi-transitive and transitive consciousness.

6.4.4.2 Magical beliefs, knowledge systems and levels of consciousness
Young people talk about the role of God, traditional healers, and witchcraft in establishing the cultural values and beliefs of people in their communities. In the presentation of the data, I have referred to these as 'magical' beliefs or superstitious practices in line with a Freirian rhetoric. However, a Freirian analysis does not adequately take into account the different functions of so-called magical beliefs. In the data collected, magical beliefs were sometimes used towards positive ends and sometimes towards negative ends. An example of positive beliefs are the religious and spiritual practices described in Chapter Five (see p.144) that young people described as a source of faith and bonding in the community, thereby serving to enhance the social capital of the community. Negative beliefs, on the other hand, represent the superstitious practices that are used to bewitch or dupe members of the community (see this chapter, p.175). Hence, magical beliefs that are positive serve to fulfil the spiritual needs of the community and are "intricately intertwined with the rest of the cultural traits of a society... and part and parcel of the behavioural pattern of that society..." (Biko, 1978, p.70). These beliefs represent a type of coping mechanism that can provide hope and determination in the face of much hardship. A critique of Freire's analysis of magical beliefs can be found in the black theological approach to Black Consciousness (Biko, 1978), which counters understandings of ancestral worship as *superstitious practices* in opposition to the *science* of Christianity. So called superstitious practices in African communities are part of human life and attempt to give direction and meaning to people's understandings of God. I argue, therefore, that reference to magical beliefs is not necessarily an impediment to the development of critical consciousness and that the positive beliefs that characterize that phase will

continue to exist concurrently to critical levels of consciousness and represent a positive force in the development of critical consciousness.

The convergence of different knowledge systems in contemporary settings can also explain the contradictions or ambiguities in participants' representations of their realities. In the presentation of the data, I have distinguished between naïve and fanaticized levels of consciousness based on explanatory values that refer to either magical beliefs (ancestral myths) or scientific beliefs (ignorance, laziness, unreliability). I have also proposed that fanaticized consciousness implies the internalization of these scientific beliefs, whereas in naïve consciousness, young people were more willing to be critical of magical beliefs and practices. However, exploring how and why young people constitute common realities through ideas and practices that undermine them reveals a crucial concern over the legitimation of knowledge systems (Duveen, 2000; Jovchelovitch, 2007). Modernisation is based on a knowledge system that prioritizes scientific reasoning and advances a particular type of logic to understand social realities and development processes (Marglin, 2001; Banuri, 2001). The ideology of colonialism was based on scientific principles that proved the need for 'managing African populations' (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001) and on the creation of images that defined Africans as lacking in knowledge and capabilities. This, in turn, produced a set of beliefs that are still very much entrenched in development discourses and sustained through the voices of the young participants in this study. Hence, the appearance of fanaticized consciousness could also represent the dominance of scientific knowledge, and, if we equate rationality to 'scientific' understandings, the pursuit of rational understandings, in this context, leads to fanaticized consciousness rather than the development of critical levels of consciousness. This exposes the difficult relationship between science and rationality and also contradicts Freire, who states that, "in fanaticized consciousness the distortion of reason makes men *irrational*" (Freire, 1974, p.15). Therefore, naïve consciousness is not necessarily a *higher* level of consciousness than fanaticized consciousness but one based on so-called magical understandings rather than scientific knowledge. Furthermore, young people's ability to be more critical of magical beliefs than scientific beliefs also reflects the dominance of science in their understandings of reality.

To explain this further, the findings illustrated how magical beliefs served to undermine the agency of young people in enacting social change through discourses that denied people of their knowledge and humanity. For example, witchcraft was

represented as the cause of social ills and other superstitious practices were believed to solve the problems of poverty. Magical accounts were used to explain educational differences and inequalities between Africa and the West and the mistreatment and inferiority of young women were explained as ancestral creations. There are thus two knowledge systems on which participants found explanations to their realities and that produced stigmatizing beliefs that were legitimated through either scientific or magical explanations. In scientific knowledge, ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility are 'anchoring images' that serve to re-define the nature of Africans, in different contexts and through different images, but nevertheless in ways that maintain a 'familiarity' with the original belief (Moscovici, 1984). Magical beliefs and superstitious practices sustain the proliferation of those anchoring images through popular myths and practices. Hence, in the context of stigmatizing representations of development, these knowledge systems are not in conflict with each other despite theorisations of science as a rational form of knowledge compared to depictions of magical knowledge as 'irrational' (Wagner et al., 2000; Duveen, 2001).

Much of this analysis thus contributes to the body of critical research that attempts to dispel the legitimacy of science and to demonstrate how so-called 'rational' knowledge is also rooted in beliefs and motivated by human interests (Duveen, 2000). Furthermore, I have argued that certain types of magical beliefs increase the social capital of communities by transforming hopelessness into hope, hope being a key element in fostering an "increasingly critical perception of the concrete conditions of reality" (Freire, 1974, p.10). This analysis therefore demonstrates that both scientific and magical explanations can undermine the knowledge and capabilities of young people and individuals in their communities, and the difficulties in distinguishing between naïve and fanaticized consciousness as separate levels of consciousness rather than a consciousness based on different systems of knowledge.

6.4.4.3 The Side-effects of Transitive Consciousness and the Search for Recognition
The significant aspect of Freire's approach for this analysis is how to overcome the 'lack of historicity' in young people's understandings so that their magical and scientific beliefs do not impair their abilities to oppose discriminatory practices and teach them to 'suffer peacefully' (ibid, p.74). Our concern is thus to address those magical beliefs that occur in levels of transitivity where individuals apportion blame onto themselves or others. These beliefs tend to not refer directly to God or superstitious practice but are linked to identity connotations such as gender or ethnicity (see this chapter, p.176).

Another concern is to address the scientific beliefs that have dehumanizing effects and the potential harmful attitudes and behaviours that ensue.

In naïve transitivity, young people were aware of oppressive social frameworks and often demonstrated underlying feelings of resentment and anger towards themselves or individuals in their immediate environment. They resisted the stigmatizing beliefs and values existing in the community, however, they had not yet acquired the necessary understandings, distance and support to make changes. They explained stigmatisation as wrong beliefs that had been inherited and/or that were part of an individual's character. Left unaddressed, this situation can lead to feelings of powerlessness and insignificance if young people's' emotions are not channelled into positive outcomes. Faced with a lack of support from significant adults and community members (as demonstrated in the photo-story data and in the process of photo-story development), young people experienced isolation and aloneness as their attempts to resist mistreatment were met with disbelief and more violence and their attempts to build relationships in the community were met with suspicion, jealousy and violence. As a result, young people experienced a loss in self-esteem and had limited choices other than to silence themselves.

When young people displayed fatalistic behaviours and attitudes, their level of transitivity was referred to as fanaticised consciousness because they had internalized the stigma ascribed to them. Freire explains that individuals reach this stage as the continuous and dynamic nature of consciousness that unblocks their agency to free themselves from magical beliefs does not automatically imply a deconstruction of the oppressive elements of the social institutions and values that spark those changes. For example, even though young women would denounce the mistreatment that they received (in their photo-stories), at other times they would present themselves as lazy and irresponsible (in discussion groups and focus groups) meaning that they had not established a clear linkage between the experience of mistreatment, the impact of mistreatment on behaviour and self-esteem and the discourse of blame that ensues. These contradictions occur in different contexts and through different topics of discussion thereby demonstrating how a variety of methods can show the different sides of consciousness. This lack of critical understanding also impacts on behaviour and further impairs the possibilities for positive social action. As Freire (1974, p.8) states: "while it would be impossible to return the emerging masses to their previous state of submersion, it might be possible to lead them to immobility and silence in the

name of their own freedom". Many of the testimonies in this study exposed the distorted understandings of the causes of reality and the dehumanisation that individuals experienced as a result. These practices breed fear and silence in the community, where recognition is more likely to be attained through fatalistic behaviours (Howarth, 2004; Phoenix, 2009). In addition to the identity impacts mentioned in the previous paragraph, the findings also revealed that a loss of dignity in the community and the disillusionment of community members led individuals to engage in drug and alcohol consumption in search for recognition and respect when they were not valued elsewhere. Furthermore, families sometimes refrained from sending children to school because of a perceived futility due to the lack of job opportunities and a lack of value for girl children beyond the expected household duties. As I also argued in Chapter Two, resisting the beliefs and practices that undermine communities and that prevent the development of consciousness requires a reliance on alternative knowledges that are to be born out of the experiences and agency of individuals in communities and supported through an empowerment approach to social change.

6.4.4.4 Empowerment as Resistance and the Production of Alternatives

Freire states that a progression in consciousness does not automatically imply the achievement of critical consciousness. People can reach naïve or fanaticised consciousness, however, critical consciousness involves an *intervention* to overcome internalised beliefs. Furthermore, it is important to differentiate between forms of resistance that rely on naïve levels of consciousness and those that rely on critical levels of consciousness. To explain this further, I draw on Fromm's explanation of the differences between 'freedom from' and 'freedom to' (Fromm, 1971). *Freedom from* is the type of consciousness that opposes dominant forms of power as external (e.g. freedom from the oppression of Western values and institutions). *Freedom to* is the type of consciousness that opposes dominant forms of power through an understanding of the internal manifestations of power and an active rationalization of difference (e.g. freedom to re-define self and society without undermining others). The former can lead to narrow forms of identity politics to mobilise resistance, based either on a belief in a so-called authentic and homogenous African culture or a homogenous black identity (see Chapter 1, p.43 and p.46). Furthermore, this resistance would be based on low levels of transitivity and therefore be tainted by internalised beliefs that reify Western values and practices. This means that, ultimately, scientific knowledge would remain legitimised and consequently "...force indigenous people to divert their

energies from the positive pursuit of indigenously defined social change, to the negative goal of resisting cultural, political, and economic domination by the West" (Banuri, 2001, p.66). On the other hand, the type of resistance based on more critical levels of consciousness implies an understanding of intersectionality and how relational forms of power reproduce stigmatisation and also implies an acknowledgement of the productiveness of power. The young people in this project demonstrated instances of this through their acknowledgement that social change comes from the experience of stigma and discrimination that people face, the acknowledgement of difference and the plurality of community interests.

The above paragraphs have demonstrated that young people's voices revealed understandings that cut across all levels of consciousness suggested by Freire and understandings that exposed the historicity of internalised and stigmatizing beliefs, thereby exposing the 'continuous', 'creative' and 'dynamic' nature of conscientisation (Phoenix, 2009). The complex power dynamics, in particular the hidden aspects of stigma, went a long way in explaining the contradictions and ambiguities in participants' explanations of the realities they faced. Finally, the complicity of scientific and so-called magical knowledge systems in perpetuating stigma and discrimination makes it even more necessary to base empowerment efforts on the agency and critical awakening of individuals in communities to mobilise around alternatives. Social psychological studies have demonstrated the benefits to communities whose members mobilise themselves around activities targeting various social concerns, thereby expanding the 'social capital' of communities (Campbell, 2001, 2002). In this way, individuals and groups create social identities through relational practices that recognise different perspectives and within a social change process that diminishes reductionist understandings of identity. During the discussion groups, young people repeatedly referred to the need for educating and sensitising people and making others aware of the social concerns that they were raising, thereby expressing their desire to be heard and the centrality of the process of consciousness for empowerment and social change. The above discussion also showed that an empowerment intervention, such as the Shooting Horizons project, can lead to critical understandings and propose alternative conceptualizations of young people and community life.

6.5   Conclusion to Part III

Chapters Five and Six discussed how young people describe their situation, the contradictions and ambiguities in their perceptions of self and society, and their hope and determination for the future. These chapters specifically highlighted the discrepancies between representational practices and the lived realities of young people. The hesitations and contradictions in young people's voices illustrated the consequences of being caught between different levels of consciousness of the world around them and being exposed to knowledge systems that undermine their knowledge and capabilities and lead to stigmatizing beliefs and discriminatory practices. These are hard to resist because of a long history of dehumanising representations that have insidiously permeated the minds of people and have become part of their consciousness. Through psychological processes, young people and community members have come to internalise these beliefs and project their guilt onto themselves and others, in particular young women, through a victim-blaming discourse that undermines their knowledge and capabilities, and exonerates the exclusionary role of broader institutions of society. A critique of the resistance that young people express also exposes how internalization denies people the ability to perceive their role in sustaining different forms of discrimination in the community.

These beliefs and practices expose the dehumanisation imbued in these societies and how difference has become the basis upon which individuals deny themselves and others of the freedom and responsibility for social change. As Fromm explains in *Escape from Freedom*:

> We neglect the role of anonymous authorities like public opinion and "common sense", which are so powerful because of our profound readiness to conform to the expectations everybody has about ourselves and our equally profound fear of being different (Fromm, 1971, p.125).

The processes of dehumanisation lead to fatalistic attitudes and behaviours and brought to the fore a largely unspoken fear that silences the communities in which the young people live who took part in this study. As Fromm further explains, the transition towards modernisation ideals is the promise of freedom for the individual, (political, economic, and spiritual), but it is also one that brings 'aloneness, isolation, insignificance and powerlessness' as representational projects exclude those on the margins of society (ibid). Social psychological research explains how these representational projects espouse stigmatizing representations that seek to establish a hegemony in society (Duveen, 2000).

Nevertheless, young people also continue to show determination and faith in a better future. Perhaps their advantage is that their lived experiences and understandings of social reality give them the ability to transcend blind beliefs and simplified explanations to social phenomena. In day-to-day life, young people use a range of values and resources for living based on practical needs and emotional understandings. In doing so, they elucidate the multiple forms of power that exist in society and that contribute to maintaining discrimination and inequality, and, in the process, develop a will and motivation for resistance.

The Shooting Horizons project responds to the need for interventions in the process of conscientisation and social change. Young people benefited from activities that prevented and mediated fatalistic attitudes and that empowered them to enact alternative behaviours and practices. The experiences of the project revealed the empowering effects of an enabling environment for interacting with young people and for young people to interact with other members of their communities. Furthermore, the visual methods in this case significantly contributed to empowering young women to resist the racialized and gendered discourses that oppress them.

The analysis shows that interventions must be carefully planned to avoid rehashing stigmatizing knowledge and creating conditions of even greater despair. Young people must feel a sense of achievement from their creative efforts and a renewed sense of self-esteem and purpose. Many participants referred to the Shooting Horizons project as *positive* in comparison to other projects because of the photographic skills acquired, its challenging communicative aspects and the self-esteem they derived from it. This was mainly due to the freedom and responsibility entrusted to them, the social conscience they developed, and the spaces provided for recognizing their work. These chapters thus demonstrated how, through a conscientisation process, involving creative social action, young people forged positive social identities, resisted and found alternatives to the social contexts that oppress them. Equipped with deeper understandings and creative tools, young people thrived on their abilities to "...apply [their] effort and reason actively to the work [they were] doing, as something for which [they could] feel responsible because it had meaning and purpose in terms of [their] human ends" (Fromm, 1974, p.300). As Fromm states further: "the artist is similar to the revolutionary throughout history" (ibid, p.286). Young people in the Shooting Horizons project were the artists who revolutionized not only their sense of self and

community relations but also the ways in which we, as researchers, find more inclusive and dialogical methodologies, thereby de-mythicising academic elitisms and breaking down the barriers to knowledge.

Building upon the findings of the data, Part IV provides a social psychological commentary on the theoretical and methodological approach of the Shooting Horizons project as well as a set of recommendations for future policies and practices targeting young people, community development and empowerment approaches in general, and includes a model for youth empowerment in urban African settings.

Chapter Seven - Summary

Development meets Social Psychology

Chapter Seven is a reflexive social psychological commentary on the research process starting from the critique of development, the methodological framework and the analysis of the findings. In this chapter, I incorporate the lessons learned from this journey to analyse the contributions that a social psychological approach to empowerment can have in urban African contexts. The main areas requiring further research are in developing the content and process of critical consciousness and in establishing alliances with the relevant institutions so that young people's ideas and efforts gain the recognition and support that they require.

Chapter Seven- Development meets Social Psychology

As the postcolonial and post-Cold War model of global authority takes shape and reconfigures relationships between the overdeveloped, the developing, and the developmentally arrested worlds, it is important to ask what critical perspectives might nurture the ability and the desire to live with difference on an increasingly divided but also convergent planet?

(Paul Gilroy, 2004, p.3)

7.1   A Reflexive Encounter

Upon embarking on this journey into the lives of young people in Kliptown and the inner-cities of Dar es Salaam, I asked the following question: Can a social psychological approach to youth empowerment provide young people with the tools to enact social change? To answer this question, I established social psychology, among other things, as a reflexive theoretical approach to knowledge and power that allowed us to understand some of the social and psychological processes that lead to empowerment. As a scientific discipline with a Eurocentric past, its reflexive character is what gives it the objectivity and legitimacy in the context of this study, involving communities in Tanzania and South Africa. Given the complicity of the social sciences in the imperialist conquest of two-thirds of the world's inhabitants, there is a tendency amongst social psychologists to view the role of social science as one that must criticise the social order and seek social justice (Moscovici, 1972; Hepburn, 2003; Gough and McFadden, 2001). Furthermore, who better to criticise the social order than those who are rendered the most marginal to it, 'those who have suffered the sentence of history – subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement', those from whom we can 'learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking' (Bhabha, 1994, p.246)? In a contemporary world, where the local and global are intertwined, characterized by a rapprochement of cultures and a decentring of power, a reflexive project becomes a real possibility. By broadening their understandings and expanding the creativity of their methodologies, researchers can seek not only to criticise the social order but also to transcend it and to voice the perspectives of those on the margins of society so that they can become the engines for social change.

In explaining the role of a social psychology of empowerment, it was necessary to identify the current situation of young people and the institutions and discourses that had an impact on their lives. To this vein, the development paradigm was introduced as

constituting the grand narratives in which young people's lives were located. The rationale for this starting point was to position the lives of young people in a historical space, in order to reflect on their understandings, to give a meaning to the trajectories of their consciousness, and how they constructed counter-narratives in the history of the grand discourses of development because "history is both a discourse of knowledge and a discourse of power" (Mudimbe, 1988, p.188). For Foucault (1973, p.364), history and science in general have the "project of bringing man's consciousness back to its real condition, of restoring it to the contents and forms that brought it into being, and elude us within it". Despite the non-performativity of development institutions in young people's lives in significant ways, a Foucauldian perspective suggests that knowledge operates as a form of power and operates within an 'order of things' (Foucault, 1966). Therefore, our task was not only to question the presence or lack of presence of the institutions of development in the lives of young Africans but the fact of their existence as a form of knowledge and governmentality and their claim to be, to some degree, addressing the needs of young people. In other words, how development fuels 'complex strategies of cultural identification and discursive address' (Bhabha, 1994, p.201) that define young people in Africa, who simultaneously occupy marginal positions in the project of development.

7.1.1   Outline

This chapter reflects upon the findings of the Shooting Horizons project and discusses how a social psychology of empowerment can destabilise and overcome some of the constraining impacts of development discourse and practice and begin to rekindle the drive for social change that once inspired generations of young Africans. I start with a central question in social psychology, which is the tension between individual and social strands of the discipline (Farr, 1996; Moscovici and Markova, 2006). A social psychological critique of the ideologies guiding the development narrative in that intermediary space, between the individual and the social, exposes how stigmatizing representations and discriminatory practices occur and remain unchallenged. Secondly, I reflect on the effectiveness of post-colonial concepts to understand the individual-social interface in the context of discriminatory power, how internalised beliefs sustain the stigma defined by development knowledge and identity dynamics that limit the possibilities for resistance. Thirdly, I analyse how stigma is also reproduced socially through the reification and legitimation of development policies and practices. Finally, I evaluate the theoretical and methodological concepts that can

reverse those trends and produce alternative meanings. To that effect, I propose an empowerment approach to youth development that takes into account differences in the lived realities of stigmatisation and discrimination, implying a re-conceptualisation of the multiple dimensions of power, and a commitment to re-presentational practices.

7.2   The Individual-Social Interface

It is arguable the relationship between individuals and the social institutions of a society that underlies the essence of social psychological contributions to knowledge (Hewstone et al., 1996). The emergence of social psychology as a field in its own right coincided with the widespread denial of the values of freedom and individual rights during the Holocaust contradicting the precepts of the institutions of modernization and revealing their ambivalence (Moscovici and Markova, 2006). These issues continue to matter today and this research contributes to the body of social psychological knowledge addressing the effect of power on local communities. The chapters leading up to this point have demonstrated the impact of development discourse on the ways in which young people in inner-city areas of Dar es Salaam and Soweto interact with their families and the community structures that surround them. Based on our understanding of the origins of development through the rationale of modernity and national policies and practices (as introduced in the opening chapters), I explored the relationship between the individual and the social in urban spaces where the inequalities and tensions of modernisation are most visible. Mudimbe suggests that:

> "…this intermediary space could be viewed as the major signifier of underdevelopment. It reveals the strong tension between a modernity that often is an illusion of development, and a tradition that sometimes reflects a poor image of a mythical past" (Mudimbe, 1988, p.5).

Mudimbe alludes to how the individual-social interface is the site of conflicting knowledges between the rationalities of an imposing system of development and those of individuals in communities. Furthermore, that it is the dynamics of the individual-social interface in development spaces that explains underdevelopment rather than the development discourse itself or community life. The findings of this study demonstrated how young people's beliefs colluded with and resisted the development discourse, as they sought to belong to a society that simultaneously marginalized them. They understood their material needs in relation to the institutions of modernity and revealed how the values and practices of these same institutions exploited them. In search for explanations, young people also used magical and mythical accounts to

explain their situation without a critical appreciation of the origins and impact of those beliefs.

7.2.1 Cognitive Approaches

The problem of the individual-social interface is best understood through a reflexive analysis of the different perspectives in social psychological research. The contradictions and ambiguities in young people's understandings of development invite an investigation of the rationalities underlying those differences and presents social psychologists with questions of how social knowledge is processed through individuals' thought processing mechanisms.

Cognitive strands of social psychology tend to locate the individual as the site of analysis for how knowledge is translated into practice. Social identity and social categorisation theories (Tajfel 1979, 1981; Turner, 1987) suggest that people make sense of the world around them through a 'rational mental organization' by classifying information into categories (Leach, 2002). Other cognitive approaches assume that lay people process information in 'naïve' terms relying largely on 'perceptive cues' and using 'intuitive' methods to classify information: 'ordinary folk are naïve essentialists' (Gil-White, 2001; Hirschfeld, 1995). These approaches present limitations as they do not locate the *origins* of those categories or analyse their *content* and *purpose*. They assume their pre-existence. Secondly, they fail to appreciate the link between the content of categories and the process of rationality itself, thereby assuming that individuals will classify information in the same way (Wetherell 1996; Duveen 2001 in Howarth 2002a). The common belief in an ideal of rationality locates the individual as the site of investigation and more poignantly as the 'site of breakdown of rationality' thus presupposing the possibility of a pure rationality (Henriques, 1984). Once this assumption is made, it facilitates understandings of development on the basis of pre-established macroeconomic determinants of poverty. Individuals can then be classified into categories of 'developed' or 'underdeveloped', for instance, without a critical questioning of these categories. They appear as neutral and objective. Such understandings have grave implications for how we understand the role and position of individuals in local communities in the development project.

As demonstrated in Part I, young people are represented through the calculations, images and texts of development reports and policy documents, often through an

ambiguous discourse and a language of blame and victimisation. The analysis of the development discourse exposed how the institutionalisation of poverty was established in the post-colonial era, through a new world order based on the logic of liberalism, that rendered Africa (and other countries of the 'South') as poor, underdeveloped and in need to catch up with the Western world. Images of poverty and destitution became common sense, an accepted reality, as they normalised and objectified the situation of young people and their communities. Part III described how young people colluded with this version of reality by internalising these images and associating poverty and underdevelopment with the laziness, ignorance and irresponsibility of people in their communities and using a range of mythical beliefs to explain its effects. In doing so, they explained their problems as the characteristics of individuals or their own value systems, through a language of blame and victimization. The poverty of Africans was thus seen as a natural and essentialising characteristic, *"... a function of weak personality, biased perception or ethnocentric categorisation...* (Leach, 2002, p.440) and African populations became at once the cause and the effect of poverty.

Hence, through scientific claims over true rationality, supported by multiple evidential tools, development discourses assume an authority over knowledge in ways that extend the colonial imperatives of the past or the legitimacy of the nation, thereby absolving their role in maintaining the status quo. By privileging the individual over the social, theorists, politicians and policy-makers negate the dialogical link between the individual and the social. They fall 'into the trap of an individual-society dualism' (Ahmed, 2000) that equates to development with a 'rational and developed' individual, whose existence represents the beginning and end of the development project, in opposition to the 'irrational' individual who is the burden of development, but nevertheless remains marginal to it because of the immovable fact of his or her irrationality.

7.2.2   The Social Psychology of Knowledge

Moving away from this dedicated convergence on the individual, social constructionist perspectives are helpful in the sense that they focus on the processes of rationalization and categorization to understand how individuals name, blame, and justify their understandings of reality (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). For social constructionists, social reality is constructed through social institutions, cultural, traditional and day-to-

day interactions between individuals and groups (Lynn and Lea, 2003, p.428). Therefore, social constructionism enables us to locate beliefs in a historical narrative and the social dynamics of a society. This turn in social psychology is often referred to as putting the social back into social psychology (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Leaving behind definitions of social psychology as the study of attitudes and behaviour, theorists turned to the social psychology of knowledge: "A social psychology of knowledge is concerned with the processes through which knowledge is generated, transformed and projected into the social world" (Duveen, 2000, p.2). It represents a move away from the acceptance of pre-established categories that define how individuals locate themselves in their world, to a struggle over meaning: What does it mean to be poor or underdeveloped? What does it mean to be marginal to the development project? Central to this agenda is the concept of representations. Representation is a form of knowledge that 'relates appearance and reality' (Moscovici, 1984) and that takes into account the fact that individuals make sense of reality by using symbols and images. In a social psychology of knowledge, "to represent … is to make present what is actually absent…" (Jovchelovitch, 2007, p.10). Therefore, the analysis that follows focuses on the representations of poverty and underdevelopment and sheds more light on the concealed meanings of development through a deconstruction of the *origin, content* and *purpose* of these categories.

