Practices, encounters, and narratives:

An ethnography of global school partnerships

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.
This thesis makes a productive contribution to understanding the rapidly expanding and contested field of global school partnerships, by placing the rich narratives from a handful of school partnerships into the global education context of social, historical, political, and cultural processes. Principally, it tells the story of one partnership, between two primary schools in rural Devon and urban Tanzania, nested within a network of partnerships and governed by DfID’s Global School Partnership (GSP) programme. The cross-continental nature of the school partnerships called for a multi-sited, ethnographic approach, informed and shaped by postcolonial and feminist principles. Partnerships comprise a range of practices, most significant of which were the reciprocal teacher visits that punctuated, and energised, the partnership calendar, presenting spaces for encounter. The emotional and embodied encounters formed the backbone of the partnerships, and produced narratives that were circulated amongst the partnerships and re-presented to audiences in the home country. Firstly, school partnerships engendered the production of moral subjectivities, which were underscored by broad discourses of citizenship, global citizenship, and moral education. With its objective to foster global citizenship, the global partnership occupied an ambiguous position within this discursive framework. Secondly, the encounters presented moments in which narratives of education, teaching, and learning were produced, contested, negotiated, and in some cases, reworked by the participating teachers. As a cultural device, the GSP was both indicative, and constitutive, of the discourse surrounding the neoliberal realignment of the education sector around the world, and provided a productive lens through which to reflect upon the contemporary transformation of the institution. Importantly, the GSP presented a significant site in which neoliberal stories of aspiration, hard work, and global outlooks, became intimately entangled with ‘caring’ stories of concern and responsible citizenship. Most scholarship has focused on the role of secondary and tertiary education sectors in the production of the knowledge economy, but this ethnography finds that nascent discourses and imaginaries of the ‘global’ citizen are already being established and performed in primary schools around the world. Finally, this study of global partnerships supports the contention that both decolonising and feminist pedagogies could play a significant role in enhancing partnership spaces, practices, encounters, and narratives.
Abstract 2
Contents 3
List of Plates, Figures, and Tables 6
Acknowledgements 7

**Preface**

- Conceptualising present-day school partnerships 10
- Researching school partnerships: thesis aims and compromises 13
- Partnership actors: who’s in this thesis, and who’s not? 16
- Structure of the thesis 18

### Part I Understanding Partnership 21

#### Chapter One: Placing the global school partnership 23

1.1 The changing landscape of education 24
   - Learner-centred pedagogy (LCP) 25
     - The British experience 26
     - Global geographies of LCP 27
     - A postcolonial reading of the rise of Western Education 28
   - English as the global language of education 30
1.2 Schools as sites of moral citizenship 32
   - Global citizenship 35
   - Moral education 41
1.3 The subjectivities of education 45
   - Neoliberal reconfigurations of teacher subjectivities 46
   - The globalised production of neoliberal subjectivities 49
1.4 Conclusions 51

#### Chapter Two: Researching global school partnerships 53

2.1 Ethnography 53
2.2 Multi-site ethnography 55
2.3 A feminist-informed ethnography 58
   - A ‘care-full’ research practice 59
2.4 Postcolonial principles 63
2.5 The research process 65
   - Research methods 67
     - Participant observation 67
     - Interviews 71
     - Reflective groups 75
   - The final phases of research 76
2.6 Conclusions 79

### Part II Practicing Partnership 81

#### Chapter Three: The governance and promise of partnership 83
6.4 The fourth visit – Donge, October 2010
6.4.1 Preparing
6.4.2 Observing
6.4.3 Reflecting
6.4.4 Teaching
6.5 Lessons learnt
6.5.1 Professional subjectivities
6.5.2 The clash of the pedagogies
6.5.3 Educational systems
6.5.4 Reproducing the global knowledge economy
6.6 Conclusions