7.2.2.1 Representational Practices

Origin. The findings in Part III led to the deconstruction of the representations of 'poverty' and 'development' in order to understand the repertoire of knowledge that individuals drew upon to rationalize these categories. Moscovici's (1984) approach to social representations has gathered much interest amongst social psychologists because of its potential to address contemporary social problems (Howarth, 2004, 2006; Joffe, 2002; Jovchelovitch, 2007; Jodelet, 1991). It considers how scientific claims become common sense knowledge through processes of anchoring and objectification. The data found in this project identified ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility as anchoring images of individuals in African contexts. A historical perspective identified the root of those beliefs to the scientific claims that were made about Africans at the beginning of the 20th century as a justification for colonisation. Without understanding the historical context in which these beliefs came about and in light of the established psychological assumption of natural categories, it would be easy to accept these characteristics as reflecting true reality. However, the analysis of the data revealed the 'invisible depths' of representations of African poverty and underdevelopment (Bauer

and Gaskell, 1999), thereby exposing the 'precarious and unstable nature of our definitions, of our knowledge, of what constitutes truth and reality' (Jovchelovitch, 2007, p.10).

Content. The set of representational practices that these images symbolize can be referred to as stereotyping (Hall, 2000, p.257), or, in this particular case, a form of *'racialized knowledge of the other'* (Said, 1978) that aims to fix differences through the work of representational practice (Hall, 2000, p.228). (Throughout this study, I have referred to these as stigmatizing representations, which is explained in the next paragraph). Despite the current trends in social psychology that view racism as socially constructed, many theorists claim that 'race' continues to be used as a 'taken-for-granted' category in both everyday and scientific discourse (Riggs and Augoustinos, 2005; Hirschfeld, 1995, Leach, 2002). In the analysis of the findings, I identified racialisation as a determining factor in young people's understandings of the differences between levels of development between Africa and the West. I also demonstrated how the racialising representations that came up were reminiscent of the racialized discourse that served to justify colonialism. The analysis thus demonstrated that, in the current era of development, the content of these representations had changed, but nevertheless remained anchored around the ignorance, laziness and irresponsibility of Africans. As Phoenix states, "...the ideas are recursive but the content continually shifts as social ideologies shift" (Phoenix, 1998, p.862). Postcolonial analyses have also shown the centrality of stereotyping to the colonial project and "have demonstrated the continuities and divergences between the period of colonial rule and the contemporary moment of international development and explored how development mediates, extends and counters this legacy" (Kothari, 2006b, p.10). Thus the origins and content of racialising representations of Africans are inextricably linked and have persisted overtime through development discourses.

Purpose. To explain this persistence, we turn to how origin and content are also linked to the purpose of representations. The *purpose* of representations deals with the *how* and *what for* of representations, the motivational aspects of knowledge (Jovchelovitch, 2007). There are multiple dimensions of power imbued in this process. In my analysis, I referred to representations as stigmatizing to take into account their ideological content and exclusionary practice: "A representation may be classified as ideological if its anchors and objectifications can be shown to contradict the project of a particular social milieu and thus to sustain a relationship of dominance" (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999,

p.173). Goffman (1963) describes stigma as a negative 'mark' attributed to individuals or groups that excludes them from a social milieu. Therefore, I argued that the project of development leads to stigmatizing representations of poverty and underdevelopment that have an ideological function to exclude and maintain relationships of dominance. The development discourse in this case is not only one that fixes difference but that also promotes stigmatizing practices. I referred to these practices as a racialising and gendered discourse of postcoloniality.

7.3   Power Relations in the Individual-Social Interface

7.3.1   Identification and Social Constructionist Perspectives

The concern at this stage of the analysis is to capture critically the relations of power in the individual-social interface in order to understand what the possibilities may be of challenging the racialising and gendered representations in development discourse. In addition to producing external realities, representational practices also have an impact on internal or subjective factors that can both maintain or resist stigmatizing representations. Social representations studies partly deals with this by linking representations to identity: the way people take on and re-enact the representations that others assign to them, or challenge them towards the co-construction of positive identities (Howarth, 2002a&b). This was evident in the findings that demonstrated young people's propensity to take on fatalistic attitudes and behaviours on the one hand, and their ability to re-present alternative discourses in the production of photo-stories on the other. Therefore, the advantage of this approach is that it allows for the possibility of resistance as young people reject and challenge stigmatizing representations. However, social representations theory and social constructionists in general have been criticised for the absence of power in explaining the motivational aspects of knowledge (Howarth, 2006). Viewing reality as socially constructed can lead to debates around relativism, that is, viewing representations as equal in value and impact, not fully taking into account the social-cognitive dimensions of discriminatory power. Furthermore, the co-existence of contradictory representations in social representations theory does not always take into account how some representations impose themselves in ways that subordinate others and undermine the achievement of a positive self-concept – therefore, opposing the 'self-protective strategy' that the theory suggests (Wagner et al., 2000). It is these questions that have led many theorists to explore the role of power in social constructionists perspectives through a more critical account of the relationship between cognitive and social processes.

7.3.2 Identification and Post-colonial Concepts

Fanon and Biko's writings reveal how internalization, projection and over-determination are directly linked to the oppressive frameworks of a society. Part III established the repertoire of internalised held by young people and how these were often directed at young women, thereby demonstrating the 'relational construction of meanings' (Howarth, 2006) or how stigma is transferred onto others. Projection is a socio-cognitive practice of representation that described how those who were stigmatized shifted stigmatizing practices onto others in more vulnerable positions than themselves, which explained how laziness, ignorance and irresponsibility were overwhelmingly attributed to young women in participants' testimonies through a language of 'horizontal violence' (Freire, 1972).

Over-determination alluded to the difficulties in escaping representational practices as individuals tried to resist the representations attributed to them but failed to do so because of the affective mechanisms of power and the fixity of categories that lead individuals to re-enact the images attributed to them. This was demonstrated through the analysis of fanaticised consciousness where young people revealed the hard work that they did but yet described themselves as lazy without realising the contradiction. They were therefore "imprisoned in the circle of interpretation" (Bhabha, 1997, p.119) or as Biko (1978, p.65) explains, referring to the situation under Apartheid: "white power [presented] itself as a totality not only provoking us but also controlling our response to the provocation".

These socio-cognitive and affective mechanisms of power diminish the possibilities to resist stigmatizing representations and serve as a reminder of the differential and hierarchical stratification of the knowledge held by different social groups in society. Young women in this study also frequently undermined their own positions by attributing irresponsibility and laziness to teenage sexuality and pregnancy, thereby reinforcing prevailing beliefs. An analysis that combines internalization, projection and over-determination thus presents the multiple mechanisms of power that must be addressed in formulating alternative perspectives.

7.3.3   Knowledge Systems and Social Identities

The hierarchy of representations demands an investigation into the reification and legitimation of the scientific knowledge that underlies these beliefs and the truth effects of development discourse. Post-colonial theorists and critical development theorists have proposed that the juxtaposition between the knowledges of the West and those of the rest of the world is key in understanding the development paradigm and have proposed that the differences between what it means to be developed or underdeveloped are reliant on shared beliefs rather than 'nature or destiny' (Munck and O'Hearn, 1999). The following quote expresses the tension between knowledge systems in those spaces where individuals negotiate their understandings of the world:

> 'The idea of the modern west as a model of achievement, and the rest of the world as an inferior derivative remains integral to the concept of development. The metaphor of a healthy adult continues to inform the analysis of the 'modern' or 'core' world and that of a child the status of the 'traditional' or 'peripheral'. Both constitute an underdeveloped world inhabited primarily by people of colour as poor, lacking, and culturally inferior' (Manzo, 1991).

Manzo describes how it is not the existence of different knowledge systems that reveals the problem of development in post-colonial contexts, but a knowledge *hierarchy*, supported by representations that express and maintain that hierarchy. Mudimbe, in the quotation on page 205 of this chapter, also describes how knowledge systems are often presented in a modern-versus-traditional dichotomy and refers to these as illusory categories. Such binary oppositions can present problems for producing resistance as they rely on narrow forms of social identity that assume that individuals will identify with either modern or traditional values and practices thereby not taking into account the complexity of contemporary spheres. As Manzo suggests, traditional knowledge is often signified by colour or culture and located in the 'underdeveloped' world and separate from modern knowledge, thereby assuming the possibility of a 'pure' culture (Wagner et al, 1999). In the context of this study, such an analysis would attribute poverty and underdevelopment as characteristics of a traditional knowledge system and exonerate the role of development knowledge and institutions. Furthermore, binary oppositions can present the traditional context as an alternative to the stigmatizing practices of development, which, coupled with the assumption of a pure traditional knowledge, romanticises poverty as a state of resistance and can lead to the conclusion that traditional knowledge is not oppressive.

In the findings, I illustrated how mythical and magical belief systems further facilitated the internalization of stigma. I demonstrated that these belief systems did not

represent an alternative knowledge system to the development discourse as they were already informed by a racialized and gendered discourse of postcoloniality and thus represented another mode of transferring stigmatizing representations. I therefore argue that development knowledge is a 'hegemonic' form of knowledge reliant on 'moral persuasion' and economic power that induces people to shift their ideological perspectives to echo dominant ideas (Ledwith, 2001). This was evidenced through the macroeconomic theories that defined levels of development in terms of wealth, through policies and practices that employed a language of stigma and victimising poverty and that denied people their knowledge and capabilities. This was also evidenced through young people's beliefs in the superiority of Western knowledge and practices, the internalization of stigmatizing beliefs and the resulting fatalistic behaviours that absolved them from the responsibility of enacting social change. Therefore, interpreting the lived realities of individuals and communities in urban African contexts through binary oppositions between modern and traditional knowledge, cannot fully take into account how stigmatizing representations impose themselves onto the beliefs and values of a society and produce complex social identities that both collude and resist this stigma without necessarily producing viable and visible alternatives.

7.4   The False Consciousness of Development

The above reflections on social psychological contributions to knowledge provided insights into how representations emerge, their changing content and persistent effects, thereby elucidating the many paradoxical and ambiguous accounts that young people provided to explain development. A historical perspective on development knowledge exposed the racialising and gendered signifiers and the complex ways that they become immersed and persist through social realities in the intersections between cognitive and social processes. Furthermore, by exposing the internal and relational workings of power, I demonstrated how stigmatizing representations impact on identification and how identities are negotiated and re-negotiated implicitly and explicitly through the grand narratives of development, leading to discriminatory practices and fatalistic behaviours. Finally, the reification and legitimation of development knowledge is understood as a dominant form of power that is omnipresent where resistance is curtailed and where counter-discursive practices to the established framework do not necessarily lead to social change, but can translate into further forms of oppression.

All of these elements can elucidate how many of the gains acquired through independence struggles in Tanzania and South Africa receded and were replaced by an ambiguous rhetoric of a people-centred development. For instance, I demonstrated some of the pitfalls of 'reductionist identity politics' (Phoenix, 1998) for resistance movements, as inviting essentialist notions of what it means to be black or African in these contexts, thereby undermining the different positionings and agendas of individuals and groups in society. This is visible in Tanzanian policy documents that blame and victimise the young people they seek to serve, by focusing on the individual and/or African culture as the problem. In South Africa, the more polished character of policy documents does not translate into an improved situation for young people. Policies are framed in a neo-liberal logic that re-appropriates the rhetoric of a people-centred development. Without a critical analysis of discrimination and difference in this context, the South African government is leaning towards 'ideological confusion' (Ledwith, 2001). Hence, Tanzania and South Africa's people-centred development projects are seemingly taking a path leading to a 'false consciousness' of the people who are trapped in a circle of interpretation.

Nevertheless, the situation is not always so bleak. In the face of power, people find ways to mitigate its effects and challenge, resist, and propose alternatives. The alternatives to the development narrative described in this thesis have also produced the current people-centred development discourse and explain its inherent ambiguities. They explain how people have fought to be 'free from' external systems of oppression as a precursor to 'freedom towards' becoming active and responsible members of society and engendering creative social change (Fromm, 1974). Identity struggles featured prominently in the positive benefits derived from independence movements throughout the continent and young people in Dar es Salaam and Soweto repeatedly referred to the need for positive social identities in their struggle for social recognition. The rest of this chapter thus focuses on an empowerment approach to social change to respond to some of the limitations of development knowledge and practice.

7.5   A Social Psychology of Empowerment

In this research, I defined as an alternative knowledge system the critical understandings and practices that emanate from individuals and communities who live

under oppressive circumstances and their motivation, hopes and dreams for the future. It is a knowledge system based on localised and everyday understandings rather than a romantic ideal of a mythical past. It is not just about different ways of doing things and seeing the world but how those differences are also the result of stigmatizing and discriminatory power. It expresses the "counter-narratives of the nation [that] disturb those ideological manoeuvres through which 'imagined communities' are given essentialist identities" (Bhabha, 1994, p.213). A social psychology of empowerment is one that, as its name suggests, theorizes power as its central component. It focuses on the productive nature of power to demonstrate individuals' ability and understanding to resist oppression. Power is analysed through the narratives of young people, their understandings of development and experiences of community life. An empowerment approach theorizes the agency of individuals as the set of strategies and tactics that motivate them and restore a sense of purpose in their lives. The focus on empowerment is also a commitment to promote positive values of social change over deficit models of development. The individual-social tension has been presented as a site of conflict but it is also a space that is necessary for social change. It constitutes a space for re-writing the history of the present through alternative representations. A historical perspective of development demonstrated that, over time, individuals and nations oppose oppressive social structures, through efforts to curb the silence, fear and sense of powerlessness of people in communities. However, these efforts need to be reinvigorated. As one young woman said:

> *"People might get the chance to criticize the government but they are afraid of speaking the truth… because… people are afraid because they think another time the government will help them…or…because they feel inferior and don't know their rights" (Biubwa, 16).*

Located between the micro and macro understandings of development narratives, the Shooting Horizons project engaged young people in representational projects that challenged stigmatizing beliefs and discriminatory practices and aimed to produce alternatives. The narratives of the young people reflected the different agendas and strategies of identification that they used to re-negotiate and co-construct their present realities. The forthcoming presentation of an empowerment strategy analyses how experiences of stigma varied across individual and social differences. I also evaluate how the theoretical and methodological approach of the Shooting Horizons project addressed those differences, in particular how it responded to identification impacts and promoted activities for social recognition.

7.5.1   Difference, Identity and Resistance

The analysis of difference presented in this study, forms the basis on which a social psychology of empowerment is developed. It takes into account different social positionings (age, race, and gender), in different contexts (economic, cultural, environmental, historical, emotional, and spiritual), and at different levels (local, national, regional, and global) (adapted from Ledwith, 2001). Difference therefore cuts across a wide range of factors that influence the individual-social dialectic. It exposes the complexity of individual interests and social interests that are at stake and that influence questions of identity and resistance. Difference is central to how people renegotiate their identities within oppressive circumstances and how they resist dominant and relational forms of power.

The findings demonstrated how young people defined poverty and development on a number of different factors that coincide with the categories suggested above. In terms of differences in *levels* of analysis, participants discussed how material inequalities were apparent within specific localities/neighbourhoods, nationwide (urban-rural), regionally (between African countries) and internationally (the West and Africa). Differences in *context* were revealed through the description of their communities and pointed to the historical, cultural and spiritual environment, the social networks available, and the presence (or lack) of social institutions (churches, schools, transport systems, youth centers, etc.). Young people's accounts also revealed different social *positionings* – through racialized and gendered stratifications. These three categories (level, context, and positioning) also impacted on each other. For example, the young women from Kiwohede Trust had fewer material resources in comparison to the other groups at the time of the projects and the stigmatisation of young women was far more pronounced than that of their male counterparts, through gendered discourses and mistreatment in the community. This was visible through the emotional content of the photo-stories developed by young women. An assortment of individual and social factors therefore contributed to the differential treatment and lived experiences of stigmatisation. All of these elements were intertwined to make up the social fabric of the communities, the multiple identities and behaviours that ensued.

7.5.2 Empowering Methodologies

Faced with such diversity and with the aim of reversing the oppressive impact of development narratives, the methodology needed to expose those differences in critical ways. From a social psychological perspective, it needed to address two key points: reversing the socio-cognitive practices that reify the scientific claims of development discourses and perpetuate stigmatizing representations through a process of conscientisation; and, producing alternative meanings and understandings of social change, through building social identities and gaining social recognition. These two tenets aim to reverse the assumption (of development approaches) that individuals and communities are lacking in knowledge and capabilities.

7.5.2.1 Creative and Multiple Methods

Strands of social psychological research have criticised the fact that the notion of man as a unitary, rational object of science is not challenged in studies, which rely largely on experimental methodologies that tend to predict *normal or abnormal* behaviour (Billig, 2002; Mama, 1995; Henriques, 1984; Wetherell, 1992). Mama (1995) and Henriques (1984) further argue that the methodological constraints of scientific psychology are largely based on colonial philosophical assumptions underpinning the discipline as a whole. Hence, this study took on an ethnographic approach to challenge the assumed neutrality of scientific approaches and to investigate the meanings behind human behaviour. However, an ethnographic approach also needed to be defined, given the emphasis on investigating 'otherness' and the assumed neutrality of ethnographic principles. Theories that preclude a radical critique of society can have the effect of "turning liberal motives into conservative practices" (Leach, 2002, p.440), particularly when investigating a discipline as ambiguous as development. In this study, the ethnographic approach emphasised the need for a long-term empowerment intervention to enable the production of new knowledge and the commitment to voicing alternative perspectives.

To respond to this, the methodology adopted a combination of methods. The use of different methods enabled me to analyse the multiple representations of reality held by young people over the course of the investigation. The triangulation of the methods exposed the different perspectives of the participants in different contexts and at different times, thus taking into account their explicit and implicit knowledge and the new understandings that emerged through the research process. The 'inconsistencies' and 'contradictions' that surfaced in participants' views also "[demonstrated] that

social phenomena look different as they are approached from different angles" (Bauer and Gaskell 1999, p.345). The use of Photovoice also supported this process as participants had to use their own creativity in producing photo-stories and had to think critically about how to represent themselves or their communities in the most effective ways. These aspects of Photovoice, as well as the interaction with the community in the research process, led to enhanced understandings and communicative practices and hence higher levels of social consciousness.

7.5.2.2 Conscientisation and Social Action

The Shooting Horizons project focused on two areas. Firstly, it addressed the symptomatic consequences of the current development paradigm, expressed through the fear, silences, powerlessness and harmful practices in the community (that I refer to as fatalism), through a process of conscientisation. This exercise engaged young people to challenge the stigmatizing beliefs and discriminatory practices in the community. It led some participants to formulate critical levels of understandings, thereby enabling them to perceive their own agency in the process. Conscientisation is a socio-cognitive process as it problematises young people's experiences in relation to the social institutions that surround them and the attitudes and behaviours they take on as a result. It therefore enabled a critical deconstruction of development discourse, stigma and the multiple dimensions of power.

Secondly, the project connected this process to social activities to build self-esteem, self-expression and recognition, thereby addressing the individual levels of stigmatisation (Campbell and Deacon, 2006). Perhaps the most important aspect of the project was the involvement of young people in social actions in the community. The findings demonstrated that constructive experiences in the community led to positive results beyond the scope of the project, because of the challenging role demanded of the young participants, the responsibility and recognition imparted to them, and the critical awakening of existing social values. Furthermore, the combination of creative methodological tools and the use of modern technologies was a significant contributor to motivating young people and to building practical skills that enhanced their self-confidence. It was the combination of critical consciousness and social activities that linked the participants to their social environment within an empowering approach. It represented the beginning of a process that could restore dignity in the community by focusing on positive activities rather than promoting a culture of blame and victimisation.

7.5.3   Linking Individuals to the Community

The positive testimonies provided by young people on their experiences in the community were also offset by difficult encounters. In communities with high levels of naïve and fanaticised consciousness, the concept of bonding social capital represented an area of contention. Social psychological studies have noted some of the limitations of the concept of social capital in particular contexts as being 'unduly essentialist' and '[failing] to take adequate account of the complex, fragmented and rapidly changing face of contemporary community life…' (Campbell and Gillies, 2001, p.344). Many of the young participants from Dar es Salaam had only moved to the city in recent years and their 'community' at the time of the research represented a network of peers attending the centres or from the streets, extended family and, to a limited extent, people living in the local area. Their testimonies revealed how these relationships highly influenced them and often determined their survival on the streets and/or their access to basic needs. For many young people in Dar es Salaam, the experience of displacement meant that Putnam's (1995) idea of community was ill-defined. It often represented a hostile environment where individuals competed for limited resources. The Shooting Horizons project represented for many of them a first attempt at engaging positively with other people in the 'community' and these experiences were often met with suspicion and rejection.

The Kliptown community was more established in historical and geographical terms as young people and their families had lived in the area for several generations. The environment presented more opportunities for strengthening bonding social capital. Participants mentioned that the Shooting Horizons project presented them with the opportunity to get to know each other and to forge friendships amongst each other. Nevertheless, the challenges they experienced in forging relationships in the community during the project were very similar to the Tanzanian participants. Therefore, although social capital appeared to be a significant factor in the success of the project, activities to build social capital must critically take into account the nature of the community environment and investigate the existing networks and relationships that could be strengthened. The findings indicated that forging positive bonds between young people and the community around them was easier in more stable environments but further research is required to determine the more intricate factors that contributed to that process. In both environments, it was the relationships with their

peers and/or significant adults that facilitated participants' interactions in the community during the process of photo-story development. These findings reinforce the need for an empowerment approach to be grounded within broader social and ideological frameworks that respond to the transient and fragmented nature of communities.

7.5.4   Linking Social Activities to Institutional Practices

A critical issue for the success of empowerment processes is a wider social framework in which to recognise and legitimate young people's actions, thereby providing continuity to the benefits associated with increased self-esteem and social solidarity. The findings demonstrated that young people's understandings of development institutions focussed on the role of government in the provision of services (infrastructure, healthcare, and schools). Youth centres, religious institutions and local businesses also appeared as important spaces for interaction in young people's descriptions of their communities. Other civil society organisations were largely absent from young people's accounts. Furthermore, the entities that young people made demands on were the family, local government, and local business. This invites a questioning of the role of NGOs, international NGOs and other civic associations introduced in Chapter Two and the contextualisation of the concept of bridging social capital for strengthening a people-centred development.

It is in this area that I noted a significant difference between South African and Tanzanian participants views. For the Tanzanian participants, the youth centres they were attached to represented a safety net or a temporary measure for them as they were not able to go to school but were not viewed as viable alternatives. Attending school was articulated as a priority for the vast majority of participants. Strengthening social capital in Dar es Salaam requires further investigation, especially for out of school youth. Currently, the youth centres present the most feasible space for engaging some of the most marginalised young people in Dar es Salaam, but it is not the optimal platform for a long-term involvement, as participants did not value that space as such. On the other hand, South African participants, who were all in school, perceived the youth centres as a significant contributor to community life and an important space where they could engage in creative and social activities.

These differences also reflect the history of civic engagement in both countries. The experience of citizen involvement is deemed to be an important factor in determining the methods and institutional frameworks necessary for social change (Gibson, 2003). In South Africa, citizens were highly involved in the national movement for independence, especially the youth (Seekings, 2006; Ferguson, 2006). In Tanzania, the transition to independence was negotiated between elite groups and was characterized by limited citizen involvement (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003). In the present context, the merging of civil society in South Africa into the post-apartheid state and the lack of a civil society in Tanzania means that civic engagement is most likely to take place elsewhere. The findings of this study demonstrate that the most likely alliances with other groups would be religious institutions, local businesses, and local government structures (schools, transport, police, etc.). However, linking young people's ideas and actions to some of these institutions, that are complicit in their marginalisation, appears to be a contradictory pathway and requires more clarity in the ideological directions that an empowerment approach should take.

7.5.5   Linking Social Practices to Ideological Concerns

Based on the above concerns, a conscientisation exercise must be informed by an ideological framework. There are many ideas that could benefit a process of consciousness in this context, of which three strands are singled out here as the most relevant: post-colonial ideas of national consciousness (Fanon, 1963), African and feminist theologies (Odudoye, 2002), and development as freedom (Sen, 1999).

7.5.5.1 National Consciousness

National consciousness, as a national movement for addressing young people's concerns, would influence national development policy and take into account the different identities and fragmented nature of contemporary life, whilst situating young people's needs on the backdrop of contemporary social contexts (historic, political, and economic). Despite the fact that a national consciousness is based on the divisions set by the colonial era, it resolves several of the gaps discussed above: the idealisation of 'past African civilisations' that negate traditional oppressions, and the potential overemphasis on race as a consequence of a Black Consciousness ideology. National consciousness cuts across rural, ethnic, racial, gender, and religious categories and barriers "either invented or reinforced by colonialism" (Gibson, 2003 p.191), thereby incorporating difference into a national movement. In this sense, national

consciousness should not be confused with nationalism, which can have exclusionary elements. According to Fanon, "national consciousness… signifies the form, not the goal, of a postcolonial society"; the goal is "to invent a history and a tradition" (in Gibson, 2003, p.203). A national movement would resist the neo-liberalism of the international development project that is eroding the role of the state, and expose the contradictions of a top-down approach to a people-centred development. National consciousness thus represents an opposition to exclusionary development practices, by reinstating the meanings of a people-centred development. Therefore, a process of conscientisation based on Freirian tools should be adapted to suit particular contexts and take into account how social action can respond to the multiple facets of a national agenda. Efforts to build alliances and networks with religious, business and public institutions to respond to young people's aspirations represents a starting point in that direction. Differences between Tanzanian and South African youth policies and the histories of civic involvement indicate the need for a national movement to address the particularities of each context, focusing on the most relevant institutions in the lives of young people.