Part IV Evaluating Partnership

Chapter Seven: Evaluating the partnerships

7.1 Narratives of ‘success’ and ‘failure’
7.1.1 The British Council story
7.1.2 The public face of ‘success’
7.1.3 ‘Opening children’s eyes’
7.1.4 Changing professional and personal identities
7.1.5 The immeasurable
7.2 Meaningful encounters?
7.3 Global or moral citizenship?
7.4 Placing the global school partnership within global educational discourse
7.4.1 The performance of neoliberal and global education policy
7.5 Drawing it together
7.6 Moving forward

Bibliography

Glossary

Appendix I Schedules of the four teachers’ reciprocal visits
Appendix II Research inventory
List of Plates, Figures, and Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate 3.1</th>
<th>Copplestone Primary School</th>
<th>101</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plate 3.2</td>
<td>Donge Primary School</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 4.1</td>
<td>Art, displays, and artefacts about Tanzania</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 4.2</td>
<td>Gardens in Cheriton Bishop, Gofu-juu, Copplestone and Donge</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 4.3</td>
<td>Visiting other sites of interest</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 4.4</td>
<td>Accommodation and transport in Tanga</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 4.5</td>
<td>Encountering children</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 4.6</td>
<td>Encounter others</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 5.1</td>
<td>Charity and care</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 6.1</td>
<td>Images of teaching and learning in Donge and Copplestone</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Figure 3.1 | Key policies and documents in ‘global’ education | 86  |
| Figure 3.2 | Copplestone, Devon, south-west England          | 93  |
| Figure 3.3 | Copplestone village                             | 93  |
| Figure 3.4 | United Republic of Tanzania                     | 104 |
| Figure 3.5 | Tanga region, north-eastern Tanzania             | 104 |
| Figure 3.6 | Tanga city centre                                | 107 |
| Figure 4.1 | Timeline of GSP established (2005-2010)         | 119 |
| Figure 4.2 | Reciprocal visits between Copplestone and Donge | 139 |

| Table 3.1  | Key successes in Tanzanian education during PEDP I | 108 |
| Table 5.1  | Breakdown of Donge School requirements             | 182 |
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Dedicated to my grandmother, Kathleen Jesser, and to inspiring teachers everywhere
As I see it, the kernel of any research project [...] lies in a peculiar amalgam of long-term obsessions and random happenings. (Kearney, 2005: 21)

All global school partnerships start somewhere; a flicker of interest can always be followed back, in the history of the school, or the biographies of the people who work there. My research into school partnerships can be followed in the same manner, tracing the ‘kernel’ of interest that was folded and shaped, moulded and neglected, remembered, dusted off, and reinvigorated over the years. It took me almost a year into my doctoral studies to recall the origin of my interest in school partnerships. Whilst clearing out an old box, a glossy magazine caught my attention with its grand title CHETWYNDE and a colourful reproduction of a painting of Furness Abbey on the front cover. It was in Chetwynde School, in the northern town of Barrow-in-Furness, where I began my career as a newly qualified geography teacher, aged twenty-three, and consumed with an urge to change the world. Leafing through the magazine, I came across an article entitled ‘Hunduza School, Zimbabwe’ that I had written, inspired by travels in my summer holidays visiting a friend volunteering in Zimbabwe:

Just occasionally, a chance meeting can change lives. One such moment occurred last summer, while I was travelling in Zimbabwe. Whilst hitching a lift to Bulawayo, I met a young man named Aloice Mudzambi [...] I soon discovered he was a schoolteacher and an idea began to formulate in my mind. I suggested to him that our schools should communicate with each other by setting up an individual pen-pal scheme, and he was overwhelmingly in favour of the idea, full of enthusiasm.

Returning to school in the Autumn Term, I put the idea of African pen-pals to the Junior Four children and was greeted with an equally enthusiastic response. So, the first letters were written and received, and friendships across the continents began to blossom. Our children, full of generosity, offered presents and photographs to their new friends in Zimbabwe and to their credit, understood when their gestures were not returned, due to the poverty of the African children. [...] They have been in contact for nearly a full academic year now, and I am still met with the excited ‘Have the letters from Zimbabwe come yet?’ each geography lesson. [...] 

Recently, Junior Four children have collected reading books to be sent off to the
children’s school in Gutu, near Masvingo. For these children, money and resources are scarce, and many families have been severely hit by recent droughts. [...] For our children here in Chetwynde, such stories of drought and poverty could have remained vague items on the news, nameless Africans suffering, worlds away from our lives. Now it is their friends who are facing these hardships, friends they know who have names, families, hobbies, hopes and dreams, just like themselves.

Hopefully though the ‘twinning’ of our school with Hunduza Primary school, our children’s lives will be changed – they can learn to understand another culture and hence learn compassion and tolerance; essential in these times. This is only a small step towards international understanding, in the grand scheme of things, but it is a committed and a certain step, nevertheless, made by the children themselves. (Lynne Sealey, 1994)

These words illustrate two points. Firstly, this marks the beginning of my research, right there in a simple encounter on a dusty road to Bulawayo. Two young teachers making a connection, following it though, and scores of pupils being nudged towards a more intimate understanding of ‘distant’ and different ‘others’. The capacity to behold difference is perhaps at the root of what might be called ‘global citizenship’, the essence of what modern-day school partnerships endeavour to attain. This research has been partly an attempt to understand the capacity for encounters of people across the world to engender a sense of global citizenship and openness towards the other.

Secondly, reading those carefully chosen words in my article again after many years brought those hopeful days of excitement back to me. I was surprised that the words still had the power to move me. My involvement with the school partnerships in this research also moved me, and my observations showed they moved others, too. Indeed, I have witnessed how the encounters and practices of partnership are riven with emotion. This thesis goes some way towards uncovering and valuing the (often hidden) emotion in the partnerships. I ask why, and how, these partnerships have such an affective pull on us and follow the ways in which this emotion becomes material in the world.

*Conceptualising present-day school partnerships*

Reading the article I was also struck with the way in which school partnerships are established today, dramatically different to that informal connection I made during my summer holidays. Partnerships are integral to neoliberal notions of
development and progress, and over the past decade school partnerships have become legitimised through the formalised Global School Partnership programme (hereafter GSP), officially established by the Department for International Development (DfID) in 2003. This thesis focuses on global school partnerships at the primary school level officially enrolled in this programme and aims to tell the story primarily of two schools, Copplestone and Donge Primary Schools, in England and Tanzania respectively, set within the expanded networks of schools and educational governance which characterise the GSP programme.

A brief description of the context of the GSP programme is useful at this juncture. The programme encourages schools to found partnerships with schools in what they termed ‘poor countries’ – in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean (DfID, n.d.). Although conceived and funded by DfID, the programme is delivered by a consortium of non-state actors with relevant prior experience in the field of overseas relations - the British Council, Cambridge Education Foundation, UK One World Linking Organisation (UKOWLA), and Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO). In practicality, the everyday management and monitoring of the programme falls to the British Council, supported by its extensive network of offices in over a hundred countries. The British Council has a history of engendering educational and cultural relations, and appeared the obvious choice for taking on the governance of the GSP programme. By September 2007, as part of its drive to incorporate the global dimension into the ‘world-class education’ offered to each child in primary and secondary schools, the then Labour government called for schools in England to establish a ‘sustainable partnership with a school in another country’ by 2010 (DfES in DfID/HM Treasury, 2007: 1). The programme emerged from the British government’s desire to build support for international development and paralleled movements in the education system to construct more responsible ‘global citizens’. Such was the confidence at the time in these partnerships’ capacity to produce ‘global citizens’ that the government extended the programme by declaring that all schools in England and Wales should have a global partnership. By 2009, some 1800 educational institutions had established

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1 ‘Schools’ included state and private schools, pre-school, primary, middle, secondary and special schools, and Sixth Form colleges. The prefix ‘poor’ was used on the DfID website for Global School Partnerships early on in this research. Interestingly, the term was later replaced with ‘developing’ countries.