7.5.5.2 African and Feminist Theologies

Rooted within a national consciousness framework, youth empowerment agendas should also incorporate ideological tenets from other movements to build alliances beyond the national form. Belonging to social movements across borders and continents also reinforces social recognition and legitimacy through the exchange of ideas and practices. The role of religion has been significant in this area: *"If one takes religion as nothing else but what it is, i.e. a social institution attempting to explain what cannot be scientifically known about the origin and destiny of man, then from the beginning we can see the necessity of religion"* (Biko, 1978, p.69). The lack of morality behind systems of oppression and dehumanization is a fundamental concept in postcolonial theory. Fanon (1967, p. 229) spoke widely of the link between freedom and morality:

> I have one right alone: That of demanding human behaviour from the Other (...) one
> duty alone: That of not renouncing my freedom through my choices.

The absence of moral standards and humanness and their relationship to power and ideology are central to further research for empowerment approaches in African settings. Policy documents for youth development in Tanzania refer to young people as

having low moral standards[84]. The findings in Chapter Six also demonstrate the prevalence of religious and ancestral beliefs in young people's accounts, providing moral justifications for poverty and underdevelopment. Nevertheless, it is vital not to reduce religious beliefs to magical explanations without doing justice to the importance of the positive value systems imparted through religious institutions and their importance in the lives of people in African communities.

African liberation theology has criticised the role of the Church in perpetuating naïve levels of consciousness, whilst maintaining its importance in the consciousness movement (Biko, 1978). Biko described the complicity of the Church in South Africa in perpetuating victim-blaming discourses of township dwellers as demonstrating low morals and inhumanness, yet his address to Black Ministers of Religion in 1972 was an attempt to engage the Church in the consciousness movement. Based on Jamaican and North American movements, African liberation theology has been an active force in restoring dignity in communities across Africa and the Americas (Cone, 1990) and represents a good example of bonding and bridging social capital. However, African feminist theologians have criticised African theology for not taking into account the economic and structural implication of patriarchal cultures or the role of gender as a factor in liberation struggles (Oduyoye, 2002). The findings of this study demonstrate how young women's sexuality is often the subject of a discourse of low morality and therefore a process of conscientisation must take into account how religious beliefs can further stigmatise on the basis of gender. Examples from theological studies in South Africa demonstrate the positive potential of religious practices to empower women in certain contexts (Haddad, 2006). These are based on a theorizing of religion as a practice of 'emancipatory difference', that 'resists essentialising difference', that 'builds relational difference', and that 'forms coalitions across difference' (Odudoye, 2002). A consciousness framework can therefore benefit from religious ideas as long as they are rooted in a liberation framework and critically embrace the principle of emancipatory difference.

The above discussion is nevertheless reserved to religious practices in a Christian tradition. The testimonies of young people revealed the significance of indigenous religions in their communities. Studies on indigenous religions have shown that healers have also been instrumental in liberation movements in Southern Africa (Honwana,

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[84] The National Youth Development Policy, Ministry of Labour, Government of Tanzania, 1996.

1997). Other research indicates that the integration of ancestral and Christian beliefs is already occurring in African Independent Churches in the same region, responding to the modernisation of religious practices (Kealotswe, 2004). Social psychological studies on ethno-medical versus biomedical practices also demonstrate the benefits of healing methods that integrate indigenous and Western ideas, and that this depends largely on recognition and legitimacy rather than opposing systems of knowledge (De Graft-Aitkins, 2002). Further research is needed on how to integrate and recognise healers as part of a consciousness imperative to empower individuals in communities.

7.5.5.3 Development as Freedom

The last area of intervention is how to incorporate the role of economic development in a national consciousness framework that partly responds to the role of business in empowering young people. This, in many ways, points to the heart of the discussion in this thesis as it focuses on the relationship between individuals, communities and the current development framework. Nyerere (1968, p.243) provides an insightful basis on which to build an economic consciousness in his simple declaration that:

> The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development.

This extract from the Arusha declaration in 1967 invites a focus on enhancing people's ability to contribute to the process of capital accumulation and ownership. The findings in Chapter Five and Six demonstrated many of the challenges that young people raise in accessing material resources: unemployment; abuse and sexual oppression in the market place; excessive domestic work preventing young people's access to school and characterized by a lack of recognition of their role in the household; widespread corruption; and the lack of access to regulatory frameworks, which could assist them in reversing some of these problems. Nyerere's principles of hard work and intelligence represented the ethic that would drive the success of a socialist framework. However, these are easily re-appropriated into a discourse of laziness and ignorance that undermines the hard work of children and young people when their efforts are not met by real material gains. In response to this, I propose to look beyond the 'isms' of political and development rhetoric and integrate Sen's (1999) idea of 'development as freedom' into the national consciousness framework. Sen describes poverty as the denial of freedom in a world of increasing opulence. Throughout this thesis, I have mentioned the idea of freedom in formulating resistance and alternatives to the

oppressive practices of development. Sen argues that access to material resources is closely tied to the levels of human freedoms held by individuals in communities, and moreover, that development as freedom addresses and binds together individual, social, economic, political and religious differences. It represents that in-between space of "mutually reinforcing connections between freedoms of different kinds" (Sen, 1999, p.4). Furthermore, "it is because of these interconnections…that free and sustainable agency emerges as a major engine of development" (ibid, p.4). This re-conceptualisation of development goes a long way in explaining the contradictions in macroeconomic measures of human development in South Africa and Tanzania provided in Chapter One, by showing how 'social unfreedoms' foster or deepen 'economic unfreedoms' and vice-versa, rather than operating in a linear progression (ibid). It also alludes to the importance of both economic and social freedoms in unblocking the agency of individuals and communities. Therefore, establishing links with local business and expanding opportunities for young people to access employment and income should form part of an empowerment approach as it is directly linked to increased freedoms in other domains. As part of this agenda, Sen also incorporates the importance of recognising the work of women and children in the household, which is largely overlooked in purely economic definitions of development. In addition to the moral questions above, the freedoms and unfreedoms associated with the work of women and young women relate to a discourse of rights (Sen, 1999; Cornish, 2006). Cornish (2006) provides a social psychological perspective on a successful approach to challenging stigma and increased legitimacy for sex workers who were able to assert their rights through a legal framework. This success was also interconnected with activities to boost their material base. Recognising the hard work of women and young women in this study would increase their self-esteem and the relationships between them, and, as a consequence, destabilise some of the gendered oppression that they endure.

By viewing development as freedom, I therefore incorporate a meaning behind its policies and practices and thus show how a conscientisation exercise can situate the development paradigm. Ideology is central to any social change agenda, as it gives purpose and meaning to people's actions. The above analysis demonstrates, however, that ideologies are not immune from perpetuating stigma and discriminatory practices. What is needed is an ideology that is sufficiently reflexive to incorporate the new knowledge derived from processes of conscientisation and social action in the

community. In that way, differential experiences of power from those most marginal to the development project can continuously inform the direction of our consciousness.

7.6 Conclusion

In this research, a social psychological critique of development exposed the development paradigm in Africa as one that excludes those who it professes to assist. An exaggerated focus on individuals and communities in Africa as the cause of poverty and underdevelopment leads to policies and representational practices that rely on the problematic assumption that individuals and communities in Africa are lacking in knowledge and capabilities and hence facilitates the proliferation of stigmatizing images of African development. Through representational projects that stigmatise African populations, discriminatory forms of governmentality become possible and further legitimise the knowledge of the development project, be it through the *White Man's Burden* or through the ambiguities of a people-centred development. This exposes the false consciousness of development that subverts the discourses of people-centred perspectives and leads to ideological confusion. Without voicing the alternative perspectives of those who are marginal to the development paradigm, there is thus a risk of subverting seemingly people-centred discourses into a 'narcissistic turn' gazing back at the exclusionary practices of the neo-liberal development project (Ahmed, 2004). There will always be casualties to an ambiguous development system that hides exploitation in its many forms. In such situations, it is more comforting to blame poverty and underdevelopment on the apathetic nature of communities, thereby denying people's agency, often radical, towards change, rather than revealing the alienation and dehumanization of people that instils in them the fear of imagining and claiming alternatives.

At the heart of an empowerment approach to knowledge and praxis is the commitment to deconstruct stigmatizing representations and to destabilise and overcome the exclusionary practices that affect those who are most marginal to the development paradigm. The young people's voices in this study expose the need to revisit the racialized and gendered discourses of postcoloniality so that they can address the origins, contents and impact of their beliefs, redirect the patterns of their consciousness, and reinvigorate the dynamism of community life. It requires an understanding of the differential aspects of context and identity and the multiple dimensions of power that exist in contemporary societies. Social bonds, institutional

alliances, innovative methods and technological solutions all contribute to making young people the drivers of social change and recognisable in that role.

Through its focus on difference and power in the individual-social dynamic, on the lived realities of those on the margins of society and on social transformation, the empowerment approach discussed here is committed to being a reflexive theory of knowledge and praxis that is continually informed by the agency and ideas of those involved. In the next and final chapter of this thesis, I propose a model for youth empowerment and a set of recommendations for future projects involving young people. I conclude with final reflections on the project, including my role as a practitioner-intellectual, a friend and significant adult in the lives of the young people who participated in this study.

Chapter Eight - Summary

Recommendations and Concluding Remarks

Chapter Eight provides a model for youth empowerment and a set of recommendations for youth empowerment projects and further research in this area. I reflect on my role throughout the research process and conclude by highlighting the vital importance that resisting racialisation and gender discrimination, forging and framing a new self and community image continues to have within postcolonial African societies and that future development programmes and practices should reflect this centrality. I conclude that empowerment initiatives can reinvigorate such approaches and begin to arrest the lack of individual and collective self-reflection and confidence often visible in many walks of life within African communities.

Chapter Eight: Recommendations and Concluding Remarks

"If we cannot convince the mothers and/or fathers who care not to humiliate and degrade us, how can we imagine convincing or resisting an employer, a lover, a stranger who systematically humiliates and degrades?"
(Bell Hooks, 1989, p.22)

"If it is true that consciousness is a process of transcendence, we have to see too that this transcendence is haunted by the problems of love and understanding".
(Frantz Fanon, 1967, p.8)

8.1 On Empowerment

Through the Shooting Horizons initiative, I embarked on a journey amongst young people for whom Bell Hooks and Frantz Fanon's words resonate in their daily experiences and represent fundamental questions in their lives. Empowering young people through ideas and methods is only the starting point. What matters to them in the end are the relationships that they are able to foster and the emotional ties that can ground them and provide them with a sense of security to take on more and better challenges. The success of empowerment initiatives is therefore in the continuity and lasting effects that they offer. For those who have been displaced, who are oppressed and isolated as a consequence of modern development or other reasons, questions of empowerment involve cultivating relationships, re-building families and communities and discovering a history and tradition. In that process of recovery, development must be constantly critiqued so that consciousness can go forth.

8.1.1 Outline

To conclude this journey in its written form, I bring together the theoretical concepts introduced in Chapters One and Two, the methodological framework of Chapters Three and Four and the experiences emanating from the Shooting Horizons project in the last three chapters to propose a social psychological model for youth empowerment in urban African contexts. I continue with a set of recommendations for practitioners and policy-makers working with young people, and, finally, I reflect on my role as a

researcher-practitioner and the ways in which young people changed my own perspectives of what I imagined an empowerment intervention would involve.

8.2   A Social Psychological Model for Youth Empowerment

In much development theory and practice and top-down approaches to social change, what is often missing is a critical understanding of the meaning behind the discourses and practices that limit the possibilities for empowerment. Chambers' (2004, p.28) article on the future of development discusses the vocabulary of development discourse and points to six terms that are particularly instrumental in sustaining the gap between words and actions: 'empowerment', 'ownership', 'partnership', 'participation', 'accountability' and 'transparency'. In this study, I have discussed all of these except for the latter two and demonstrated the role of knowledge, identity and power to be at the root of these dichotomies. I supported this argument by pointing to the lack of analysis of the social psychological determinants of identification (internalization, over-determination, ambivalence, intersectionality) that create and maintain individual and social differences and perpetuate exclusionary practices. These concepts expose the mechanisms of power that fuel stigmatizing representations of development and the difficulties in contesting these because of the identity and behavioural impacts that provoke fatalistic behaviours. Furthermore, I argued that the reification and legitimation of the international development paradigm imply that these terms in their application do not necessarily do what they claim to do and on the contrary serve to maintain a development discourse that victimises and blames the communities that it claims to assist. Finally, I argued that there is a lack of commitment to community-based empowerment to reverse those trends in both internationalist and people-centred development agendas. Attempts at resistance to the international paradigm have been based on narrow conceptualisations of identity and difference and often met with stringent demands from powerful development institutions. Social capital and civil society debates also demonstrate how community interests are often re-appropriated to suit the needs of more powerful institutions and agendas.

Chambers (2004, p.28) further states that: "Most commonly… it is empowerment that is considered the most important word and the one with the biggest gap between rhetoric and behaviour". Talking of empowerment speaks to the core of the mechanisms of power that are often 'too disruptive and too demanding' (Kothari,

2006a) to challenge because of the pressing material and symbolic needs of people in communities characterized by low and unequal access to resources:

> Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress (Frederick Douglass, 1857)[85].

In this thesis, I have argued that social psychological insights can contribute to a better understanding of the shortcomings of development and instate a meaning to youth empowerment that seeks to overcome some of the power dynamics that prevent young people from being fully recognised as important actors in society. In Diagram 1 below, I propose a social psychological model for youth empowerment that introduces four elements towards a more comprehensive approach:

1. The individual-social interface.

A social psychological model for youth empowerment clearly establishes the link between the individual and social determinants that lead to empowerment outcomes. These are not separate processes as suggested in the Commonwealth definition (see Chapter Two, p.55). Part and parcel of achieving empowerment outcomes is in the process of engaging young people to influence the conditions of an enabling environment, resisting stigma and discrimination and formulating alternatives.

2. Individual and social differences.

The individual-social interface is characterized by individual and social differences. This implies an awareness and critical understanding of the social context: historical, economic, political, and institutional frameworks; and characteristics of identity: race and gender (amongst others). An empowerment process takes into account the complexities of the lived experiences of young people depending on their positioning in the social environment and the differential impact of stigmatizing beliefs and practices.

3. The problematisation of power.

Empowering young people involves a re-conceptualising of power from oppressive to internalised, relational and productive forms. Power relations can produce resistance to stigmatizing practices and young people should become aware of the socio-cognitive

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[85] From a speech by Frederick Douglas in 1857: 'If There Is No Struggle, There Is No Progress'.

practices that can curtail that resistance. Grasping the different mechanisms of power exposes the contradictions, ambiguities, ideological confusion, and false consciousness found in development discourses, and the shortcomings of reductionist and naïve forms of resistance.

4. Re-presentational projects.

The individual-social interface is a site of conflict and re-presentation. An empowerment process engages young people to become aware of the origin, content and purpose of existing representations and to produce alternative conceptualizations that enhance social identities. Through this process, they realize their own potential, role and responsibility to change their circumstances and begin to destabilize victim-blaming discourses and negative value systems thereby reaching higher levels of consciousness. Re-presentational projects also involve activities to recognize and legitimate the actions of young people.

Diagram 1: Youth Empowerment Model
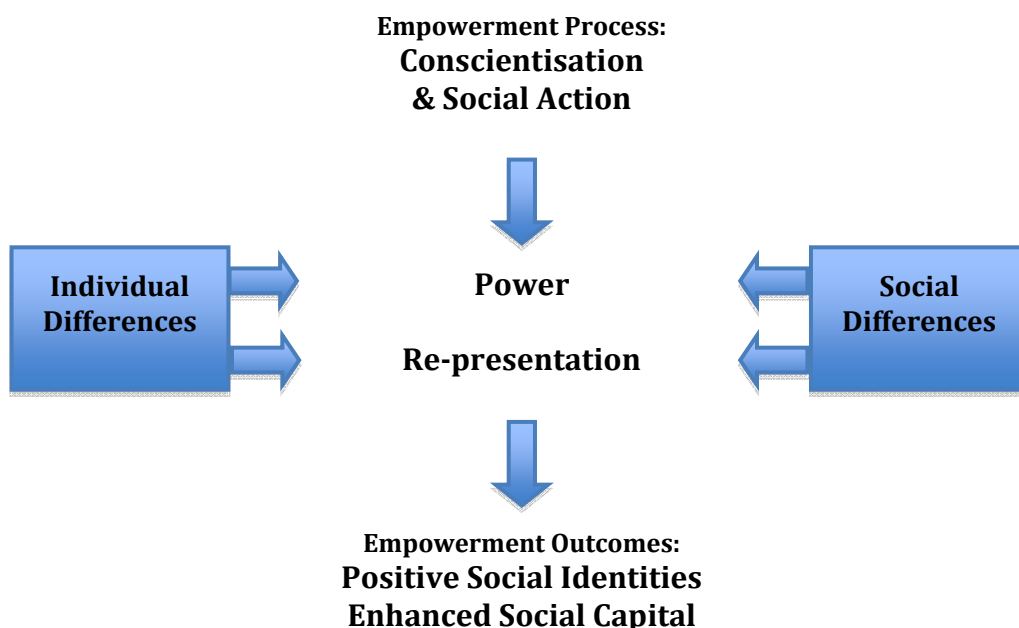
The model is driven by two key processes: conscientisation and social action to achieve two key outcomes: positive social identities and enhanced social capital. The empowerment process takes place through an intervention involving a facilitator and

participants. The intervention is characterized by dialogical encounters, meaning that the relationship between the facilitator and participants is one that has a transformative potential. The facilitator recognizes the agency of participants and engages them in creative activities to raise their consciousness and enact social change. The process is driven by values of trust and solidarity (Freire, 1970).

8.2 Recommendations

The recommendations that I provide are aimed at both practitioners and policy-makers who are involved in the development sector. Some recommendations are specifically geared towards working with young people, however, many elements of an empowerment approach can also benefit other projects located within communities that are marginalised in society. I organized the set of recommendations into motivational content - the knowledge and identity understandings that guide empowerment projects; and, methodological content - the design and implementation considerations of empowerment projects. Cutting across the recommendations, attention to the conceptualisation phase is highlighted as a determining factor in the success of empowerment initiatives as is the role of the facilitator.

8.2.1 Motivational content

- ***Organising young people's experiences and ideas into a consciousness framework.*** Empowerment is a difficult process for many participants as it represents an awakening to the socio-economic and representational factors that stigmatize and exclude them. An awareness of the broad social context (socio-economic, historical, political, cultural) is essential so that the facilitator can support participants to organize and make sense of their experiences and ideas in ways that ease the conscientisation process, whereby they find causation to their situation and imagine the future.

- ***Balancing grand ideas and positive experiences in the community.*** An awareness of the local community is also crucial for facilitating the social action process. The initiative should support the creativity of participants whilst avoid putting them in harms way. Young people who are able to forge positive links with significant adults in the community derive more benefit from the project and are better able to challenge stigmatizing representations. However, participants must

also be given sufficient freedom so that they feel a sense of ownership over the activities they engage in, as this will provide a sense of achievement. Therefore, the facilitator requires the necessary sensitivity to ensure a careful balance between providing direction and building ownership and responsibility.

- ***Articulating a social change agenda***. Empowering young people in urban African contexts requires an understanding of poverty and underdevelopment that includes stigma and exclusion as forces that contribute to inequalities and differences between people. An empowerment approach replaces the idea of human conditions as natural and static, by one in which these inequalities and differences are active and being constantly reinforced. In this way, engaging young people involves the deconstruction of stereotypes in a search for more critical explanations and meanings underlying their conditions. In doing so, re-presentational projects begin to de-stabilize the discourse of blame and victimization.

- ***Focusing on identity: race and gender.*** Questioning identities is a central component of the empowerment process. Through activities to build self-awareness, participants begin to question who they are in relation to the community and understand the impact of their own beliefs on their situation. Focusing on race and gender in urban African settings raises awareness on the origin of stigmatizing beliefs and how stigma and discrimination are transferred onto others.

- ***Building solidarity across difference.*** Through an engagement with the community and the deconstruction of identities, empowerment initiatives raise awareness of differences in the community and in society in general (levels, context, and position). Empowerment initiatives should thus focus on current social issues that the community as a whole can mobilise around. This process helps to foster solidarity and to avoid a romanticisation of perceived traditions and customs. Participants thereby understand that stigma and discrimination are not new phenomena and begin to realise their role and responsibility for social change.

8.2.2   Methodological content

At all stages of the project, attention should be given to how it will provide continuity in young people's lives. This depends on where the project is located, the alliances and networks available, the level of engagement with young people and the methods chosen.

- ***Locating the project in stable environments***. Careful consideration should be given to the location of the project. As far as possible, projects should be linked to existing institutions that have flexible organisational environments and cultures and within close proximity to where young people ordinarily live. The location of the project will also guide decisions on what equipment to use depending on the facilities available (e.g. available space, electricity, etc.). Knowledge of the institutional frameworks will have been established in the conceptualization phase and thus guide this decision. The continuity of an empowerment initiative is largely dependent on the motivation and enthusiasm of institutional stakeholders and the ability of young people to participate in and take charge of the project.

- ***Forging networks and alliances.*** Networking and forging alliances with individuals and groups is a continuous process. Exposing young people to others opens up their horizons, and is a source of motivation and recognition. It is crucial for the possibility of forging sustainable and caring relationships and practical/professional opportunities beyond the scope of the initiative. This can be done through participation in the workshops, presentations and talks, visits and fieldtrips, and other events, such as exhibitions and publications. For projects taking place in established community contexts, I recommend building ties with church groups, local government and local businesses. The conceptualisation phase includes careful research on the most relevant institutions in the lives of participants.

- ***Designing and implementing multiple and creative activities***. The implementation of the project should be fun, motivating and creative, include modern technologies and build practical and professional skills. The combination of different methods is key for identity building. Participants may lack confidence with certain methods because of low confidence levels, therefore sufficient practical training is necessary in a safe and secure environment. A key aspect is how to assist participants in developing effective communication strategies in

communities with low levels of social capital and to provide evidence of the benefits of the project early on. Finally, methods should include spaces and vehicles for recognising participant's work. Examples include exhibitions and publications, certificates, and presentations to audiences, etc.

- ***From participant to social actor.*** A long-term perspective of empowerment initiatives would engage participants to take gradual ownership of all aspects of the project. This would include building peer-education, administrative and management skills that would enhance self-awareness and self-esteem through additional responsibilities, commitment and spaces for recognition. The community empowerment literature emphasises 'organisational issues', for instance, how to involve community members in programme planning and implementation as an integral part of the empowerment process (see for example Laverstack and Wallerstein, 2001). In this way, heterogeneous groups can create common interests and identities around an issue that is of particular concern to them (ibid).

8.3   Concluding Remarks

By way of conclusion, I reflect on my role as the facilitator of the Shooting Horizons initiative and the researcher and commentator on this journey. With its ups and downs, stops and starts, in many ways, the Shooting Horizons project achieved what it was meant to do. It assisted young people to organise themselves in a space where they could reflect and become more aware of their situation, and represent it through words and images. Another achievement was to mobilise young people around common concerns and begin to frame an alternative discourse to the victimising perspectives that they often hold. In that process, young people built self-esteem and recognition for their knowledge and capabilities in enacting social change. My role as researcher and facilitator of the project was pivotal in creating those spaces for the young people who participated. For a select few, the project had a real and demonstrable impact in terms of securing jobs and building relationships in the community. For others, the benefits were less obvious. The extent of the material, socio-political and symbolic challenges that young people face exacerbates the layers of stigmatisation (Campbell and Deacon, 2006) and makes it difficult for young people, in particular young women, to sustain the positive gains of the project across different contexts and situations. For young people to flourish, their efforts must be supported by their peers, their families, their

communities and other social institutions through networks and alliances that recognise them.

In this thesis, I have explained the problematics associated with youth empowerment work in urban African contexts and I have explained how power is manifested in different ways to create what Freire describes as the myth of oppressor ideology: the absolutizing of ignorance, the myth of laziness, and of the natural inferiority of the oppressed. These myths have real impacts on identification and behaviour that are manifested through difficult relationships and harmful practices in families and communities and amplified through victim-blaming discourses that reveal a racialized and gendered discourse of postcoloniality. Nevertheless, to present Africans merely as victims would do an injustice to the rich history of resistance movements against oppression. What I have provided here is a critical and social psychological account of social change grounded within the legacies of these movements and the transformative thinking that is taking place in Africa and elsewhere. I therefore argue that, in so doing, we can begin to understand the complexities that it presents in mobilising solid alternatives. I believe that the empowerment approach to social change discussed in these pages has represented the alternative discourses and critical insights that emanate from the voices of those on the margins of society for whom a large amount of development discourse and practice has had a real and undermining impact on their everyday lives and for whom the project of symbolic and material liberation is rooted in a struggle for recognition. Through an empowerment agenda that reconceptualises power as productive and recognises the agency of young people, the Shooting Horizons project was able to address some of these challenges.

My last thoughts go to the young women at Kiwohede. It took a great deal of courage for some of them to share their stories with me. Out of all the stories, these were tales of anger and indignation and provided the most critical insights for social change from some of the most marginalised voices in society. As Mandela says, the needs of young people are indeed 'immense and urgent'[86] and the Shooting Horizons project has, so far, only addressed a few and those of a few. Nevertheless, I hope that the end of this journey represents the beginning of another journey for these young people to keep questioning, voicing and confronting their realities and, in that process, to expand their horizons.

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[86] A Time to Build: Addresses by the President, Mr Nelson R Mandela, at his inauguration, the opening of Parliament (May 1994)

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: PHOTOSTORIES

DOGODOGO MULTIMEDIA CENTRE – PHOTOSTORIES

Benjamin James, 19
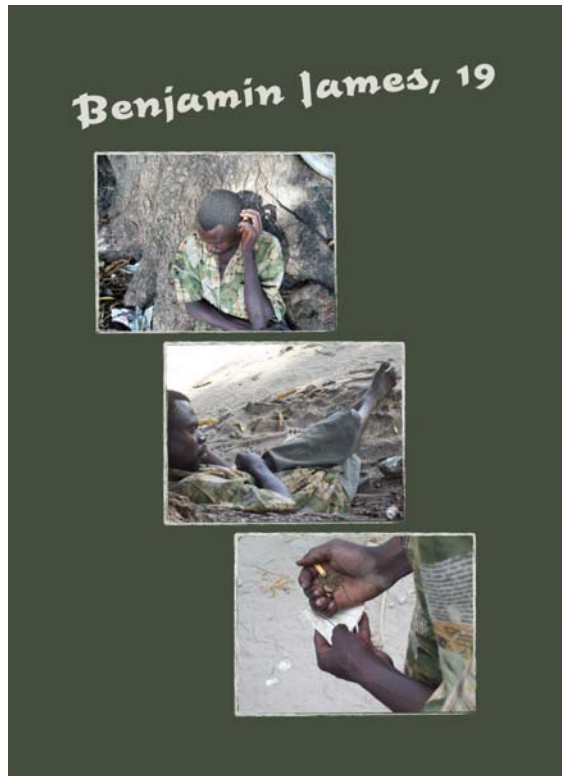
Walemavu wa akili:
Watu waliosahaulika

'Wanaonewa, hawathaminiwi. Wanastahili matunzo. Wanatengwa'. Walemavu wa akili wanateseka sana na hawana watu wa kuwasaidia. Naihamasisha jamii iwatunze na kuwaweka sehemu inayostahili ili kuwaepusha na majanga mbalimbali kama kula majalalani n.k. Wanateseka sana na kupoteza maisha yao katika mazingira ya kutatanisha. Mlemavu huyu nilikutana naye katika eneo la soko la Bunju hana sehemu maalumu ya kukaa anazurura tu mtaani. Watu wengine wanambagua na kumpiga wakidai kwamba ananuka. Mlemavu huyu alikuwa mvuvi. Sikumoja yeye na wenzake walikuwa baharini ukatokea upepo mkali na kupoteza boti yao wenzake walifariki. Baada ya mwezi mmoja aliokolewa akiwa hajitambui. Alirudishwa nyumbani, akaacha kazi ya uvuvi. Kutokana na kukaa nyumbani muda mrefu alishawishika kutumia madawa ya kulevya hii ndiyo sababu ya kuharibikiwa na akili. Kwa sasa familia yake imemtenga anaishi mitaani hana msaada wowote.

People with mental illness:
The forgotten people

'They are harassed; they are not valued; they deserve to be cared for; they are marginalized'. People with mental illness suffer a lot and they have nobody to take care of them. I am asking society to take care of them and give them a descent place to live in order to protect them from various hazards like eating in the dumps. They suffer a lot and some are dying from unknown causes. I met this man at Bunju market. He doesn't have a place to stay. He roams in the streets. Some people beat him and chase him away. He used to be a fisherman. One day his boat got lost because of strong winds. He was with other fishermen but he was the only one who survived. He was rescued after one month at sea and was taken back home. He stopped fishing and because he stayed at home idle for a long time, he got into drugs. This is the cause of his madness. His family rejected him and he is now living in the streets with no help.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Emmanuel Samson, 16
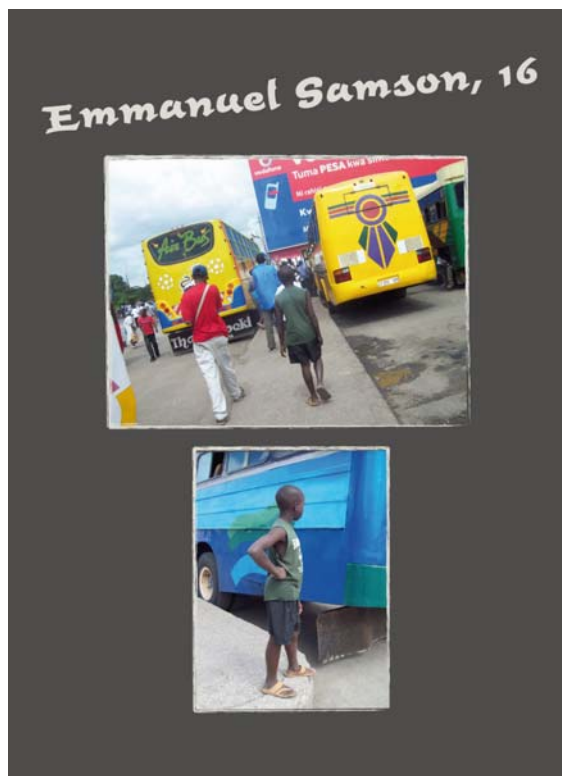
Changamoto za maisha mitaani

'Inanikumbusha maisha yangu ya mtaani. Nataka kutoa mchango na kuwakomboa waliobaki.'
Jina: Abdul Shaibu.
Umri: 13
Sehemu: Ubungo
Muda: 13/05/08
Mapicha zinaonyesha mtoto wa mtaani sehemu ya ubungo ilivyo na mandhari yake, mabasi na watu wanavyo shughulika na biashara. Watoto wengi wanaishi kwenye mazingira magumu hawana watu wa kuwasaidia wakiwa mtaani. Ni jukumu la kila mtu kusaidia watoto wa mtaani kwa maana hiyo naiomba serikali ijitahidi kuongeza vituo vya watoto yatima. Niliamua kupiga sehemu ya eneo lote la ubungo lilivyo. Ukweli watoto wengi wa mtaani wana uwezo cha muhimu ni kuwawezesha kimaisha.

Challenges of the life in the streets

'It reminds me of my life on the street; I want to help those who remain by revealing their conditions'.
Who: Abdul Shaibu
Age: 13 years
Where: Ubungo
When: 13 May 2008
The photos show a street child in Ubungo and it's surroundings, buses and people doing business. Many street children live a very tough life because they have nobody to help them. It's everybody's responsibility to help children so I am asking the government to increase the number of orphanages. The truth is, most street children are very capable, the important thing is to give them a chance in life.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Fakii Said, 16
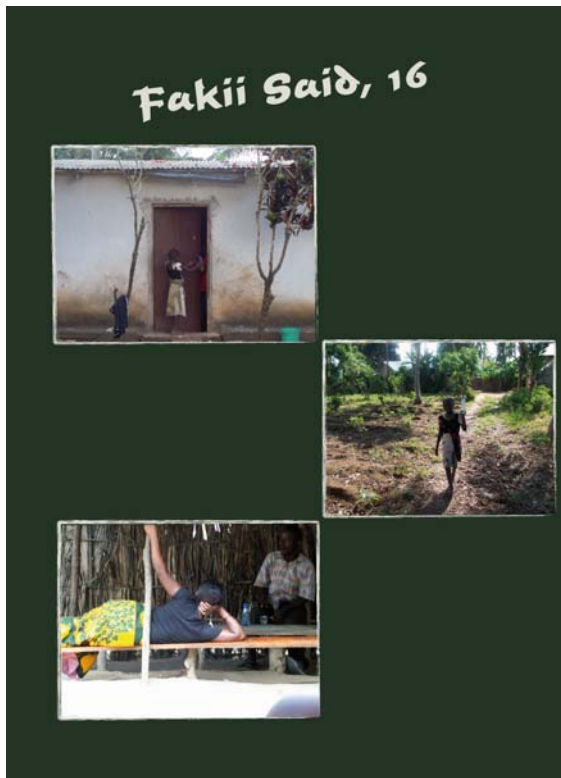
Unywaji na upikaji wa pombe ya Gongo

Nilipokuwa mdogo, bibi yangu alikuwa ananituma kununua gongo'.

Mtoto akitumwa na kaka yake kilabuni akanunue pombe ya asili gongo; Mteja akinywa gongo; Mtoto akirudi nyumbani kafanikisha kununua pombe na akikatiza mitaani na chupa yake mkononi.

Drinkers and makers of Gongo (distilled liquor)

'When I was younger, my grandmother used to send me to buy gongo'.

A child is sent by her brother to a bar to buy Gongo; a customer is drinking Gongo; the child is returning home walking across the path with the bottle of Gongo in her hand.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Faraji Patrick, 18
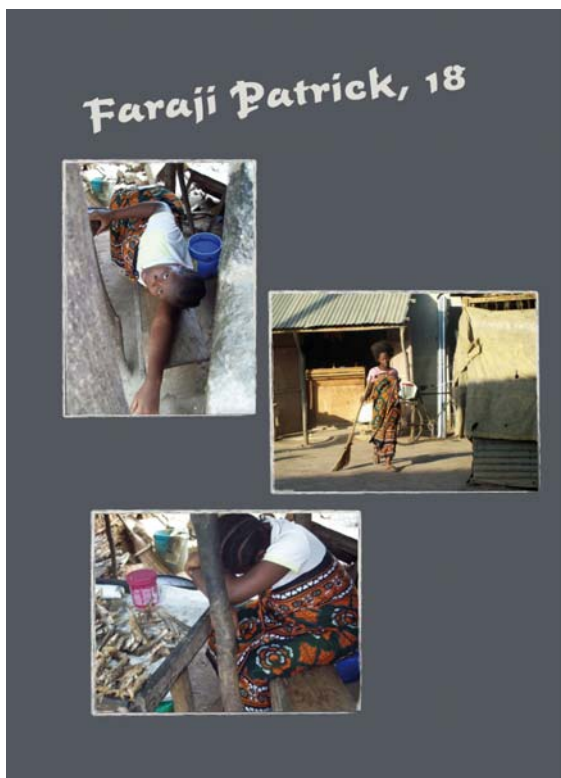
Vishawishi vya ngono kwa wasi-chana wenye umri mdogo

'Nachukia kuona wasichana wadogo wajawazito halafu wanakimbiwa na kuachwa wakihangaika'.

Zena
Bunju B
22/05/08

Akiwa amepumzika kwenye biashara ya shemeji yake ana mimba aliyopewa na kijana. Akiwa amekaa akifanya biashara ya samaki. Akiwa anawaza maisha yake yatakuwaje. Nilipiga picha kuonyesha sura yake japokuwa ana mimba lakini anafuraha.

Temptations to young women

'I hate to see young women who get pregnant being abandoned and left suffering'.

Zena
Bunju B
22/05/08

Zena is resting at her brother in law's business thinking about what her life will be like now that she is pregnant. She is helping to sell fish. Although she is pregnant, she is happy.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Fikiri Rashid, 18
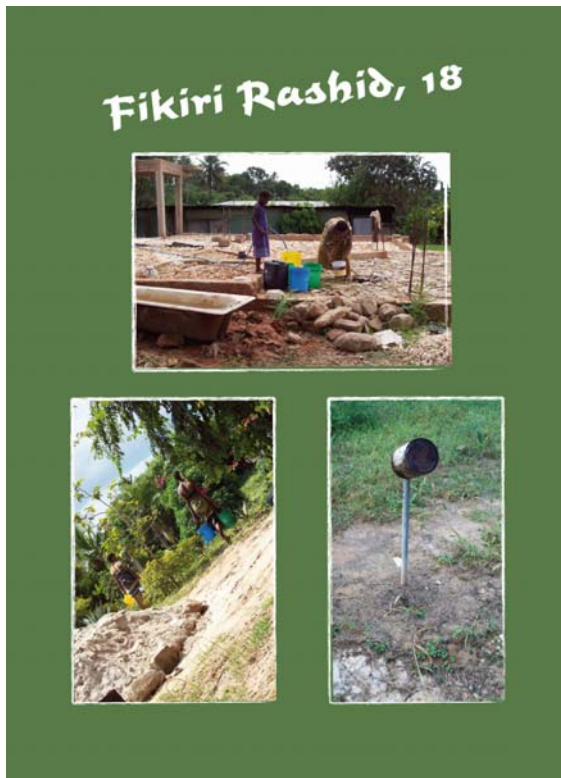
Tatizo la maji

'Niliwahi kupigwa na baba baada ya kupoteza ndoo saba bombani. Nililala nje siku mbili nikimwogopa baba kwa kipigo'.

sehemu: Kimara
lini: 30/05/08

Picha namba moja: anakinga maji bombani
picha namba mbili: amebeba anajiandaa kurudi nyumbani
picha namba tatu: nimepiga picha ya mabomba ambayo
                  hayatoi maji yakiwa yamefunikwa na
                  makopo.

Water shortages

'I was beaten by my father because I lost 7 buckets of water; I slept outside for two days because I was afraid that my father would continue beating me'.

Where: Kimara
When: 30/05/08

The first picture is about fetching water from a tap
Second one shows how water is carried in buckets to go home
The last one shows a dry tap.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Mrisho Ibrahimu, 17
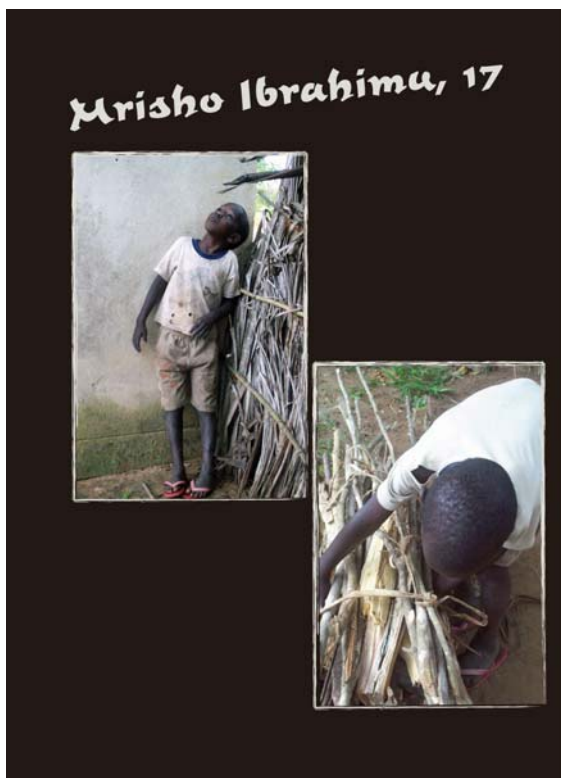
Baraka Hashimu
Bunju B
Miaka saba

Picha hizi nimepiga ili familia zenye watoto zisiwabaguwe watoto. Mtoto huyu amezaliwa yeye na dada yake. Lakini nyumbani kwao wanamtenga dada yake. Kila siku anaenda shule lakini yeye anakataliwa kwenda shule kwasababu nyumbani kwao maisha ni magumu sana, ndio maana wanamtenga nyumbani kwao hubaki yeye peke yake. Dada yake, mama yake, baba yake wote wanaondoka. Dada yake yeye huenda shule. Mama, baba yake wote wanaenda kazini. Hataivyo kazi zenyewe huwa ni kubeba maji majumbani kwa watu na kupata kipato kidogo cha kusaidia kwa kula. Kwa hiyo, mtoto huyo habaki nyumbani peke yake. Anabaki mpweke hana rafiki yeyote siku zingine huenda barabarani kuomba fedha.

Baraka Hashimu
Bunju B
7 years old

I took these pictures to ask families with children not to abandon them. He has a sister but he is being abandoned and not taken to school because their parents do not have enough money and life in their family is very tough. He always remains alone at home. His sister goes to school and his parents go to work. Their work is to fetch water in people's houses in order to get a small income to help them get food. Sometimes, he begs for money in the streets.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Pius Majuni, 16

Gereji za mitaani

'Kuhamasisha vijana kujifunza kufanya kazi za ujuzi ili kujipatia kipato. Waache kuzurura bila ujuzi na kazi mitaani'.

Huyu ni fundi mekanika anafanya kazi ya kutengeneza magari pamoja na wenzake ambao wamechanga pamoja kama kikundi na kuweza kuanzisha mradi huu. Kazi yao ni ya hatari kidogo kwasababu wanaingia chini ya magari ambapo kuna vyuma vingine vinaweza kusababisha ajali. Mafundi hawa wanafaidika sana katika kazi yao. Ni mafundi wenye ushirikiano sana, hawagombani kazini na huwa wanapata wateja sana. Mara nyingi hupumzika pamoja na kula pamoja huku wakibadilishana mawazo.

Street garages

'Encouraging young people to learn and to get professional skills and to earn an income; they will stop wandering on the streets without professional skills'.

This is a mechanic he works with his fellow mechanics who came together as a group and started a business. Their job is a bit dangerous as they are often at risk of accidents. They make good profit because they work well together. They don't fight during work and they get a lot of customers. They often rest and eat together while exchanging ideas.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Samwel Samwel, 18
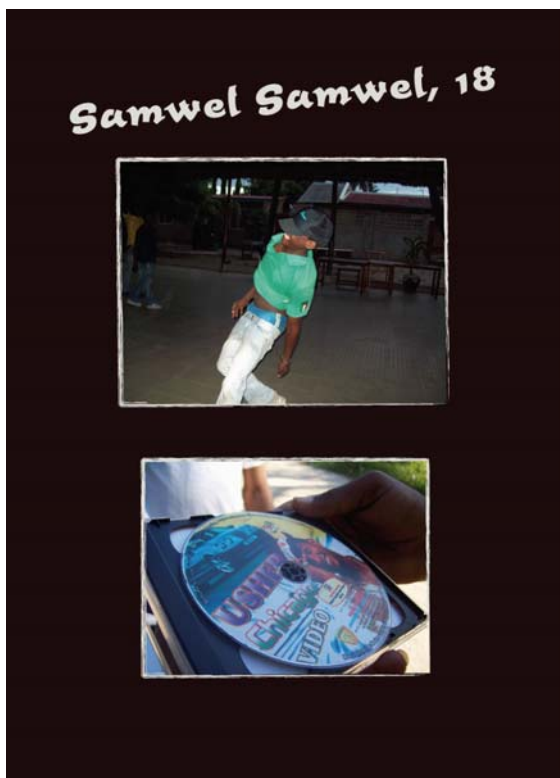
Dancers wenye vipaji, Makuruti Dancers.

'Mimi ni dancer kama wao lakini nimebahatika kuwa hapa Dogodogo. Nataka wajulikane ili wapate nafasi'.
Makuruti dancers wanaishi mbagala sabasaba. Wengi wao wana miaka kumi na sita hadi kumi na nane. Dancers wote wamemaliza elimu ya msingi. Makuruti dancers walianzisha kikundi chao mwaka 1999. Juma Abdalah, 18, Mbagala, 31/05/2008: Juma ni dancer ambaye anaipenda kazi yake ya kudance. Anaishi na mzazi wake mmoja huko Mbagala baba yake alishafariki muda mrefu tangu mwaka 1995. Juma ni dancer ambaye anapenda maendeleo. Makuruti dancers maendeleo yao sio mazuri, vipaji wanavyo na wanapenda kuendelea ila kuna mapungufu kwenye kikundi chao kama vifaa vya mazoezi na sehemu ya kufanyia mazoezi. Makuruti dancers wanaomba msaada kwa kuendelezwa vipaji vyao na kuwezeshwa. Matarajio yao ni kuwa wasanii bora au madancer bora duniani. Dancers hawa wanaipenda kazi yao kama kuishi kwao, pia wanashukuru kwa kupata nafasi hii ya kujielezea na kuwa na matumaini ya kuwa wasanii bora zaidi.

Talented dancers, Makuruti dancers

'I am a dancer like them but I was lucky to come to Dogodogo. I want to make them known so they also get chances'.
Makuruti dancers live in Mbagala. They all finished primary education and are between 16 and 18 years old. They established their group in 1999. Juma Abdalah, 18, Mbagala, 31/05/2008: Juma is a dancer who likes his work. He lives with his mother, his dad passed away a long time ago in 1995. Juma is a dancer who would like to go far. Makuruti dancers are not doing so well even though they are talented and they want to be successful. They face many challenges. They don't have instruments and a place for doing their work. Makuruti dancers need help to improve their talents. They would like to be the best artists/dancers in the world. They like their job, enjoy their life and they are very thankful for getting this chance to represent themselves and they hope to be better artists in the future.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Tizo Masanja, 17

Maisha ya bichi, Koko bichi

'Nataka kupiga picha maeneo ya beach na kuelezea ni jinsi gani watu wanainjoi ndani ya Tanzania. Kwa sababu beach kuna upepo mzuri, mazingira pia. Ukikaa beach mawazo yanakuja mazuri'.

Jinsi gani unavyo waona watu wakiwa wanaongea na kufurahi pamoja hata watu wanapokaa kandokando ya bichi wakiangalia watu wakiwa wanaburudika. Jinsi gani watu au mtu akienda bichi anavyobadilisha mawazo na kufurahia bichi nzuri. Jinsi gani watu wanavyo yaona mazingira ya bichi na upepo na burudani. Jinsi gani bichi kuna burudani mbalimbali kama kuogelea, kutembea na kucheza muziki. Jinsi gani watu wanvyoipenda bichi wengine wanakuja na familia zao wengine wanafunga harusi.

Beach life, Coco beach

'I want to show the advantages of the beach, the breeze, the environment. If you go to the beach you get good thoughts'.

I took pictures which show beach life and how people enjoy themselves when sitting along a beach, how people exchange ideas and enjoy a beautiful beach, the environment, the breeze, swimming and music. some people get married there and others go there with their family.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Yona Pima, 16

Watu wenye furaha

'Siyo binadamu wote huuzunika wakati wote'.

Mtu anafurahia kwamba amepata kuni nyingi hii ndio hali yake ya maisha aliyoizoea hizo kuni anaenda kuuza ili apate kipato. Nimeipenda muonekano wa picha na muonekano wa rangi.

Happy people

'People are not sad all the time'

This person is happy because she got a lot of fire wood. This is her livelihood. She is going to sell them in order to get an income. I like the colour and the appearance of the pictures.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

KIWOHEDE TRUST - PHOTOSTORIES

Amina Rajabu, 15

Kwa nini unyanyasaji wa watoto unaendelea Tanzania?

Mama yangu alikuwa anishi na Baba. Baada ya miaka miwili, mama alipata mimba. Akajifungua mtoto wa kike ambaye ni mimi. Nilipofika miaka miwili, baba alimwacha mama. Akaoa mtu mwingine. Nilianza kuishi na mama wa kufikia mpaka nikaanza shule. Nilipofika darasa la tatu, mama akaanza kunitesa. Nilikuwa nafanya kazi kama punda. Nachota maji ndoo kuni kwa siku nafua nguo na kufagia. Siku nyingine siendi shule kwa sababu za kazi nyingi. Watoto wake walikuwa wanaenda shule na hawanisaidii chochote. Nilikuwa naishi kwa shida lakini nikimwambia baba, anasema hawezi kunifanyia hivyo. Nilipofika darasa la nne, nilitakiwa kufanya mtihani. Nilimwomba baba hela ya mtihani, akamwambia mama anipe.

Lakini hakunipa. Nilienda kwa mwalimu mkuu nikamweleza akanisaidia mpaka nikamaliza darasa la saba. Bahati mbaya sikufaulu. Nikaendelea kukaa nyumbani, nikifanya kazi zote mwenyewe. Alikuja mama mmoja kumbe alikuwa ndiyo mama yangu. Lakini sikumjua mpaka baba aliponiambia. Alinichukua, nilimwambia nataka kusoma lakini hakuwa anaweza kunisomesha. Mama aliambiwa kuhusu Kiwohede akaniteta. Siku moja baba alikuja nyumbani, akaniomba msamaha kwa yale aliokuwa ananifanyia mama wakufikia. Nikamsamehe, nikarudi kuishi nao.

Naomba kama jamii au serikali mwelimishe wazazi kama hawa. Na wazazi wawapeleke watoto wao shule kama mtoto anaonekana katika picha.

Why are children mistreated in Tanzania ?

My mother and father used to live together. After two years, my mother got pregnant and gave birth to a baby girl, me. When I was two years old my dad left my mum and married another woman. I lived with my step mother. When I started school and reached standard three she started mistreating me. I worked like a donkey. I fetched ten buckets of water everyday, washed clothes and sometimes I missed school because of the amount of housework. Her own children went to school and they never helped me. I told my dad how hard it was for me but he didn't believe me. When I reached standard four I was supposed to do exams and I asked my dad to give me the money for the exams. He told my stepmother to give me the money but she didn't. I went to the head teacher who agreed to help me until standard seven. I finished standard seven but I didn't pass my exams. One day a woman came to our house. I didn't recognize her until my dad told me it was my mother. She took me with her. I told her I want to continue with secondary school but she couldn't afford to pay for my school fees. But she knew about Kiwohede and brought me here. One day my dad came and he asked me for forgiveness and took me back home.

I ask society and the government to educate parents and that parents should take their children to school, like the child in the picture.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Amina Salumu, 16

Stori ya maisha yangu

Nimezaliwa mwaka 1992 jijini Dar-es-salaam hospitali ya Amana. Nina umri wa miaka 16. Kwenye familia yetu tumezaliwa wawili. Mimi na mdogo wangu mwenye umri ya miaka 9. Tulikuwa tunaishi mimi, mama na baba pamoja na mdogo wangu. Mwaka 2003, mama alipata homa ya malaria akafariki ilikuwa ni kilio kikubwa kwangu hasa pale mdogo wangu anaponiuliza mama yupo wapi na mwambia amesafiri. Baada ya msiba, tulibaki na baba. Baba alikuwa anauza nyanya kariakoo. Baada ya miezi sita alioa mke mwingine. Tulifikiri atatusaidia kuziba pengo la mama. Lakini haikuwa hivyo, alitutesa siku nyingine hatupi chakula. Baada ya mateso ya muda, mama mkubwa alituchukua, baada ya kumwambia. Wakati nipo darasa la sita, baba alifariki. Msiba huu ulinikumbusha msiba wa mama. Nilimlaumu mungu na kujiuliza nimefanya kosa gani mpaka nipitie haya yote.

Mama mkubwa alinibembeleza na kuniambia kila nafsi itaonja mauti. Nilimsikiliza lakini mdogo wangu aliendelea kuniuliza mama na baba wako wapi. Baada ya mwaka moja, nilisahau kipindi hicho nilikuwa darasa la sita. Nilisoma kwa bidii. Ili niweze kuisaidia nchi yangu kupambana na malaria na ukimwi. Mama mkumbwa alijitahidi kuhakikisha tunaishi kwa furaha na amani. Nilimaliza darasa la saba, lakini sikufaulu. Nilisikitika sana kwa sababu nilitamani kujakuwa rais na kwanza mwanamke au waziri mkuu. Ikishindikana hata doctor wa akina mama. Mama mkumbwa alinibembeleza kwa kuniambia kufeli mtihani si kukufeli maisha. Mama mkumbwa hakuwa na uwezo wa kunisomesha. Nilikuwa nikimsaidia kuuza mihogo ya kukaanga. Baada ya miezi miwili, nilikutana na rafiki yangu Keri. Akaniambia kuhusu Kiwohede. Niliende nikakubaliwa kujiunga na masoma ya ufundi.

Maoni yangu
Wakina mama wasiwanyannyase watoto.

My life history

I was born in Dar es Salaam in 1992 at Amana hospital; we are two children in my family. We used to live all together, my parents and my young brother. In 2003, my mother died of malaria. It was very painful for me especially when my young brother would ask me 'where is mum' and I would tell him that she traveled. After the funeral we remained with our dad. He used to sell tomatoes in Kariakoo. Six months later, he married another woman. We thought she would help us to fill the gap that our mother left but instead she mistreated us and sometimes she didn't give us food. We told our aunt about it and she decided to take us away. When I was in standard six, our dad passed away. I blamed God and asked him 'where did I go wrong to deserve this' but my aunt told me that everybody is going to die one day. I understood, but my young brother kept on asking me 'where are mum and dad'. I studied hard because I wanted to help my country to fight malaria and HIV and my aunt tried to make sure we had a happy life . I finished standard seven but I didn't pass. It was so painful to me because I had wished to become the first female president or even a prime minister or a doctor. My aunt told me that to fail an exam is not to fail in life. She didn't have enough money to take me to a private school so I helped her to sell cassava. One day, I met with my friend Keri and she told me about Kiwohede. I went there and they accepted me.

Message
Women should not mistreat children

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Asha Omary, 16

Stori ya maisha yangu

Naitwa Asha Omary. Ninatokea Msasani. Nina miaka 16. Nilikuwa ninaishi na mama yangu. Nilipofika darasa la tano, alifariki. Ikabidi nikaishi na baba ambaye alikuwa ameshaowa mke mwingine. Yule mama alikuwa akininyanyasa, ananipiga, na kuninyima chakula. Nikitaka kumwambia baba, alinitishia ataniuwa. Niliendelea na shule nikamaliza darasa la saba. Nilikaa nyumbani nikiendelea kupata mateso makali. Niliamua kufanya kazi za ndani kwa dada mmoja lakini alinizulumu hela yangu. Nikabidi niache. Majibu yalipotoka sikuchanguliwa kuendelea na secondary. Niliamwambia baba anipeleke secondari ya kulipia. Akasema hana hela. Nikamwambia basi, nipeleke ufundi. Akasema hana hela ya mchezo. Kwanza, watoto wa kike hawasomi nikamwuliza Kama huna hela, mbona kaka zangu wamesoma? Akasema, hata hivyo wameacha shule.

Nikamwambia si wameacha wenyewe? Nikaendelea tu kukaa nyumbani. Alikuja rafiki yangu akanileta Kiwohede. Nilimwomba baba aninunulie uniform na vifaa vya cherehani. Mama akamwambia iyo shule wanatoa bure. Anataka hiyo hela kwa mambo yake. Baba aliniambia nikitaka nguo nijitegemee. Nili jiuliza nitapata wapi hela? Niliamua kuondoka na kwenda kuishi kwa Babu. Hana uwezo tunaishi kwa shida lakini kwa amani.

Nini kifanyike?
Wazazi wenye imani potofu, waelimishwe.
Maoni
Wakina mama wa kambo wasinyanyase watoto kama sisi.
Wakina baba wasiwafanyie watoto wa wenzao vitendo vibaya kama ubakaji na kuwapa mimba za utotoni.

My life history

My name is Asha Omary. I am from Msasani. I am 16yrs old. I used to live with my mother but she passed away when I was in standard five. I had to go to my father's place but my step mother didn't like me and she mistreated me. She beat me and didn't give me food. She also threatened to kill me. I finished standard seven and I stayed home but when the mistreatment got worse, I decided to become a helper for a certain woman but she ended up not paying me so I decided to quit. I asked my dad to send me to secondary school but he said he didn't have money. I asked him to send me to a vocational training centre but he said girls don't need to go to school. So I asked him 'if you don't have money, who is paying for my brothers fees?' He said 'but they are no longer going to school' but I said it's because they decided themselves. I heard about Kiwohede from a friend and she brought me here. I asked my dad to give me money for the uniform and school materials, but my stepmother told him we get them for free at Kiwohede, she just wants to keep his money for himself. After that, he told me I should take care of myself. I decided to leave home and went to live with my grandfather. Even though, life is hard, at least we are living in peace.

What should be done?
Parents with wrong beliefs should be educated

Thoughts
Step mothers should not mistreat children like us.
Men should not mistreat children by raping them and impregnating them.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Bahati Ally, 15

Madhari ya kunyanyasa watoto

Ninaitwa Bahati, ninaishi Vigunguti. Nina miaka 15. Niliishi na shangazi kipindi ambacho mama alienda kwenye msiba wa babu Singida kwa sababu hatukujua atarudi lini. Mwanzoni tuliishi vizuri na mama mdogo. Lakini, baadaye alibadilika. Alianza kuninyanyasa, alininyima chakula, alinikataza kwende shule, ili nimsaidie kazi za nyumbani. Niliugua homa, nilimweleza lakini hakunisikiliza wala hakunipeleka hospitali.

Alipoona nimezidiwa, alinipeleka kwa mama yangu mdogo, Mbezi. Mama mdogo alinipeleka hospitali nililazwa siku tatu. Niliporuhusiwa mama mdogo alinipeleka nyumbani. Lakini, ilibidi nirudi kwa shangazi, ili niendelee na shule. Aliendelea na tabia ile ile ya kuninyanyasa. Hakunipa hela ya shule. Ilifika kipindi alinikataza kabisa kwenda shule. Nilichukuwa shilingi 50 ilikuwa mezani. Nikaamua kutoroka na kurudi nyumbani kwa mama.

Siyo vizuri kunyanyasa mtoto hata kama siyo wako. Walezi wanao wanyanyasa watoto wachukuliwe hatua za kisheria.

The effects of mistreatment of children

My name is Bahati, I live in Vigunguti. I am 15 years old. I went to live with my aunt in Kibaha when my mother went to my grandfather's funeral in Singida, because we didn't know when she would be coming back. At first we lived happily but after sometimes she changed she started mistreating me. She didn't give me food and sometimes she wouldn't let me go to school so that I could help her with the housework. I fell sick but she didn't take me to the hospital, instead she took me to my other aunt once she realized that I was seriously sick. My other aunt took me to the hospital and I was admitted for three days. Then, she took me home. But I had to go back to Kibaha because I was studying there. Nothing had changed and she went on mistreating me. She never gave me money for school and there came a time that she said I could not go to school anymore. I found fifty shillings on the table and decided to escape and go back home.

It's not good to mistreat children even if she is not your child, legal steps should be taken against those who are mistreating children.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Fatuma Saluma, 16

Unyanyasaji wa watoto

Naitwa Fatuma. Nina miaka 16. Nimemaliza elimu ya msingi mwaka jana. Niiifaulu lakini wazazi hawakuwa na hela ya kunilipia. Baada ya muda, baba alifariki. Aliacha nyumba lakini ndugu walikuwa wanaigombania. Ndugu wa baba, walitaka iuzwe, lakini ndugu wa mama walikataa. Wakasema watoto waishi humo. Mama alikuwa anaumwa sana. Tulikuwa na wasiwasi atafariki. Ndugu wa baba walimfukuza. Mimi nilichukuliwa na mjomba, mdogo wangu alichukuliwa na shangazi. Mke wa mjomba hakutaka nikae pale kwao. Alikuwa anitesa.

Hanipi chakula, wala mahitaji mengine. Nikamwambia mjomba alipomuuliza alikataa na kunipiga sana. Sikuweza kumwambia tena.

Baada ya muda, mjomba alioa mke mwingine kwa sababu mke wa kwanza alikuwa mkorofi. Huyu mama mwingine ni mzuri na ana tabia mzuri. Ananilea vizuri. Lakini hanauwezo wa kunipeleka shule. Niliendelea kukaa bila shughuli yoyote. Alikuja msichana mmoja akaniambia kuhusu Kiwohede. Ndiyo nikajiunga hapa mpaka sasa hivi.

Wakina mama wasinyanyase watoto.

Mistreatment of children

My name is Fatuma and I am 16yrs old. I finished primary school last year. I passed but my parents had no money to keep sending me to school. After some time, my dad passed away. He left a house but his relatives wanted to sell it, my mothers relatives disagreed and said that his children should live there. But my mother was very sick and we were afraid that she was going to die too. My father's relatives chased her away and my uncle took me to stay with him and my young sister was taken by my aunt. My uncle's wife didn't wanted me to stay with them. She didn't give me food and other things I needed. I told my uncle. He then asked her but she denied it and beat me so I couldn't tell him any more

After sometimes my uncle married another woman because this wife was evil. This new woman is good and she is taking a very good care of me but she can't afford to pay my schooling. I had nothing to do until one day, a young woman told me about Kiwohede and I have been coming here ever since.

Women should not mistreat children

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Fauzia Diallo, 17

Haki anazotakiwa kupata mtoto wa kitanzania

Mimi ni msichana wa kitanzania. Niko hapa Tanzania kwasababu ni mzalendo. Na mimi hapa Tanzania nyumbani ni Moshi. Lakini hapa Dar es Salaam ninaishi na dada yangu, tunaishi Vituka. Mimi binafsi ningependa kusoma sekondari lakini uwezo wa wazazi ni mdogo kwa hiyo ndio maana nimekuja hapa Kiwohede. Ninaridhika na ninachokipata ninashukuru mafunzo wanayopata wenzangu. Nashukuru ninajua kushona bado kutengeneza batiki. Mimi naona tunasaidiwa sana kwa upande wangu kuliko kwenda kujiuza kusubiri wanaume hatimaye mtu unatoka huko na magonjwa ya zinaa Ukimwi n.k. Ninafurahia na ninacho kipata Kiwohede.

Sipendi umbea, mimi ni mpole sana lakini mtu akinitafuta uchokozi mimi ninahasira sana na ni mkali. Mimi ninakuwa na hasira pale unapokuta tumefanya dictation nikifaulu wenzangu hawapendi wanachukizwa na matokeo yangu hawapendi ni faulu mbaya zaidi unakuta kitu tumefundishwa wote. Lakini wenzangu wanakuwa hawaelewi. Siyo kwamba mimi ninajua sana, ninajitahidi. Ninasikiliza ninachofundishwa na waalimu. Ushauri wangu wasichukie ninapofaulu wajitahidi kama mimi. Nina amini mnaweza msiwe na wivu nikipata leo na wewe jitahidi upate kama mimi. Maoni yangu elimu ni ufunguo kwa maisha na nyie ninaamini elimu itawafungua kama mimi mwenzenu.

Mimi ni Fauzia Diallo.

Rights that a Tanzanian child should get

I am a young woman from Tanzanian. I am in Tanzania because it's my home. I'm from Moshi but I'm living in Dar es salaam with my sister, in a place called Vituka. I would like to go to secondary school but my parents cannot afford it that is why I go to Kiwohede. I am satisfied with what I am getting here. I learn different things, I know how to sew and make batiks. In my opinion, they are helping us a lot here, otherwise we would be selling our bodies to men and getting HIV and other infections. I hate gossiping. I am polite but when somebody provokes me, I can be very harsh. I get angry when other students become jealous when I pass my exams. It's not like I know more because it is the same things that we are taught in class that are in the exams but they don't understand. My advice is that they should not hate me because of my performance. Instead, they should study hard. I believe you don't have to be jealous but if you try hard, you can get the same as me. I think that education is the key to life and for you I believe it will open your minds as it has done for me.

I am Fauzia Diallo

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Hekima Mwaijumba, 15

Historia yangu

Naitwa Hekima. Naishi Vigunguti, Kabla nilikuwa ninaishi Mbeya. Nimesoma shule ya msingi Bagamoyo ilioko Mbeya. Nililelewa na bibi. Nilikosa malezi ya mama. Namshukuru mungu kwa kunikuza kutoka utotoni. Nilimaliza darasa la saba, 2007, shangazi yangu alinichukua tukaja kuishi dar es salaam kwa likizo lakini sikurudi tena Mbeya mpaka sasa.

Mama yangu ameolewa Dodoma na mwanaume mwingine. Aliniacha nikiwa mdogo sana, nilikuwa na miaka mitano. Nimeshamwona mara nne tu tangu aliniacha.

Maoni:

Wazazi wasiojali watoto wao wawajibike kwa kutimiza haki za watoto, pia wafanye uzazi wa mpango. Ili waweze kuwalea.

My story

My name is Hekima. I live in Vigunguti. I used to live in Mbeya and went to Bagamoyo primary school in Mbeya. I wasn't raised by my mother, my grandmother raised me. I thank God for protecting me since I was young. I finished standard seven in 2007 and my aunt took me to Dar es salaam for holidays but I never went back to Mbeya. My mother is married to another man in Dodoma. She left me when I was very young, I was only five years old. I have only seen her four times.

Thoughts

Parents should be responsible and care for their children and fullfill children's rights. Also, they should plan their pregnancies so that they can be able to take care of the children that they have.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Joyce Constantino, 14

Historia ya ukweli

Huyo mama alikuwa na watoto wake watatu, wawili wavulana, mmoja msichana. Yule mvulana mkubwa anasoma Form one. Yule msichana alikuwa anasoma ufundi lakini yule mvulana mdogo alikuwa anasoma darasa la kwanza. Basi, yule msichana alikuwa anapenda sana wanaume lakini yule kaka mkubwa alikuwa anasoma kwa bidii. Ikafikia wakati yule msichana analala kwa wanaume nyumbani harudi.

mama yake wakamuona amekaa na mwanaume pale pale wakamuozesha ndoa ya mkeka hadi sasa hivi anakaa kwa mumewe yule asomi yule kaka yake yupo Form two.

Ujumbe:

Wasichana tupende sana kusoma tusipende wanaume.

A True story

There was a woman with three children, two boys and one girl. The first born was a boy and he was in Form one. The daughter was studying at a vocational training centre and the last born was in standard one.

This young woman used to like men whilst her older brother was studying hard. Overtime, she started sleeping with men and didn't return home. One day her parents saw her with a man and she was forced to get married to that man.

Now, she is staying with her husband and her brother is in Form two

Message:

Girls, let's enjoy school and not fall in love with men.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Laila Zuberi, 15

Maisha ni malengo

Naitwa Laila. Ni msichana wa kitanzania. Nimezaliwa Moshi katika familia ya watoto sita. Wazazi wetu hawanauwezo kutusomesha. Nilifanya mtihani wa darasa la saba lakini nilifeli. Alinichukuliwa na mama wa jirani nifanye kazi za ndani. Nilienda Arusha akafungua duka nikamsaidia kuuza. Shangazi yangu na kaka yangu wanaoishi Dar es salaam.

Walikuja Moshi kwenye msiba wa babu. Walinifuata Arusha wakanichukua kuja Dar. Waliniahidi watanipeleka secondary. Tulipofika shangazi alishauriwa anilete Kiwohede. Nimejifunza kushona na kutengeneza batik. Nakuepuka mimba za utotoni na madhara yake.

Ninapinga usafirishaji wa watoto kutoka kijijini kuja mjini. Pia ninashauri elimu isambazwe mjini na vijijini.

Life is full of new plans

My name is Laila. I am a young woman from Tanzania. I was born in Moshi to a family of six children. Our parents cannot afford to pay for our school fees. I did my standard seven exams but I failed. Our neighbor took me to Arusha to help her in her shop. One day, my brother and my aunt came from Dar es Salaam to take me. They brought me to Dar es salaam and promised to take me to secondary school. But when I got here, my aunt decided to send me to Kiwohede. I have been learning to sew and to make batiks. Also, to avoid teenage pregnancy and its consequences.

I am against sending children from the villages to town. And education should be provided in villages as well as towns.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Mariamu Mussa, 17

Asiyefunzwa na wazazi ufunzwa na ulimwengu

Mimi ni Asha. Nilizaliwa mwaka 1992 huko mbeya. Kwa sasa, ninaishi Dar es Salaam na wazazi wangu. Na wazazi yangu wote ni wafanyakazi. Mimi na kaka yangu tulikuwa tunasoma secondary. Wazazi wetu walikuwa wanapenda kutuona tunajitahidi katika masomo. Mimi nilikuwa napenda sana kusoma, lakini baadaye nilipata vishawishi vya marafiki zangu wa shuleni. Nilianza kuvuta bangi na wenzangu.

Wazazi wangu waliposikia walinisema sana na sikuwasikia kwa sababu nilikuwa nimeshazoea mazingira yale ya uvutaji bangi. Baadaye nilipata mimba. Mimba hiyo alinipa teja mmoja ambaye alikuwa kwenye kundi letu. Niliporudi nyumbani kwa wazazi wangu walinifukuza na nikaondoka.

Baadaye nilirudi nikawaomba msamaha. Wazazi wangu walinikubalia na nikarudi nyumbani nikawa nimebadilika kitabia hapa nikaendelea na shule na mtoto akawa anaendelea vizuri.

If you are not taught by your parents, you will be taught by life

I am Asha. I was born in Mbeya in 1992 , I am living in Dar es salaam with my parents. Both of them are working. I used to go to secondary school like my brother. My parents were happy to see us studying hard. I liked studying but later on I got involved in troublesome activities with my friends from school. I started smoking weed. My parents knew about it and they warned me but I didn't listen to them because I was already suffering from the effects of smoking weed. Soon after, I fell pregnant by a guy from our group. I went back to my parents but they chased me away.

I left but returned later to ask for forgiveness. They forgave me and I changed my ways. I am continuing with school and my baby is doing fine.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Monicka Mkomolia, 18

Maisha ni safari ndefu

Ninaitwa Monicka, nina miaka 18. Mimi ni msichana wa kitanzania. Mwanzoni nilitamani kuwa mwalimu wa secondari. Nimezaliwa Songea familia ya watoto wawili. Wazazi wetu walifariki tukawa tunaishi na ndugu wa baba. Maisha yalikuwa ya shida sana. Hata kusoma tumesoma kwa shida. Tulikuwa tulienda shule mara moja kwa mwezi. Maisha yetu yalikuwa ya kuhangaika. Kutafuta chakula. Siku nyingine, tunalala njaa. Tukirudi shule, hamna chakula. Inabidi tusage unga, tutafute kuni tupike. Mpaka tumalize muda wa kurudi shule unakuwa umefika. Tunaenda shule bila kula. Tukirudi, chakula kimepoa, hamna hamu ya kula. Nilivyo maliza shule nilifaulu lakini hakukuwa na wakunisomesha. Nilibaki nyumbani. Dada mmoja alikuwa anaishi Dar es Salaam alinidanganya atakuja kunisomesha. Kumbe, alitaka nifanye kazi za ndani. Nilipata shida mume wake alinitaka kimapenzi. Nilikataa akawa ananitukana na kuninyima chakula. Mshahara walionilipa ndiyo niliotumia kujinunulia chakula

Waliachana kwa muda, maisha yalikuwa afadhali lakini wanampango wa kurudiana karibuni. Kwa hiyo sijui maisha yatakuwaje tena wakirudiana.

Jinsi nilivyokuja Kiwohede
Mama niliokuwa nakaa naye alikuwa na dada yake ambaye alinisaidia kufahamu kuhusu Kiwohede. Kupitia kwa rafiki yake. Alinileta Kiwohede nikaanza masomo ya ufundi. Japokuwa bado napata shida namshukuru Mungu nipo Kiwohede. Ninajifunza jinsi ya kuishi na watu tofauti na kutatua matatiso mbali mbali. Ninapinga usafirishaji wa watoto kutoka kijijini kwa kuwadanganya watakuja kuwasomesha. Kumbe wanafanyishwa kazi ngumu na kupelekwa katika biashara ya mapenzi.

Life is a long journey
My name is Monicka. I am 18. I am a young woman from Tanzanian. I would like to become a teacher. We are two in our family, born in Songea. When our parents died, we went to live with my dad's relatives. Life was very tough. We used to go to school once in a month. To get food, we had to grind flour and collect fire wood. Sometimes, by the time the food was ready, it was time to go to school so we used to go to school without eating and when we came back from school, the food was already cold. I finished school and passed my exams but there was nobody to pay for my school fees to continue to secondary A woman brought me to Dar es Salaam promising that she was going to take me to school...but really she wanted me to become her housemaid I suffered a lot there. Her husband wanted me as his lover but I refused and so he started insulting me. He prevented me from eating the food in the house so I had to use my salary to buy food. He and his partner separated for sometime but I think they will get back together soon. I don't know how life is going to be when they get back together.

How I came to Kiwohede
The woman I am staying with has a sister who told me about Kiwohede. She brought me here. Although I am still struggling, I am learning how to live with different people and how to solve different problems. I want to speak out against child trafficking from the village. Children are tricked into believing they are coming here to go to school, but when they reach here they end up being housemaids and prostitutes.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Mwamini Saidi, 16

Historia ya maisha

Naitwa Mwamini. Nimezaliwa katika mkoa wa Songea, kijiji cha Kumekucha. Nina umri wa miaka 16. Nilimaliza shule ya msingi 2005.

Baada ya kumaliza shule, Mwamini alifiwa na wazazi wake ndipo Mwamini alipo amua kuja mjini kutafuta maisha. Alibahatika kufika mjini salama hakuwa na ndugu wala rafiki. Alikuwa akiangaika mtaani ndipo hapo alikutana na kijana mmoja aliye faamika kwa jina la Fikiri. Kijana huyo alitokea kumpenda Mwamini alimpa vishawishi mbali mbali hatimaye Mwamini alikubali kwa kuwa alikuwa anashida. Kijana huyo alimpeleka Mwamini hadi nyumbani kwake waliishi vizuri na Fikiri. Baada ya miezi 5, Mwamini alipata ujauzito, ndipo Mwamini alipomwambia Fikiri.

Fikiri alikataa katukatu kwamba ile mimba sio ya kwake. Baada ya Fikiri kupata habari hiyo alianza kumpiga, kumtesa, kumnyima chakula na atimaye alimfukuza. Mwamini hakujua aende wapi wala afanye nini na tumbo lake. Baada ya miezi 6, Mwamini alijifungua mtoto lakini akiwa huku anatangatanga na kuombaomba barabarani. Baada ya muda kidogo Mwamini alipata marafiki wakumshawishi kwamba aache kuombaomba wamfundishe kazi, kazi yenyewe ilikuwa kujiuza ili apate kutimiza mahitaji ya mtoto wake na yeye mwenyewe. Baadaye Mwamini alipata ukimwi na baada ya miezi saba.

Mwamini alifariki nakumwacha mtoto mdogo. Mtoto huyo hana ndugu basi alipata shida sana kwakuwa alikuwa bado mdogo sana alikuwa na miaka minne.

A life story

My name is Mwamini I was born in Songea, in Kumekucha village. I am 16yrs old. I finished my primary education in 2005.

After finishing school, Mwamini lost her parents. She decided to come to town to look for a better life. She reached town safely but once there, she had neither a relative nor a friend. She was just roaming in the streets and she met this young man called Fikiri. The young man deceived Mwamini into believing that he loved her and because she was in a difficult situation, she agreed to go with him. He took her to his place and after five months, Mwamini was pregnant. She told Fikiri but he refused to acknowledge that he was the father. Instead, he started beating her and mistreating her. He stopped giving her food and finally he chased her away. Mwamini didn't know where to go or what to do. 6 months later, Mwamini gave birth. She roamed the streets begging and after sometime she made some friends. They advised her to stop begging and they promised to teach her sex work so that she could get money for her and her baby.

Later on, she got sick with AIDS and died after seven months. She left behind her baby who was only four years old.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Mwashamba Abdul, 13

Elimu ni dira ya maisha

Naitwa Mwashamba Abdul. Ninaishi na mama yangu. Napenda sana kuwa mwanasheria. Hapo mwanzo, nilikuwa naishi na baba na mama. Tumezaliwa tisa, mmoja alifariki. Tume baki nane. Nimemaliza darasa la saba 2007. Kabla sijafanya mtihani, baba alifariki. Kutokana na msiba sikuweza kufanya mtihani vizuri kwahiyo nilifeli. Mama hakuweza kunipeleka shule ya kulipia. Maisha yalianza kuwa mabaya. Mama akaanza kuuza kalmati. Na mimi pia nilikuwa ninauza kalmati. Dada zangu na kaka zangu hawakunijali. Alitokea msamalia mwema akanipeleka kituo cha Kiwohede ambacho kinanisaidia mpaka sasa hivi. Nina jifunsa kushona na kutengeneza batik.

Nini kifanyike?

Watoto tupiganie elimu na haki zetu kwa ujumla. Tutunze utamaduni wetu. Na tupinge ajira kwa watoto.

Education is the light of life

My name is Mwashamba Abdul I live with my mother. I would like to be a lawyer. I used to live with my dad and mum. We were nine children in my family but one passed away so now we are eight. I finished standard seven in 2007 but my dad passed away before I started my final exams. I was so upset with his passing that I didn't do well in my exams and failed. My mother cannot afford to take me to a private school and life started to be tough. She decided to start selling kalmati and so did I. My brothers and sisters didn't look after me. I heard about Kiwohede from a good Samaritan. She brought me here and now I am learning how to make batiks and how to sew.

What should be done?

We children should fight for our education and all our rights. We should preserve our culture and fight against child labour.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Recho Raphaely, 12

Historia ya maisha yangu

Ninaitwa Recho, nina miaka 12, ninaishi Tandika. Kabla ya hapo, nilikuwa ninaishi na wazazi wangu wote wawili. Mwaka 2003, baba alipata ajali akafariki. Niliendelea kuishi na mama kwa muda. Lakini maisha yalikuwa magumu. Mama mkubwa alinichukua, tukaenda kuishi Tabora. Nilikuwa darasa la nne. Baada ya muda tulihamia Chalinze, nilikuwa darasa la sita. Nikasoma kwa muda, lakini sikuwa na barua ya uhamisho. Mara nyingine nilirudishwa nyumbani. Tulihamia tena Dar es salaam, Tandika. Niliendelea na shule lakini baadaye nilifukuzwa kwa kukosa uhamisho. Nilikaa nyumbani, maisha yalikuwa ya shida. Tulitangatanga kama vifaranga vya kuku. Wakati mwingine tulikula chochote tulichopata mtaani. Nilipata habari kuhusu Kiwohede kwamba wanasaidia wasichana wanaoishi katika mazingira magumu na yatima. Niliamua kujiunga ili nipate mafunzo na ushauri nasaha. Ninachukuru Mungu na ninaridhika na ninacho kipata.
Serikali irahisishe njia za kupata uhamisho mwanafunzi anapohama kutoka mkoa mmoja kwenda mwingine.

My life history

My name is Rachel, I'm 12yrs old. I live in Tandika. I used to live with my parents but in 2003, my dad died in an accident. I stayed with my mother for sometimes but life was so tough and my aunt took me to Tabora. I was in standard four then. After some time, we moved to Chalinze. I was in standard six. I went to school for sometime but I was expelled because I needed a transfer letter from my former school which I didn't have. So I stayed at home. Life was so tough and we moved from here to there like a bunch of chickens and we ate anything we got from the street. I got information about Kiwohede that they help girls who live in difficult situations and orphans. I decided to join the centre to get some skills and counseling. I thank god and I am content here.
The government should simplify the procedures for getting a transfer when students move from one region to another.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Salma Omary, 15

Dunia ni tambara bovu

Ninaitwa Salma, ninaishi na mama yangu tumezaliwa sita.
Baba yangu alifariki nikiwa mdogo. Nilipo maliza darasa la
saba sikupata nafasi ya kuendelea kusoma. Nilipelekwa shule
ya ufundi kwa muda miezi 6. Mama alishindwa kunilipia.
Nikaamua kukaa nyumbani. Nikimsaidia mama kuuza chakula.
Alikuja mtoto wa shangazi akanileta Kiwohede. Niliwaeleza
matatiso yangu walinisikiliza na kunipokea kwa furaha.
Nilikutana na wenzangu. Nilikuwa sijui kutengeneza batik.
Sasa najua namshukuru Mungu.

Maoni
Wazazi wasiwapige watoto wawaelimishi na washirikiana na
ndugu zao ili waweze kuwasaidia kwa kuwasomesha watoto wao.

The world is like a
cloth full of holes

My name is Salma. We are six children in my family and we live
with our mother. My dad passed away when I was still young.
When I finished standard seven I didn't get a chance to
continue with school. I was sent to a vocational training
centre for six months but my mother could not afford to pay
for the fees. I decided to stay at home. My cousin brought me
to Kiwohede. I told them my problems and they listened to me
and welcomed me. I made friends here. I didn't know how to
make batiks at first but now I know and I am very grateful.

Thoughts
Parents shouldn't beat their children. They should educate
them with help from their families that way they will be able
to send them to school.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Sara Jackson, 15
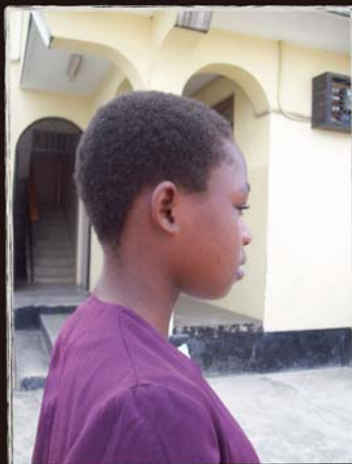
Historia ya maisha

Mimi ni Amina mwenye umri wa miaka 17. Nimemaliza
elimu ya msingi mwaka 2006. Bahati mbaya siku
bahatika kufaulu mtihani wa la saba. Nimekaa nyumbani
niliona sina ninacho fanya nyumbani. Nikaamua
kufanyishwa kazi za ndani kwa mtu. Lakini, alikuwa
ananitesa sana mala ananinyima chakula na mshahala
alikuwa anipi.

A life story

My name is Amina and I am 17yrs old. I finished my
primary education in 2006. Unfortunately, I did not pass
my standard seven exams. I stayed at home with
nothing to do so I decided to work as a house maid but
my boss was mistreating me and didn't give me food.
She refused even to give me my salary.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Sophia Issa, 16

Nimekumbana na mengi

Mama yangu aliolewa akiwa miaka 19 na baba miaka 85. Baada ya miaka miwili, mama alizaa mtoto wa kwanza. Wakati huo alikuwa na biashara ya kuni. Na baba hana kazi yoyote. Alipozaa mtoto ya tatu, maisha ya kawa magumu. Hela ya kula tulikuwa hatuna. Tunalala njaa hata kwa siku nne. Hela ya sabuni hatuna. Maisha yanaendelea na magumu. Mama akapata mimba ya nne. Ndiyo nikazaliwa mimi. Nilipofika miaka minne, mimi na dada zangu, tulianza kutembeza maandazi. Tukawa tunasoma kwa shida na hela ya maandazi ndiyo inasaidia kununua chakula na kuendelea na shule. Tukaishi hivyo hivyo mpaka dada akaolewa. Akiwa na umri wa miaka 19 na mume wake miaka 35. Akanichukua tukaishi pamoja. Maisha yalikuwa magumu. Chakula cha shida, shule unaenda kwa shida mpaka nipomaliza darasa la saba. Mwezi wa kumi, mwaka jana, nilitafutiwa mchumba na shangazi. Nilikuwa na miaka 15 na mwanaume alikuwa na miaka 45. Nikakataa. Na mama akakataa. Walikuwa wananilazimisha nilipata mshtuko. Nikapata matatiso ya kuzimia mara kwa mara.

Yule mwanaume akabadilisha mawazo ya kuniowa kwa sababu hiyo. Baba alisema nikikaa nyumbani nitapata mimba, bora niolewe. Nilikataa. Akatokea ndugu yangu akaniteta Kiwohede. Ninashukuru Mungu ninajua kushona na kutengeneza batik. Akitokea mtu wa kunisomesha, nipo tayari.

Nilikuwa na ndoto za kuwa nesi, lakini inabidi nibadilishe kwa sababu siwezi kufanya hivyo bila kwenda shule.

Wazazi wasiwalazimishe watoto wao kuolewa kama hawataki.

....

I have been through a lot

My mother married when she was 19yrs old and my father was 85yrs old. After two years, my mother had her first born. She had a business of selling fire wood and my dad had no job at all. When my mother had her third born life became very tough. We had no money for buying food sometimes we slept hungry even for four days. My mother got pregnant for the fourth time and this is when I was born. When I was four year old, my sisters and I started selling doughnuts in the street and used the money we made for buying food and going to school. We lived like this until my sister got married. She was 19 and her husband was 35. I went to live with her. Life was hard, and there was little food. But I continued with school until 7th grade. In October last year, my aunt found a man to marry me. I was only 15yrs old and the man was 45. I refused. And my mother refused. They tried to force me, and so I got distressed and started fainting a lot. Because of this, the man changed his mind about marrying me. My dad says that if I stay home I will get pregnant and that it is better I get married but I refused. A relative brought me to Kiwohede . I thank God that I know how to sew and make batik. If I find somebody to pay for my school fees, I am ready to continue with school

I had a dream of becoming a nurse but I have to change my dreams because I can't do that with out going to school.

Parents should not force their daughters to get married.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Warda Juma, 15

Historia ya maisha yangu

Ninaitwa Warda. Nina miaka 15. Nimezaliwa Tanga, lakini kwa sasa naishi Dar es salaam na bibi na babu yangu. Mama yangu yupo Tanga, baba yangu ameshafariki. Darasa la kwanza nilianza Tanga, nilipofika darasa la pili, baba alifariki. Bibi alikuja kwenye msiba, akaomba aje na mimi mjini kwa sababu maisha kule yalikuwa magumu. Ilibidi nianze tena darasa la kwanza. Nilijiona mpweke sana kukaa mbali na mama na kutokuwa na baba. Baadaye, nilizoea mazingira. Nilikuwa na mjomba na shangazi tuliolingana makamu. Niliishi kwa furaha na wenzangu. Nilijiona sawa na wenzangu. Nilipofika darasa la tatu, mjomba alinichukua, nikaenda kukaa naye. Nilipofika darasa la tano, mjomba alifariki. Ilibidi nirudi kwa bibi. Nilijiona mnyonge. Niliishi na bibi na babu mpaka nilipomaliza darasa la saba. Nilifaulu lakini walishindwa kunilipia ada na mahitaji ya shule.

Tusiwatenge watoto waliofiwa na wazazi wao.

....

My life history

My name is Warda. I am 15yrs old. I was born in Tanga but now I am living in Dar es salaam with my grandmother and grandfather. My mother is in Tanga and my dad passed away. I started standard one in Tanga and he died when I reached standard two. My grandmother came to the funeral. She wanted me to go with her to Dar because life in the village was so tough. I had to start standard one again. I felt so lonely being away from my mother and not having a father, but after sometime, I got used to my new life and started to feel happier. When I reached standard three, my uncle took me to stay with him at his place. But by the time I reached standard five he passed away as well and I had to go back to my grandmother's. I finished standard seven and I was selected to continue with secondary school but my grandparents had no money.

We should not abandon children who have lost their parents.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

SOWETO KLIPTOWN YOUTH – PHOTOSTORIES

Athisiphe Aphiwe Mbhele, 12

Soweto Kliptown Youth (SKY)

At SKY we are doing so many activities like dancing, singing, acting, sports. Sometimes we have visitors from other countries and some visitors come from South Africa. Then we perform when they visit.

During the school holidays, we have camp at SKY. During the camp, we do activities. At SKY, we have feed the children for kids that are attending school early in the morning before they go to school at 7am. Then after school, they feed the children by 3pm. At SKY, we are safe because in the streets they are abusing children.

Nomaswazi Mfaxa, 15

Life in a shack

A shack is a form of shelter for many people. It is cold when the weather is cold and hot when it is hot. Without electricity, we find a way of doing things for example we use candles for light and coal for heat. Due to a high level of poverty, teenagers turn to alcohol or drugs and girls fall pregnant because they want the social grant to make a living. Teenage pregnancy is a result of poverty. We live in shacks but we are survivors.☺

Sibekezelo Sandisiwe Gasa, 14

My story is all about Crèches

Here in Kliptown we have three Crèches and these are very poor so they need more support. At SKY, we also have e a Crèche. In Kliptown, we have different teachers, principals, cleaners, children and in different places. They teach the children how to read, write, paint, cut, etc. When children are going to school, they don't worry about them, they know that nothing is wrong with them. Some other children are not very able, some are able but they treat all children the same. Some children have clothes and some others do not have proper clothes.

So Kliptown, stand up and support poor Crèches and I wish God can give them more and more power to make a better life for the children. Your children learn a lot at Crèche, so parents, lets support children.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Siphenkhosi, Kaleni, 16

Religion

Religion is what a person believes in, like others believe in ancestors. We have different kinds of religions in Kliptown.

Christianity
Christians believe in God and they know that God is the provider and the creator of heaven and earth. They believe in God as their saviour.

Ancestors
Living humans believe in ancestors. They believe that ancestors are angels that guide then in whatever they are doing and others pray to them and the ancestors will pass their prayers to God and their ways will be opened so that they have many opportunities in life.

Traditional healers
The majority of people living in Kliptown believe in traditional healers. People who not only can connect with the ancestors but also can tell you where you come from, meaning your past or background and they believe that they are chosen and there is no one chosen other than them.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Siyabonga Stanley Mzolo, 17

Water Supply in Kliptown

In Kliptown, community, water is a problem because many people use the taps mainly every hour due to too many people living in a small area. Water is quite a basic need that we cannot live without, so there should be enough taps for people living in the community.

Kliptown needs many taps, so that each yard or house can have it's own water tap and clean fresh water. The government should see to it that every person in Kliptown has and will always have fresh water. Many people flock the taps

mainly on Saturdays because it's the day when many people aren't working so they think it's a good idea for them to wash their belongings like clothing.

So the taps on Saturdays and weekends get too full that people must queue to get fresh water to carry home for their wants and needs. The Kliptown community should have got their sanitation fixed a long time ago but the government refuses to do its pledge to satisfy the needs of people under the ANC government that states 'UBUNTU NGU MUNTU NGABANTU'. The Kliptown community can be very happy if water affairs can fix all the taps and people can get fresh water and carry on with their lives.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Tchedza Raphula, 16
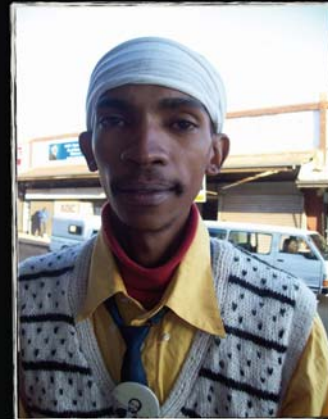
The Rastafarian Religion

This religion is one of Africa's well-known religions that is all about the deep African consciousness which symbolizes Africanism, humanity and great love, respect to God.

This religion came to recognition when the great philosopher from Ethiopia came to power Haile Selassie. The one now given praises and followed by multitudes of Africans.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Thabo Mbhele, 18

Transportation in Kliptown

We are more or less the same as others around our area in terms of transportation. We face the same challenges, share the same experience and a whole lot more. This is how frustrating and interesting our story is. As usual, we have both good and bad experiences in this industry.

Talking of bad things that we face, we lack social, financial, and strategic support from our local municipality, provincial government and also our national government. The above mentioned teams were supposed to be working hand in hand with us but to my surprise they are not doing that. Our national government is sometimes making life difficult for them and us too by not meeting our needs halfway. This is sometimes a result of unnecessary strikes of which costs some people their lives.

Thulise Mathonsi, 16

Business

Almost everyone in my country or in Kliptown who is running a business is running a business to make a living out of that money that they're getting in the business. And there are those who are in business just for fun. It may be a small business or a big business in a small or a big place. I also include the hawkers. Because of the economic problems getting worse everyday, hundreds to thousands of people are loosing their jobs everyday. And most people are thinking the same ideas and their thoughts are to open spaza shops in their local communities. Everyday in Kliptown we see new people around the corners selling. What is bad about these new people we see everyday is that they are selling products that someone in the next corner is already selling. And that is making business here in Kliptown very competitive because of the street hawkers selling the same products of the same label but at different prices, eg. veggies, fruits, clothes, and foods. Usually, because of the competition, almost all the people who are doing business here in Kliptown don't make the profit they targeted at the beginning of the day.

If I was a wealthy business-woman, I would divide Kliptown shopping centre into different business sections. Each section will be selling different products by different people and by the same prices. For example, there will be a section selling clothes only. If someone new wants to run a business, that person will choose the sector that he/she wants to sell in. They will also pay rent in the form of a tax so that they can also contribute in governing and sustaining the country and the economy.

Thank you.

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Zenande Emmanuel Mbhele, 16

Substance abuse

Some of the children of Kliptown are smoking, they drink and use drugs. They don't go to school because of that. They bully people, some kill people. They make people afraid and demand people's money and if you refuse they will do bad things to you. When they get money, they buy alcohol and drugs. They don't eat food, they eat drugs and alcohol.

Why do young people take drugs and alcohol?

They think they will relieve their stress.
They think they will be cool.
They think they will be clever.
They think they will be strong.
They think it's a good life style for them.

What can we do to stop this?
People must stop selling these things to young people.

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Appendix 2 – Exhibition Notes

Appendix 3 - Transcription Data: Focus Group and Flipcharts

	Kiwohede Transcription – Focus Group on Development, Group 2 day 2
1	**Shose**: The first question I want to ask is if you could live anywhere in the world if you could choose anywhere you want to live, where would it be?
2	**Eda:** Tanzania because it's her country she was born here and she love her culture.
3	**Biubwa**: Tanzania because I was born here and there is peace here.
4	**Linda**: Me too, Tanzania because it's my home, I was born here and there is peace, we live well and we love each other.
5	**Khadija:** Tanzania because there is peace, it is not violent like other countries like Kenya where people are fighting
6	**Fahari**: Tanzania because it's my home, I was born here and I understand everything here but if I go somewhere else I won't understand the culture.
7	**Eda**: America [laughs]
8	**Wema**: Why?
9	**Eda**: Because they have a good life, not like here.
10	**Biubwa:** Canada because they have got good education every body can get education even if his or her parents have no money, different from here where your parents must have enough money to pay for your school fees. Because there is a law, and it's different from here. Children are born with their own bank accounts and everything.
11	**Shose**: When you say that they are developed what do you mean?
12	**Biubwa**: A developed country is the one with industries, good roads good education system, technology is high, enough companies and enough money and the people there are educated.
13	**Shose**: So is Tanzania developed or not?
14	**Biubwa:** Yes but not like other countries in Europe or any where else
15	**Shose**: Do you know any other country which is less developed than Tanzania
16	**Linda**: Kenya because of the political instability, violence so people are not free to go to work or school or anywhere
17	**Shose**: And these problem we have discussed like gender discrimination and others do you think they also exist in countries that are more developed?
18	**All:** No
19	**All:** They are there but less, like drugs are there in America
20	**Shose**: What about gender discrimination or sexual abuse?
21	**Biubwa**: It's there [pause]
22	**Shose**: Do you know why is there poverty in Tanzania and why do we have all these problems? Like they mentioned mistreatment of children. Where do these things come from?
23	**Eda:** Because of corruption and misuse of resources
24	**Eda:** Corruption and there was this man in Dodoma, he found a piece of Diamond in his farm he sold it and there were more so he continued mining them to sell them and he became very rich but later the government discovered what he was doing and they took the farm and the man was taken to jail and now he is poor
25	**Linda:** Discrimination and corruption because you might find somebody is educated but she cant get a job simply because maybe somebody has told him (employer) maybe to just take his relative even if he is not educated
26	**Biubwa:** Corruption, for example for a girl to get a job, she have to sleep with the boss so that you can get the job and if you not accepting then you won't get the job
27	**Shose**: But why is Tanzania poor because corruption is everywhere, I want to know hmm do you know anything about the history of Tanzania that would explain why Tanzania is poor while other countries are rich?
28	**Linda:** Because there is no cooperation between people

29	**Biubwa**: Because of in the past, the way our chiefs here were defeated and all that and then she said all the problems started from there. Then there was colonialism and still now we are exploited.
30	**Shose**: This is all very interesting what you are saying, um, one of you said something about colonialism, so my question is hmmmm…can you tell me anything you know about colonialism or why Africans became exploited?
31	**Biubwa**: I think it's because of skin colour
32	**Biubwa:** I think it's because of what the Europeans did before, we still consider the Europeans as superior because like when they came they had superior weapons like guns, and all that stuff, they were more developed compared than us then maybe because of colour, they had already planned something about black [inaudible] to spread the idea that mm white people are more clever you know
33	**Shose**: Do you believe that?
34	**Biubwa**: No
35	**Linda:** It's not true that they are more capable than us, but another thing about language, you know, like English is an international language and they know it because it's their mother tongue, different from us so, maybe that's another thing which makes people to be scared, you know, to consider themselves less, but it's not true that it's about skin colour
36	**Shose**: Ok, what do others think?
37	**Biubwa**: Some girls want to look like Europeans, they don't accept who they are, like this girl, there was this European he wanted to marry her, she was black, but after knowing that that man was after her and he wanted to marry her, she decided to apply some creams, to put on some wigs and all that stuff in order to look like a European, but then at last the man left her, because he didn't like the way she appeared because she was changing.
38	**Shose**: Anybody else?
39	**Eda:** Because they want to look like they are rich or something because the whites are rich so if they look white, people will consider them more because of their appearance
40	**Biubwa**: Because others they think white skin is more attractive
41	**Linda**: I think they want to look like them
42	**Shose**: Why? That doesn't come from nowhere?
43	**Biubwa**: White skin brings respect
44	**Shose**: Ok, I want to go back to colonialism. I want to explain one thing, because somebody mentioned colonialism and she said that not much has changed sine then. And what is true, that a lot of the money that our government gets for education and health and all the services we need, most of it actually, about 60% of that money that the government has for this is coming from the West.
45	**Shose**: Do you think that, knowing that our government, without funds from outside cannot really provide services, how does this impact on you?
46	**Biubwa:** Yes because even if we are self-determined, maybe to solve all those problems, we cant because a big percent is coming from outside and we have xxx so we cannot support ourselves
47	**Eda**: I think like, we have land and we have minerals, we have xxx so we can utilize those resources
48	**Biubwa**: But if it's possible then why are we still depending?
49	**Eda**: Because of corruption
50	**Shose**: Who do you think is responsible for bringing development? Xxx is it ok to keep receiving funds from outside?
51	**Linda**: Its our responsibility but the problem is the corruption and also other people are lazy, they only want to get money but they don't want to work hard [inaudible..]
52	**Shose**: Somebody said the president but how will he know what you need?
53	**Eda:** We should have unity, we as Tanzanians, we should have unity and though it is not possible for all of the Tanzanians to meet at the same time, we have regional commissioners, we have village executives, so we should use those people to take the messages to the president.

54	**Linda**: Ya it's possible, its not like he doesn't know he knows but the problem is even if they give the money for roads, or different things, the money just disappears because of corruption, you might find that there is money for building roads but other people are just using it for their needs and kikwete can not supervise the whole country and that's why, yeah, we are underdeveloped
55	**Biubwa**: We don't have the confidence, like we might get a chance to criticize the government but most of us are scared of criticizing the government and I don't know the reason, why are we scared, there is not reason to be scared but people are not confident.
56	**Shose**: Why are they scared, what do others think?
57	**Biubwa**: Most of the people they feel inferior and they don't know their rights
58	**Shose**: So, what do you think we can do to xxxx?
59	**Biubwa**: I think that people would go to the government and explain their problems and claim their rights but at another time they are afraid because they might get money from the government for food.
60	**Shose**: So what can we do to change this?
61	**Eda**: Education through mass media to send messages to the people?
62	**Shose**: Ok, what should be done to make people believe they are not inferior? What would be inside your messages so that people believe it?
63	**Linda:** Photos
64	**Eda**: Photos of people helping themselves, by encouraging people, by saying you can, you can do this and this, by saying you are not inferior
65	**Linda**: We should be open and confident
66	**Shose**: Do they think if there was a law that people had to help each other, like for example for community work may be once or twice a week and every body must participate do they think it would help?
67	**Linda**: It's possible because in the past, like during colonial periods, they were forced and they did work.
68	**Shose**: Do they think its good to force people?
69	**Biubwa:** Its not good because some people will loose their rights, like the old people or the young one, those people with problems, some sicknesses, like health problems because if it's a law every body must participate
70	**Eda**: People will not work hard because of force so people will just do it for the sake of doing but not we are doing because we are determined to doing this
71	**Shose**: How do you think we can change the behaviour of somebody who is corrupt?
72	**Biubwa:** Through education and telling them what you are doing is causing this and this, other people are suffering because of you and also the poor countries can be underdeveloped because of what you are doing so stop it. And to look for xxx, a law.
73	**Shose:** I don't have anymore questions, but I would like to hear from Khadija, you haven't said much…
74	**Khadija:** Through advising them, through telling them the truth that what you are doing you are causing other people to suffer, because of you, what you are doing
75	**Linda:** It's the people who give corruption to the leaders and those people in the xx and all that so we are the ones to stop that, we should stop giving corruption and buying our rights because it's our right, we don't have to buy them so we should stop giving corruption.
76	**Shose**: Thank you have lots good ideas and there are two things that I think came out, that development is not only about money and that we should think about the impact of exploitation and believe in ourselves more so that we can fight things like corruption.

FLIPCHARTS

Dogodogo Centre [1→29]

FPC1:
Why do people take photos?
To give messages through photos
To become a professional
To learn how to use cameras
To become a famous photographer
To advertise information
To educate people
To understand better/illustrate

FPC2
What is photography?
A way of communicating without words
Drawing that use light instead of colouring
Discovering cameras, still and moving images
To take pictures with messages

FPC3
Why do we learn?
To become a teacher
To gain knowledge and to help others
To help the community/society
To encounter life

FPC4a&b &c:
Picture that I liked
Photo-novella exercise

FPC5
What is a camera?
A tool to take still and moving images
A tool that can take many images
A tool that can record events
A tool for communication

FPC6
Composition – frames (illustration)

FPC7
Lens - Focal length (illustration)

FPC8
Frames – landscape and portrait (illustration)

FPC9
Camera functions (illustration)

FPC10
Camera handling (illustration)

FPC11
Lesson summary

FPC12
Subject placement

FPC13
Admin for fieldwork

FPC 14
Photo exercises and assignment review
Pick something and take 7 picture of it that are different
Everyone has 10 minutes. Downloaded photos and competition. They had to grade each other. Exercise for critical thinking.

FPC 15
Think laterally
Thought don't have to be big
Things that seem normal to you may not be for others
What is a pen?

FPC16
Assignment: story ideas
Examples of problems/topics:
Education
To be uncaring, to lack respect
Poverty (materials and knowledge)
Changes
Development

FPC 16a
Ideas
Ideas to be introduced by the photographer and to be different from others
Ideas are source of income for photographer
Good ideas: different, new, big or small
Where to get ideas? TV, radio, press, magazines, newspapers, people, events
Record keeping

FPC 16b
Ideas
Mussa: Gongo (distilled liquor) – why? Children who run errands to get gongo are harmed. Student transport – dangerous.
Juma: Street kids – vulnerable but people don't care. Aids – influences environment
Ali: Teacher/student relationships – students need to be well treated
Remy: Marijuana smokers – bad habit
Peter: Talented dancers – to expose unexposed
Adam: Dogodogo multiskills centre – show behaviour change

FPC 17a,b,c,d: Illustrating ideas
Water problems. How to illustrate this with a photograph.
Queue of people fetching water
People walking to fetch water
People selling and buying water
Lots of people and buckets
Place in desert/dry area
Broken taps
Taps with no water

FPC18: what have we learnt?
Frames
To read pictures
Imagination in pictures
Sharing
To think before taking a photo
To use the camera well
To download photos
Uses of the camera

FPC19 5W's & H
Information/news
1. What: explain what is in photo
2. Who: who is in photo
3. Where: where was the photo taken
4. When: during what time, time, date
5. Why: why it is happening
6. How: what are the shots

FPC 20
Outcomes of training
Each participant will have chosen own photos
Each participant will be able to explain in detail (choice of subject, photo, etc)
Exhibition
Anything else? Party, book, CD with photos, camera, present, shirt

FPC 21
Juma Lucas, 18
What: teenage pregnancy
Where: Bunju A
Why: I hate to see young women who get pregnant being chased away and abandoned when they are in trouble.
Who: Zena, 16
Shots: Zena at home or with friends; Zena at video show; having fun/Taarab; in bar, pub; portrait; smoking cigarettes

FPC 22
Simon Jackson, 19
What: mental illness – people who are forgetful??
Where: Bunju B
Why: they are harassed, bullied; they are not valued; they deserve to be cared for; they are excluded (marginalized)
Who: Salum
Shots: Where he lives, sleeps; where he goes; people around him?; portrait

FPC23
Adam Godfrey, 16
What: Conditions of life on the street
Where: Manzese, Ubungo
Why: It reminds me of my life on the street; I want to help those who remain by telling of their conditions
When: ?
Who: Abdul
Shots: Photos of his daily life – morning, afternoon and night; people around him

FPC24
Mussa Ali, 16
What: Drinkers and makers of gongo
Where: Bunju B
Why: When I was younger, my grandmother used to send me to buy gongo
When: ?
Who: Children, makers and drinkers
Shots: Instruments to make gongo/people making it; people drinking gongo; children buying gongo; after being drunk; other people

FPC25
Peter James, 18
What: Talented dancers
Where: Mbagala
Why: I am a dancer like them but I was lucky to come to dogodogo. I want to make them known so they also get chances.
When: ?
Who: Makuruti dancers
Shots: When they are rehearsing; during a performance; relating with others

FPC 26
Amani Chale, 16
What: Happy people/ happiness
Where: Bunju beach
Why: People are not distressed/sad all the time
When: ?
Who: Places with music; beach; students; admirers
Shots: People laughing/smiling; relating with others

FPC 27
Remy Mbwette, 16
What: Street garages
Where: Kimara
Why: To encourage youngsters to learn and to get professional skills and to earn an income; they will stop wandering on the streets without professional skills.
When: ?
Who: Kitingo
Shots: When he opens the garage; at work; relating with others

FPC 28
Ali Shamte, 18
What: Water shortages
Where: Kimara
Why: I was beaten by my father because I lost 7 buckets of water; I slept outside for 2 days because I was afraid that my father would continue beating me.
When: ?
Who: Willy a water seller
Shots: ?

FPC 29
Godfrey Kapesi, 17
What: Going to the beach
Where: Coco beach
Why: I want to show the advantages of the beach, the breeze, environment, if you go to the beach you get good thoughts
When: ?
Who: Young people
Shots: People swimming, people relaxing together; relating with others

Kiwohede Trust [1→29]

FPC 1
Goals:
To learn more; to teach others; to help with our life now and later on.
How do we learn? Words, actions, photos, history, stories - communication
Why do we learn? To gain knowledge and to help others like us

FPC 2
What is photography?
To remember
To represent
To tell stories

FPC 3
Rules
To be on time
To behave
To be there every day
To participate
To listen during the discussion
Obedience
To understand what you learn
Collaboration
To enjoy learning

FPC 4
Timetable: 10 – 11am; break; 11.15 – 13.00; break; 13.30 – 15.30

FPC 5
Good things about Dar es salaam
Good hospitals
Lots of business
Good communication: roads, telephone, internet, TV, radio
Employment opportunities
Social services
Education
Bad things about Dar es Salaam
Aids, thieves, rape, slavery, temptations, harassment, corruption, prostitution, drugs, sexism, bad roads, dirt, prices of things.

FPC 6
Photo novella exercise (how you see yourself & how others see you – 3 things)
1. Lubna: ordinary person, I like working and keeping busy, respectful – show off, lazy, likes to sleep
2. Aisha: studious, likes to sing, likes to sew – snooty, selfish, good student
3. Rose: studious, sleepy, weak – tough, snooty, pretentious
4. Melba: good seamstress, studious, cautious – gossiper, gentle, keeps bad company
5. Cynthia: likes to rest, likes to have fun, doesn't like to be teased – trouble maker, angry, bad (selfish)

FPC 7
Exhibition
Who to invite: the president, MP's, district commissioner, teachers from Kiwohede, director, family, friends
Where? Diamond jubilee, in town
When? To avoid Ramadan, Friday eve or sat opening
Other: to introduce them individually on the night; speeches: Aisha

FPC 8
What are photos for?
To remember
To communicate
To explain/illustrate
To represent
News
Messages/ stories
Adverts

FPC9
Why do we learn?
To be aware, conscious
To understand
To understand and avoid trouble
To inform the community
To inform parents
To teach each other

FPC10
Ground rules
To be on time
To be respectful
To be attentive
To participate
To attend
Timetable

FPC11
Goals
To stop child labour
To raise awareness about aids
Child pregnancy and its effects
Rape of children
Effects of parental separation on children
Drug abuse
Child abuse/ trafficking
Gender discrimination
Sex education
Safe sex
Corruption

FPC12
How to change?
To inform parents
To inform children
To reach towns and villages
How? (methods)
Through art
Government to provide education
Mass media
Photo exhibition
Dialogue
To question and think

FPC13
Themes and causes
Poverty
Unemployment
Discrimination
Power
Illiteracy
Peer pressure
Stress
Desire
Parents ways
Lack of family care
Wrong beliefs
Culture change
Lack of awareness

FPC14
Competition
Good thing
Bad thing
Something attractive
Something unattractive
Something funny
Something sad
Something shocking
Something happy

FPC15
Photo-novella exercise

FPC16
Goals
To be aware, to recognize children's rights
To find solutions to problems
Causes for street children
To get help
To understand why children are not going to school
Families and communities should not mistreat children who have lost their parents
To build good families with partnership/understanding
To know difference between right and wrong
To do good things
To teach people

FPC17
What is photography?
To capture images of things
For keeping memories
Advertising
Information
To explain
Professional skill
Work
Art
To represent oneself
Where? – studio, in books, on calendars, in magazines, in advertisements

FPC18
Why do we learn?
To gain work/ knowledge
To help parents
To know
To help people (society/community)
To learn
To get rid of ignorance
How do we learn?
By doing
Reading books
Through pictures
Debates
News
Art
How do we understand?
Through critical discussion
Through information
Through seeing
Through feeling (like anger and compassion)
By thinking from inside (heart) and making mistakes

FPC20
Stereotypes
(to resent someone who looks different)
To be un-accepting of some people's values
Prostitutes
They are not involved
They don't know
They can't make decisions
They are inferior
They are worthless
They depend on men
They are lazy

FPC21
Why do parents mistreat children?
They are not their birth children
Poverty
They lost their parents
Gender discrimination
They are troublemakers
Parents separation
Types of mistreatment
Emotional/psychological: Insults, to be beaten, excessive work, to be isolated
Basic/material: not to go to school, not to be given food, not to have clothes, to be kicked out of home

FPC22
Needs/rights of children (young women)
Material: food, clothes, home, school, money
Symbolic: love, peace, to be well brought up, not to be shamed, not to be beaten, not to be alone, not to do excessive work
Feelings: compassion, pity, anger
Stereotypes: to be inferior, not able to make decisions, they are not value, they are dependent, they are ignorant, they are whores

FPC23
Colonialism
Racism→ causes: stereotypes, poverty, lack of awareness, etc -→ gender discrimination → causes: stepparents, lack of responsibility → mistreatment of children → to be beaten, etc.

FPC24
Goals
To tell life stories, to share
Young women's rights
Equality between boys and girls
Love (from parents)
Young women to be worthy
Young women to be protected
To be free
To be heard
To be healthy

FPC25
What is photography?
To capture and to show
To remember
To take pictures of things/people with meanings
To tell stories
To teach people

FPC 26
Why do we learn/teach?
To teach people about love at young age (sex)
To teach parents and communities not
To deny children their rights
…about gender discrimination
…about child labour
To be aware
To change peoples habits/values
To send messages

FPC27
How do we learn?
Drama
Arguments
Books
Promotional materials
Advertisements
Choir
Picture
Why do we use different ways of learning?
To reach as many people as possible
To become aware – to understand from inside – pain
News/knowledge
Feelings
Reality
Respect

FPC28
Causes
Wrong beliefs (stereotypes)
Stepparents
Lack of responsibility of guardians
Loss of parents
Lack of father responsibility
Not to be listened to
Lack of trust
Women are also being mistreated (the women who mistreat children)
Children are always with mothers (women need breaks fm kids)
Parents separation
Moving homes (frequently)
Consequences/damage
Fear
Weakness
→ lack of self-esteem
Street children
Drugs
Suicide
Prostitution
Teenage pregnancy

FPC29
Changing ways
Individual/ community
To advise
To encourage
To give different thoughts
Comfort
Hope
Friends
Peaceful place
Love

Appendix 4: Coding Tables

Coding table: Photo-stories

Global themes	Themes	Codes	Explanation
Social challenges The main factors affecting the living conditions of young people and their communities	Family breakdown	Parental separation Parental death	Young people move homes and are separated from their mothers after parents separate Young people loose parents and carers due to illness
	Mistreatment/Abuse	Trafficking Rape Labour Access to basic needs Participation in illegal activities Abandonment Exploitation at work Forced marriage	Young women are trafficked from villages to town on the pretence that they will be sent to school Young women are raped by their employers Excessive labour Young people are mistreatment by stepmothers, who favour their own children Young people are abandoned and end up in streets Young people are denied basic needs – food, healthcare within the household Young people are used in illegal activities – buying alcohol for their parents Young women are not paid by their employers Young women are forced to get married at an early age
	Access to education	Fees Pass rate Drop-out Girls education Rural education	Young people have limited opportunities to go to school because of school fees Many young people cannot pass exams to enter secondary schools Young women have fewer opportunities to attend school because families with limited resources will prioritise male child and girls are kept at home to do domestic work. Young people drop-out of school due to pregnancy or peer pressure There are fewer education opportunities in rural areas
	Structural poverty	Water shortages Sanitation Electricity Food Housing	Young people live in unsecure environments as a result of poor living conditions Young people live in the streets People in the community live in shacks with no running water, electricity or sanitation Young people often go without food
Coping strategies The activities that young people engage in to survive and improve their living conditions	Risky/harmful practices	Drugs Alcoholism Petty Crime Violent Crime Prostitution	Young people are involved in petty crime as a source of income to survive Young people are involved in illegal activities as a source of recognition Young women get involve in sex work – to support each other and get off the streets
	Knowledge and resources	Professional skills Income Work ethics	Young people start their own businesses and learn professional skills They are successful because they work well together, and exchange ideas

	Hope and determination	Artistic talent Future plans Migration to cities Nature/Environment	Young people involved in the arts want to be recognized for their talents Young people want to be nurses, doctors, lawyers, presidents, etc. The beach is a source of relaxation and good thoughts
	Family/community networks	Hand-outs Begging Skills and recognition Basic needs Safety	Young people seek handouts for school fees Young people live with extended family to support them Young people beg on the streets Young people frequent youth centres to stay off the streets Youth centres provide food before and after school Young people learn art and sports and perform to local and international audiences
	Religion	Hope Healing Africanism Humanity Love	Religious activities provide hope, healing to community members Religion is a source of pride and solidarity
Change strategies The demands that young people make on different sectors of society to improve their living conditions	Family/community	Care and support Parental responsibility Adult education	Communities should provide care and support to those who are marginalized Parents should plan their pregnancies so that they can care for their children Parents should send their children to school Parents should be educated not to mistreat their children Extended family should help send children to school People should stop selling drugs and alcohol to young people
	Law	Punishment Children's rights	Legal steps against those who mistreat children Children should have rights to property after death of father Children should be protected against excessive labour Children have a right to education
	Role of government	Services Financial and strategic support	Governments should provide education in rural areas Government should provide social, financial and strategic support at all levels Government should raise taxes from local business to help the community Government should provide sanitation and adequate water services

Coding table: Focus groups on development

Global themes	Explanatory Themes	Codes	Description
Defining development The explanations for differences in access to material resources between people, communities and nations.	Macro-economic indicators	Income Roads Education	Money/wealth means development Good economy, good roads, good education, good industry are indicators of a developed country
	Social indicators	Awareness Belief Culture Trust Discrimination Care and support Individualism Cooperation Class Unemployment Nepotism Bribery Gender discrimination Sexual oppression Peer pressure	Social problems are due to lack of awareness, wrong beliefs, cultural changes, unemployment, discrimination, illiteracy, stress, desire, and lack of family care and values Problems cannot be solved individually, but there is no cooperation between one class of people and another Lack of trust in the community Educated people can't get jobs because of nepotism Women face sexual abuse in job market Young people can't get jobs because to get a job, one has to bribe someone Young people drop-out of school because of peer pressure
	Geopolitical indicators	Income Urban-rural Globalization North-South	In Tanzania, some people are rich and some people are poor There are differences between rural areas and urban areas Tribalism/ethnicity South Africa is developed compared to rest of Africa but developing compared to West African countries are disadvantaged because English is an international language Rich are getting richer, poor are getting poorer
	Governance	Corruption State power Participation Partnership Role of government Dependency Exploitation Deception Neo-colonialism Corruption Unemployment Lack of education Self-determination	Tanzania is poor because of corruption and misuse of resources Government takes over businesses that are successful Shared responsibility for development between individuals, community, government and business Unity is possible through local government to take messages to the president For a country to develop, it should depend on itself not on Aid Aid dependence causes laziness and apathy - Aid is to deceive us Africa has resources but is still dependent on the west because of corruption and lack of self-belief Colonialism is the cause of problems in Tanzania and now there is neo-colonialism Apartheid caused unemployment and lack of education Tanzania is not benefitting from its resources, the west is benefiting because of exploitation

		Apathy Laziness	South African economy is owned by multinationals
Victim-blaming discourse The explanations for differences in access to symbolic resources between individuals, communities and nations.	Laziness/irresponsibility	Prostitution Gender discrimination Corruption Aid dependency Unemployment Poverty Idleness Government grants Teenage Pregnancy Begging	Girls sell their bodies because of laziness and to avoid hard work When people are lazy, they become corrupt because they want money without working hard Aid makes us lazy because we get everything from outside People are poor because they do not work hard South Africans like free things not hard work South Africans don't work hard compared to other Africans Girls get pregnant so that they can get the social grant and not go to work People prefer to solicit others and depend on others Mothers gamble and drink the grant money instead of taking care of children People blame apartheid for their problems and take advantage of reconstruction plan
	Ignorance (lack of intelligence)	Poverty Skills/capabilities Xenophobia Western education Development Power racialism	People are poor because of ignorance, people are rich because they are clever South Africans lack intelligence compared to Chinese who can make things South Africans are ignorant and blame foreigners for their problems Western education is better, Americans know more things People perceive that to be underdeveloped is ignorance and to be developed is intelligence Intelligence is the power to dominate (through divide and rule strategies)
	Powerlessness	School drop-out Loss of faith Lack of dynamism Lack of recognition	No use in investing in school because of lack of job opportunities Lack of dynamism in the community Talent is undermined by the community In rural areas, a literate person is worse off
	Fear	Self-confidence Social context Power Recognition Rights	People are afraid to speak the truth and criticize the government People do not know their rights and feel inferior
Stigmatizing knowledge Cultural and internalised beliefs that contribute to differences in access to resources.	Internalized beliefs	Self-hate Racialism Money Creativity/capability Skills/knowledge Language Respect Stereotypes Self-esteem	Tanzanians despise themselves, Europeans think they are better White skin is beautiful and brings respect White skin is a sign of wealth Girls bleach their skin to be more attractive Europeans have more money and are more creative Europeans have superior technology, Tanzanian goods are fake Wealth is a sign of development Free education is not valued To speak English is to get more respect

		Sexual/gender discrimination	To study abroad brings respect Africans are underdeveloped because they don't believe in themselves Prostitutes are ignorant, dependent on men, inferior, can't make decisions, lazy, worthless
	Cultural/Traditional beliefs	Racialism Tribalism Gender Lack of recognition Lack of cohesion Supernatural explanation	Africans were meant to be farmers, Europeans to be educated Girls from particular tribes are considered prostitutes Success is not recognized in the person but is the result of spiritual power Witchcraft is the cause of social ills, such as accidents, death and disease People believe they are bewitched by their enemies/neighbours Mistreatment of women and children was created by the ancestors
Resistance and alternatives Values and strategies that contradict victim-blaming discourses and stigmatising knowledges.	Re-defining development	Pluralist struggles discrimination Ownership Material resources Symbolic resources Exploitation Creativity/innovation	People have different needs from the government, such as disabled people and mentally ill, therefore social grants are good for some Disabled people are criticized for not getting jobs People participate differently in social change efforts, like children, old people and people who are ill Tanzania is not developing because of exploitation from the outside South Africa is not developing, it's going backwards because the people do not own the country's wealth The arts industry is developing because people own their talent and creativity
	Power/Discrimination	Superiority/western education Productive power Deconstructing discriminatory power	Parents discourage children to go to school because it breeds superiority, loss of humility and culture Racism is a challenge that builds people, makes them grow Women are changing because of the mistreatment they receive from men. It is the suffering that make people change Because of colonialism, we started mistreating each other and then we mistreated ourselves
	Survival	Income Petty crime	Young people quit school to find work to support the family Young people engage in illegal activities to support the family
	Migration	Abuse Family networks Rural-urban divide	Young people flee abusive family contexts and end up in the streets or living with relatives Young people migrate from rural areas into town in search for jobs
	Social change	Truth Everyday life Impact Encouragement Self-esteem Pluralism Self-determination	Social change comes from education and information on the truth of peoples everyday life experiences to demonstrate impact of behavior (eg. Corruption) Individuals cannot change without supportive environment People can be educated through mass media Messages should encourage people and tell them they are not inferior Laws should respect rights of different people (young, old, disabled) People work hard because of self-determination not from obligation

Coding table: Follow-up interviews and focus groups

Global Themes	Explanatory Themes	Codes	Description
Knowledge and capabilities The practical skills developed through the Shooting Horizons Initiative.	Skills	New skill Technology Awareness Self-esteem Confidence Hope Engagement Participation Interest	Young people acquired new skills in photography Young people gained awareness of new profession and possibilities for their future Young people built confidence in their abilities Young people learnt computer skills Young people developed desire to learn more skills and participate in more projects Problem with continuation because lack of access to computers
	Communication	Understanding Awareness Education Future/hope Social change	Young people learnt new way of communicating and understanding through photographs Young people can use photographs to educate the society
Critical awareness The new levels of understanding developed, in particular insights into community strengths and weaknesses.	Social conscience	Share knowledge Social change Inspire Educate Encourage Documentation Social memory	Young people want to teach others their newly acquired skills Young people want to help society through their work Young people want to inspire and encourage others to do similar things Young people want to document more stories about humiliation and oppression of children in their community and other social issues
	Social capital	Awareness Fear Cooperation Disbelief Witchcraft Payment Violence Threats Suspicion Secrecy	Young people became aware of levels of social capital in their communities Lack of cooperation of community members in project Negative/defensive attitudes of community members towards the project Community members believed photographs would be used for witchcraft Community members solicit payment (in-kind and monetary) to be in the photographs Young people faced violent threats in taking photos in the community Community members expressed feeling of shame and did not wish their lives to be exposed
	Strategies	Lies Disbelief Hide Payment Dialogue Persuasion Networks	Young people faced disbelief in the community and lied about the project Young people would hide to take photographs Young people would buy food or pay their object Young people established dialogue with previously unknown community members Young people used persuasion to get people involved in the project Young people used their networks of friends to find interesting stories

Recognition	Publications	Media Exhibition	Young people's photo-stories appeared in magazines and newspapers Young people's photo-stories showcased in exhibitions for general public
The processes whereby young people realise their own strength and the impact of social support.	Sales	income	Young people sold their photographs
	Certificates	Professional accreditation	Participants received certificates from the training Certificate helped one participant to get a job as art teacher Certificates represented a source of pride for participants
	Speeches		Exhibitions were supported by government representation Young people gave speeches during exhibitions
Hope The impact of the process in broadening young people's perspectives on life and restoring faith in the future.	Motivation	Fame Art Confidence Direction	Young people see a positive future because of skills, knowledge and possibility to teach others Young people want to develop artistic talents and become famous Shooting Horizons gave direction to young people's lives
	Self-awareness	Challenge Positive attitude Self-esteem	Young people became aware of possibilities to engage in positive instead of negative activities Young people gained self-esteem through the project because it represented a 'challenge' compared to other projects

Appendix 5: Sample Consent Form

The London School of Economics and Political Science

Institute of Social Psychology
St. Clements Building
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
Tel: 020 7955
7712

STUDENT CONSENT FORM: "Photovoice" as a tool to empower young people to think critically about their lives

1.   The aims of the study have been explained to me, and I have been given the chance to answer any questions I have about the study and its goals, about the researcher and about what will be done with the findings.

2.   I understand that I may not derive any material benefits from participation in the study. However, knowledge gained from this study may contribute to better understanding of the social complexities contributing towards the lives of young people in Tanzania.

3.   I understand that the focus groups will be recorded and transcribed. No one will have access to the recordings apart from members of the research team.

4.   I understand that any information that I provide will be treated in confidence if I so wish. In any discussions, reports or papers resulting from this study no reference will be made to my name, or my address, and no information will be included which could be used to identify me if I so wish. However, due to the nature of this project, it will be my responsibility to decide whether my work should be exhibited to the public.

5.   If I choose not to answer any of the questions asked, I am free to say so.

6.   I will take care to protect equipment loaned to me for the project and return it to the researcher when requested at the end of the project.

7.   If at any stage of the project I decide that I do not want to participate any longer, then I am free to say so, and my participation will be withdrawn.

8.   I freely consent to participate in the study, focus group and exhibition, on the conditions laid out above. No one has put any pressure on me to participate.

Signed by participant: _____

Name: _____YONA Pima_____

Date: _____

Swahili version

The London School of Economics and Political Science

Institute of Social Psychology
St. Clements Building
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
Tel: 020 7955
7712

FOMU YA MAKUBALIANO YA WANAFUNZI:
"Photovoice" kama zana ya kuwapa nguvu wasichana na wanawake kufikiria kukosoa kuhusu maisha yao.

1.   Dhumuni la somo limeelezewa kwangu, na nimepewa nafasi ya kujibu swali lolote nililonalo husu somo na malengo yake, kuhusu utafiti na kuhusu kitakacho fanyika na matokeo.

2.   Naelewa kuwa sitapata fidia yoyote kwa kushiriki katika somo. Ila ujuzi utakaopatikana kutokana na somo hili unaweza kuchangia kwa uelewaji bora wa jamii unaochangia maisha ya vijana Tanzania.

3.   Naelewa kuwa nia ya makundi na mahojiano yatahifadhiwa na kunakiliwa. Hakuna atakaye kuwa na ruhusa ya kukaribia nakala hizo isipokuwa watafiti.

4.   Naelewa kuwa taarifa ninazotoa zatachukuliwa siri kama nitataka. Kwenye majadiliano, taarifa au nakala zitokanazo na somo hili hakuna marejeo yatakayofanywa kwa jina langu, au anuani yangu, na hakuna taarifa itakayo wekwa kunithibitisha kama nikitaka. Ila kwa uhalisi wa huu mradi, litakuwa jukumu langu kuamua kuwa kazi yangu ionyeshwe hadharani.

5.   kama nikichagua kuto jibu swali lolote litakalouliziwa, niko huru kusema.

6.   Nitatunza vifaa nitakavyo azimwa kwa mradi na kurudisha kwa mtafiti vitakavyo ombwa mwisho wa mradi.

7.   Kama kwa ngazi yoyote ntaamua kutoshiriki tena katika mradi., basi niko huru kusema.

8.   Ninakubari kushiriki kwenye somo na mahojiano, kwa masharti yaliyo hapo juu, hakuna aliyenilazimisha kushiriki.

Saini ya mshiriki:_____

Jina:_____

Tarehe:_____

Saini ya mzazi /mlezi:_____

Jina:_____

Tarehe: _____

Appendix 6: Sample Certificate

Certificate

This is to certify that... has

Participated in the Shooting Horizons Photography Workshop 2009

Has received instruction from an internationally renowned photographer

Has successfully completed all assignments for the project

Shose Kessi
Coordinator

Andrew Tshabangu
Trainer/Photographer

SHOOTING HORIZONS

Appendix 7: Workshop Schedule

SHOOTING HORIZONS
PHOTOGRAPHY TRAINING PROJECT
FOR DOGODOGO CENTRE 12TH – 21TH MAY 2008

DAY	WHEN	WHAT
1	9.00 - 9.30	Arrival Bunju. (Kuwasili)
	9.30 - 10.00	Registration (Kujiandikisha)
	10.00 – 10.20	Opening remark (Ufunguzi)
	10.20 – 11.00	Introduction (Kujitambulisha)
	11.00 - 11.15	BREAK (Mapumziko)
	11.15 - 12.00	What is Photography? (Upigaji picha ni nini?)
	12.00 – 12.05	BREAK
	12.05 – 12.45	How Camera works / controls (Jinsi kamera inavyofanya kazi)
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
2	10.00 - 10.45	DVD show PhotoVoice and Example photo projects
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Picture reading & Discussion (Kusoma picha na majadiliano)
	11.45 – 12.00	BREAK
	12.00 - 12.45	Digital vs Conventional (Camera za digitali na za filamu)
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
3	10.00 - 10.45	How to load the camera, take pictures, download and save them
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Picture taking exercises - Individual (Mazoezi ya kupiga picha)
	11.45 – 12.00	BREAK
	12.00 - 12.45	Download and save pictures (Ingiza na hifadhi picha ktk kompyuta)
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
4	10.00 - 10.45	Composition
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Exercising composition -individuals
	11.45 – 12.00	BREAK
	12.00 - 12.45	Composition Review and discussion
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
5	10.00 - 10.45	Seeing Light: Experiment light, indoor & outside
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Getting story ideas. Newspapers of the day, past issues
	11.45 – 12.00	BREAK
	12.00 - 12.45	IDEAS: Group discussion and presentations. Home work - IDEAS
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
6	10.00 - 10.45	IDEAS Review
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Getting information for the shooting: 5Ws + H
	11.45 – 12.00	BREAK
	12.00 - 12.45	Example of picture project shows Plan for shooting Home work: Start shooting
	12.45 -	BREAK

DAY	WHEN	WHAT
7	10.00 - 10.45	Continue Shooting
	10.45 - 11.00	Continue shooting
	11.00 – 11.45	Continue shooting
	11.45 – 12.00	Assignment Download and Review
	12.00 - 12.45	Assignment Download and Review
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
8	10.00 - 10.45	Challenges from the shooting – Discussions (group & presentations)
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Telling stories by pictures, The effective way: Newspapers of the day.
	11.45 – 12.00	Picture reading & Discussions (Self pictures).
	12.00 - 12.45	Shooting continues (Kusoma picha na majadiliano)
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
9	10.00 - 10.45	Basic Picture Editing
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Assignment Download & Editing
	11.45 – 12.00	BREAK
	12.00 - 12.45	Text and captions
	12.45 -	LUNCH BREAK
10	10.00 - 10.45	Edit, Text & Captioning
	10.45 - 11.00	BREAK
	11.00 – 11.45	Individual Selection Presentations
	11.45 – 12.00	BREAK
	12.00 - 12.45	Individual Selection Presentations Future plans Closure remarks
	12.45	LUNCH BREAK

Appendix 8: Publications

FEMA Magazine, October-December 2008, pp 43-47
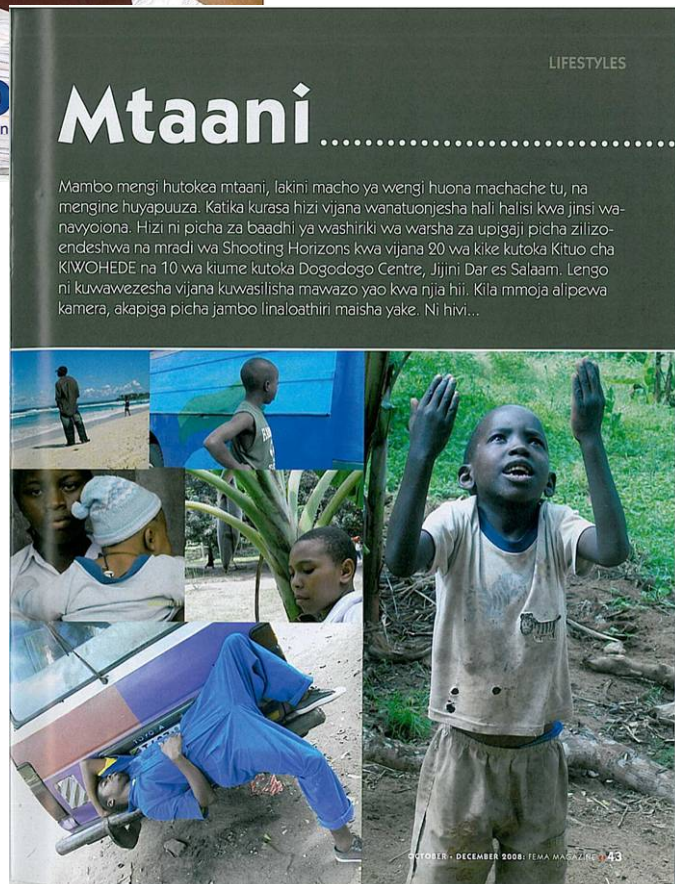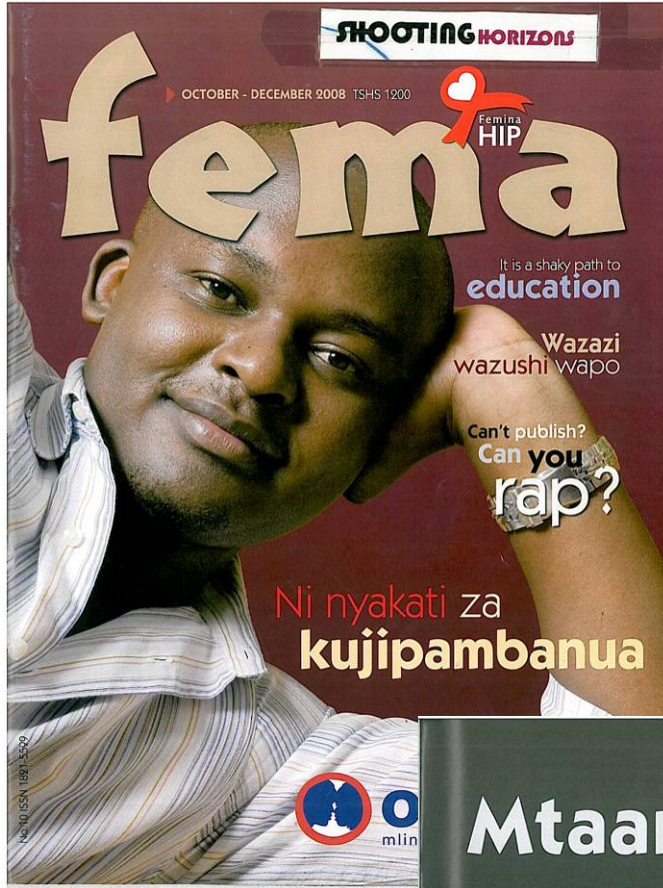
Picha na: Pius Mujuni, 16

Mada: Gereji za mitaani

Wapi: Kimara

Kwa nini: 'Kuhamasisha vijana kujifunza kufanya kazi za ujuzi ili kujipatia kipato. Waache kuzurura bila ujuzi na kazi mitaani'.

LIFESTYLES

Picha na: Faraji Patrick, 18

Mada: Vishawishi vya ngono kwa wasichana wenye umri mdogo

Wapi: Bunju A

Kwa nini: 'Nachukia kuona wasichana wadogo wajawazito halafu wanakimbiwa na kuachwa wakihangaika'.

Nani: Zena, 16

Picha na: Amina Rajabu, 15

Nini: 'Naomba kama jamii au serikali mwelimishe wazazi wasitese watoto, na wazazi wawapeleke watoto wao shule kama mtoto anayeonekana katika picha.'

Picha na: Recho Raphaely, 12

Kwa nini: 'Maisha yetu yalikuwa na shida. Tulitangatanga kama vifaranga vya kuku. Wakati mwingine, tulikula chochote tulichopata mitaani.'

Wapi: Buguruni

Picha na: Benjamin James, 19

Mada: Wagonjwa wa akili: Watu waliosahaulika

Kwa nini: 'Wanaonewa, hawathaminiwi. Wanastahili matunzo. Wanatengwa'.

Wapi: Bunju B

Nani: Salum

SOWETAN, Newspaper,
27 July 2009

Monday July 27 2009 SOWETAN **17**

CONSTANT COMPANION: One of the photographs on display at Kliptown Youth Centre.

REALITY THROUGH KIDS' EYES

Patience Bambalele

A PHOTO exhibition aimed at giving exposure to the talent of youths in Soweto and Tanzania is on at the Kliptown Youth Centre.

Titled *Shooting Horizons*, the exhibition displays photos of young photographers in their own environment.

Local photographer Andrew Tshabangu and Tanzanian Shose Kessi are the exhibition curators.

The photos were taken by youngsters from Kliptown and Tanzania, who are keen to express their creativity through photography. They are aged between 14 and 18.

The exhibition features incredible photos of water shortages in Kliptown, life in a shack, poverty and teenage pregnancy.

Faraji Patrick, who photographed a young pregnant woman, said: "I hate seeing young, pregnant women abandoned and left to suffer."

Emmanuel Samson, who took a striking photo of a street kid, said: "I want to help kids who live on the streets by showing their pain and suffering."

Kessi said they encouraged the youth to think about things that they want to change in their communities.

"We did not give them a theme, but encouraged them to look at things they don't like. We decided to include Tanzanian youths because youth all over the world have common challenges."

The exhibition, which ends in October, was work-shopped for three months, Tshabangu said.

"The aim of the workshops was not to turn the youth into future photographers, but to allow the youngsters to express themselves," Tshabangu said.

SQUALOR: Kliptown photographed by one of the students.

Norwegian Festival, Dar es Salaam,15 September 2008

Norwegian Culture and Food Festival

Mövenpick Royal Palm Hotel
15 September 2008
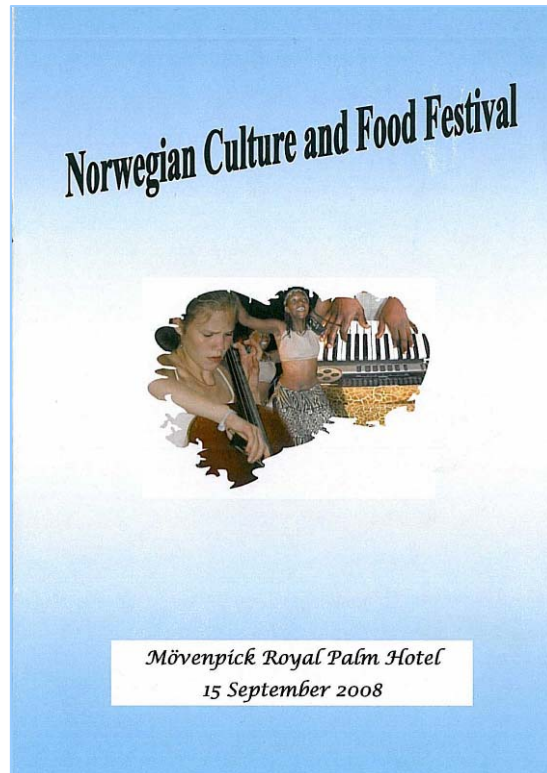
Henna Body Art to canvas, Zanzibar,
acrylic on canvas

Nine women who spent their days painting henna designs on tourists at the Old Fort were invited to participate in two workshops at the Zayaa gallery in Zanzibar. Funded by the Vipaji foundation, these workshops gave them skills to transform their designs into paintings on canvas. Of the nine women who took part in the first workshop, four went on to take part in the second: **Kaiza, Sharifa, Mwana and Saada.**

The centuries-old custom of henna body painting has taken a modern sense of colour and creativity.
Making the shift from producing commercial designs on the hands and arms of tourists for about $3 each to producing creative and unique artworks hasn't been easy. "It's really difficult," said artist Kaiza. "In henna body art only one colour is used, but now we have to use different colours, colours which match. The technique is different, too. We want our paintings to be of high quality and we have to work hard at it. But it's worth it - we enjoy using colour."

Dogodogo and Kiwohede centres

Dogodogo is a loving haven for boys rescued from the street. The centre provides them with shelter, food, primary education and artistic skills (music, dance, singing, visual arts). Patrick, Francis and Evarist are professional visual artists teaching at the centre and helping to empower the creative voices of the children. The centre was established by Sister Jean Pruitt and is managed by a dedicated staff and Board.

Kiota Women Health and Development , **Kiwohede**, is a drop-in centre for girls and young women between the ages of 9 and 18. Most of these girls and young women are either orphans, children working as domestic staff, commercial sex workers or rescued from trafficking. The staff provide psychosocial counselling, HIV/AIDS testing and courses in life skills, English language, sewing and batik making. Justa Mwaituka is the founder and executive director of this organisation. The photos presented at this exhibition are the results of a photography workshop called 'Shooting horizons'.

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Appendix 9: Photographers and Collaborating Organisations

- **Photographers**

I worked with different local photographers in each of the Centres: Mwanzo Millinga, Bob Sankofa and Andrew Tshabangu. Mwanzo Millinga and Andrew Tshabangu are very experienced and world-renowned photographers and Bob Sankofa is a young up-and-coming photographer in Dar es Salaam.

Mwanzo is an experienced trainer for Flame Tree Media Trust in photography and film. He has published works in the World Press Photo Foundation and has contributed to the East Africa Biennale book amongst a multitude of other projects. He facilitated a significant part of the first workshop at the Dogodogo Centre, which was very useful as I also gained photography and training skills that assisted me with subsequent trainings. His photography focuses largely on social issues and he has a very charismatic personality that inspired the young men in the project.

Andrew also has significant training experience and is well regarded in South Africa. Born in 1966 in Soweto, Andrew has studied at a number of institutions, amongst them, the Institute of Advancement for Journalism in 1998 and the Alexandra Community art centre in Johannesburg. He taught photography at the Children's Photography Workshop in 1995, and in 1998 and 1999 he taught at the Market Photo Workshop and post-Matric photography courses. In 1998, he was an artist in residency at the Gasworks Art Studio in London[1]. He facilitated many sessions in the project and assisted with networking and putting together the exhibition.

Bob is a photographer and filmmaker. He has extensive experience in script-writing and dubbing for local film productions. As a photographer, he documents events for individuals and organisations. Bob assisted with the Kiwohede workshops. He facilitated one session with each group on camera handling and basic photography skills.

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[1] http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/tshabangu-a.htm

- **Supporting organisations in Tanzania**

Mawazo Contemporary Arts Centre

The Mawazo Contemporary Arts Centre[2] in Dar es Salaam is a dynamic and comprehensive resource centre for artists. It is through Mawazo that I was able to link up with Music Mayday in the first instance. Furthermore, they assisted me in finding the Dogodogo Centre, the photographer for the first workshop, venues for the exhibitions, and media contacts. Mawazo also hosted the Tanzanian exhibitions in their gallery and exhibited photographs from the project at other events as part of their social responsibility commitments. Mawazo has a large database of contacts that ensures high participation during the exhibitions and free publicity. For example, the local events guide *Dar Guide* publicized the exhibition.

Music Mayday Tanzania

Music Mayday assisted me tremendously in conceptualising and implementing the project. I had access to office space, including resources and publications about the projects they had run with young people. They also provided financial support by paying the photographer fees for the Kiwohede trainings and funding their exhibition.

Flame Tree Media Trust

Flame Tree Media Trust promotes creative talent in Tanzania. They provided use of their materials, including a projector and photography magazines from their library.

Femina Hip

Femina Hip[3] is a multimedia, civil-society initiative that focuses on youth empowerment. I met the Director of Femina at the Dogodogo exhibition. She assisted me with getting Kiwohede involved in the project. Femina also published both Dogodogo and Kiwohede photo-stories over four pages of their monthly Fema Magazine, which is widely read and distributed free of charge to all secondary schools and NGOs working with young people throughout the country (see Appendix 8).

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[2] http://www.mawazo-gallery.com
[3] http://www.chezasalama.com

Kodak TZ

Kodak TZ provided the cameras at a discounted rate, free batteries, and 30 free A4 size prints for the exhibitions.

ArtsGraphics

I contracted ArtGraphics, a local Tanzanian media consultancy to make certificates for both the Tanzania and South Africa workshops.

- **Supporting organisations in South Africa**

Bagfactory

The Bagfactory[4] is an NGO in Johannesburg that promotes the visual arts. They offered exhibition space and publicised the exhibition in their monthly newsletter.

Market Photo Workshop

The Market Photo Workshop (MPW)[5] is a school of photography and resource centre for practising photographers. They also offered us exhibition space but in the end, SKY participants decided to host their own exhibition. They also expressed interest in collaborating with SKY participants interested in continuing with photography training beyond the Shooting Horizons project.

Goethe-Institut

The Goethe-Institut[6] supported the SKY exhibition and is interested in supporting a longer-term Shooting Horizons initiative in the future.

Department of Science and Technology, Government of South Africa

The Director General (DG) of the Department of Science and Technology gave the opening speech at the SKY exhibition.

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[4] http://www.bagfactoryart.org.za
[5] http://www.marketphotoworkshop.co.za
[6] http://www.goethe.de/ins/za/joh/enindex.htm

The Sowetan

Works from the SKY exhibition were published in the Sowetan, the second most widely read daily paper in South Africa (see Appendix 8).

Local business

SKY contacted businesses in the Kliptown area to donate drinks and snacks for the exhibition. They also have a database of contacts that they invited to support the exhibition.

All together, over 14 local NGOs and businesses assisted in some way in the organization of the project. Furthermore, the Sociology Department at the University of Dar es Salaam expressed interest in my work and I was invited to present my research and to give two lectures for their third year students.

Appendix 10: Concept Paper and Programme Proposal

THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■

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Project Title:

Supported by:

Kodak Distributors, TZ

Flame Tree Media Trust, Dar-es-Salaam, TZ

Dogodogo Centre, Dar-es-Salaam, TZ

Kiwohede Trust, Dar-es-Salaam, TZ

SHOOTING HORIZONS

'Empowering Young Africans through Multimedia Technologies to Represent Themselves to the World and To realize their Future'

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Table 1: Millennium landmarks in international development

The launching of the **Jubilee 2000 Campaign** calling for debt cancellation, the establishment of the **New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)** by the African Union (AU) in 2001, the adoption of the **Millennium Development Goals (MDG's)** by the UN in 2002, the establishment of the **Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)** by the US Congress in 2004, and the **Commission for Africa** by the UK Prime Minister in 2004 all represent the global nature and magnitude of efforts for development in Africa. The year 2005 was also an important milestone for Africa and development arising from the G8 meeting in Gleneagles where leaders agreed to double Aid to Africa by 2010 (to reach $120 billion) and the launching of the wide-reaching **Make Poverty History campaign**. In 2007, we also witnessed the launch of the **Pan African Infrastructure Development Fund (PAIDF)** which is the first time that Africa, as a continent, has drawn on its own financial resources to address development challenges.

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SHOOTING HORIZONS is a community-level participatory project which seeks to provide an alternative perspective on development by addressing both the material and representational constraints fuelled by international development efforts. The new millennium was characterised by a renewed interest in Africa and development on a global scale and witnessed the establishment of international bodies and campaigns addressing poverty in Africa (see Table1). Bilateral and multilateral aid flows reveal the extent of Africa's material reliance on donor countries (see Table 2). In so doing, global efforts at tackling poverty and development in Africa become ambiguous by failing to address the need for self-determination of African states and by provoking the continuous and racialised portrayal of Africa as 'the problem' and images of disease, destitution, violence and corruption remain largely unchallenged. Shooting Horizons addresses the crucial linkages between people in communities and the broader organisational and political structures that service and represent them and considers the complexities of doing development that 'works'. By training young people in **'PHOTOVOICE'[1] METHODS**, the project aims to empower participants with the skills and ability to represent themselves so that they realize their rights and become

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[1] http://www.photovoice.org

partners in their own development in a dignified way. It seeks to enable young Africans to influence development policy and practice by voicing their needs, thoughts and aspirations through their own stories and representations.

Table 2: International aid and government spending/ Life expectancy				
	Central Gov Rev (% GDP)	Net aid (% GDP)	**Net aid (% Central Gov Rev)**	**Life expectancy (at birth)**
Tanzania	12	15.4	**56.2**	**46**
South Africa	24	0.3	**1.2**	**45**
Source: World Bank, 2006				

The proportion of central government revenue (funds for basic services) financed by international aid in Tanzania, as in most of sub-Saharan Africa, is very high, except for South Africa (and Nigeria). Yet, South Africa fares less well for certain development indicators, such as Life expectancy, thus also revealing that economic wealth alone is not sufficient in addressing complex development challenges.

Shooting Horizons has a **REGIONAL FOCUS** and acknowledges the diverse trajectories and common realities that young Africans face today. Reviving the idea of a shared consciousness is reverberating throughout the region from townships and refugee camps to leadership forums. The African Union (AU) is establishing an AU government in order to accelerate and deepen the integration of development efforts. The AU government intends to be 'a union of African people and not merely a union of states and government'[2]. Thus, Shooting Horizons seeks to impact on the resourcefulness and psyche of communities, families and individuals and promote shared possibilities for development. The project will target young people from or living in **TANZANIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA** in its initial phase. These countries present vast historical, cultural and economic differences and thus the potential for collaboration and complementarities is strong.

Shooting Horizons will collaborate with local community groups to build on the already existing capacities of local organizations working with young people. Furthermore, it will seek to establish links between communities in the region and between communities and other social, political and private organizations to establish more integrated development efforts.

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[2] www.africa-union.org

SHOOTINGHORIZONS

OVERALL AIM:

To empower young Africans with the skills and ability to represent themselves so that their rights, thoughts and aspirations can play a primary role in development policies and practice.

SPECIFIC AIMS:

- To train young people in photovoice methods as a practical skill that they can use;
- To engage young people to think critically about development issues/themes that are directly related to their needs and aspirations (eg. Employment, education, health, sexuality, gender, race, stigma, poverty, violence, family, etc.);
- To enable young people to represent themselves, to think about their identities locally, regionally and internationally;
- To lobby local, national, regional, international policy-makers to make young peoples' voices a key factor in policies and practices in the region;
- To raise awareness in the general population of development issues as seen through the eyes of the most vulnerable in society.

OBJECTIVES:

- To run workshops with a minimum of 60 participants from community groups in the first phase (30 Tanzania and 30 South Africa) on photovoice methods;
- To have in-depth discussions on issues affecting their lives and how to represent these;
- To run focus groups with young people on development;
- To publish photos and stories in media publications for a widespread audience;
- To run a minimum of 3 exhibitions with community members, private sector, policy-makers and the press;
- To hold one-to-one interviews with development professionals, and other stakeholders.

Outcomes:

60 young people in sub-Saharan Africa will have acquired skills in photovoice methods and will have had the opportunity of exploring their needs, aspirations for the future, and identities and having their voices heard locally, regionally and internationally to affect development policy and practice.

Indicators:

- Quality and content of the exhibition - Young people can talk freely and accurately about issues affecting them - Number of people attending exhibition and profiles - Number of press articles and other publications - Number of requests for information/reports about the project - Sustainability and follow-up requests by the groups involved.

Timetable:

1st phase: Dogodogo Multimedia Centre and Kiwohede Trust, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

- 12th May – 23rd May 2008   [Dogodogo photovoice training: 10 days]
- May – June 2008   [preparing exhibition and post project interviews]
- 8 July – 1st August 2008   [Kiwohede photovoice training: 20 days]
- August – September 2008   [preparing exhibition and post project interviews]
- Exhibition dates: 25 September 2008 (Dogodogo) and 9 October 2008 (Kiwohede).

2nd phase : Soweto Kliptown Youth (SKY), Soweto, South Africa

- 27th April – 30th May 2009   [SKY project management and photovoice training]
- June – August 2009   [Exhibitions]

Sustainability

Based on evidence from projects across the globe, establishing methods that work for community development require a long-term commitment and on-going interventions and access to resources. The long-term goals of Shooting Horizons are to train the various participants in the community to take over the management of the project. This includes training young people in all relevant roles (as trainers, administrators, fundraisers, decision-makers, communicators, etc) to ensure the ownership and sustainability of the project by local communities.