2 This is embodied in its strapline ‘learn, share, connect worldwide’ (British Council, n.d.).

3 Some critiques trace the problems with the programme back to this overly-ambitious call of Clare Short, then Secretary of State for International Development (Burr, 2011, pers. comm.).
partnerships, including 1018 primary schools, and estimated figures of learners reached worldwide had exceeded 3 million (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2009).4

The global reach of this programme, and its remit for building ‘global citizenship’, together highlighted the need for a critical exploration of how these school partnerships were being established and sustained, and the practices and encounters that lay at their core. Furthermore, the relationships were being forged between Britain and former colonised countries, embedded within a neoliberal development paradigm, signalling the need for a thorough critique of potentially neocolonial practices and power relationships within the school partnerships. However, as my research progressed, it became clear that this thesis would not simply offer a neocolonial critique of the partnerships, but rather aimed to present a richer, more nuanced, understanding of the practices, encounters, and narratives of global school partnerships, founded on the emotional and affective experiences of those involved, and embedded within global trends in wider geographies of education.

To a certain extent, this decision emerged from an initial appraisal of the limited critical research into global school partnerships between countries in the global North and South.5 Partnerships were generally being presented as mutually beneficial in educational circles, but recent challenges to this consensus had begun to emerge from certain quarters of education (Burr, 2008; Martin, 2007; Disney, 2003). Scholarship around this topic was limited to only a handful of studies, including those designed to assess the efficacy of partnerships in the promotion of ‘global citizenship’ (Naiga, 2009; Edge, et al, 2009; Hillier, 2006), to understand their effect on children’s understandings of development issues (see Pickering, 2008; Disney, 2004), and to trouble the nature of North-South school partnerships (Leonard, 2008; Martin, 2007, 2011). This small ‘field’ of global partnerships had become polarised between instrumental studies of the mechanics of partnerships and the purported benefits for the emerging ‘globalised’ child, on the one hand,

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4 Current figures are closer to 4000 schools (DFID, 2011).
5 Deciding what to call these geographical contexts has been problematic. Sidaway (1992) describes them as First and Third World contexts, hierarchical terminology that has been significantly questioned in the intervening years. Developed and less developed, or developing, have been adopted in wider international circles, with all the connotations of linear progression towards ‘development’ that that imbibes. Some scholars favour Northern and Southern categories, which I have adopted here. Others argue that the terms Majority and Minority Worlds more accurately state the apportionment of population by living standards, income levels and opportunity. Recent postcolonial theorists have attempted to reclaim the First/Third World dichotomies (see Kapoor, 2009), but I do not feel sufficient time has lapsed between the derogatory uses of such terms for me to be able to reuse them in this context.
and more critical perspectives, drawing upon postcolonial theory, that positioned partnerships as veering towards ‘neocolonial’ practices, on the other (Disney, 2004: no page). What I believed to be missing from these competing discourses, as Mosse (2005) identified within his field of practice in international development, was a more insightful ethnography of partnerships, offering more nuanced perspectives of the relationship between policy rationales and practices of schools and individuals. Moreover, recalling my own experience of establishing a partnership with an African school, in the early 1990s, I recognised a disjuncture between what I ‘felt’ about the affective reach of such partnerships, and what I ‘knew’ about critical postcolonial theory, which declared the partnerships barely one step removed from the continuation of the colonial project. Critiques of Northern fundraising practices on behalf of the Southern partner school appeared too straightforward, and overlooked the complex social, cultural, and emotional processes that informed those actions. Having decided not to frame the partnerships within a defined neocolonial conceptual logic, my research required an ethnographic approach that was able to work with the emotional and affective registers of the partnerships, in order to dig beneath their practices, encounters, and narratives.

**Researching school partnerships: thesis aims and compromises**

This thesis aims to make a productive contribution to our understanding of the rapidly expanding and contested field of school partnerships. By attending to the myriad relationships, interactions, and meanings constructed in the process, and privileging the rich and emotive narratives from a handful of school partnerships, this geographical ethnography aims to enrich our understanding of the practices, encounters, and narratives of partnerships in this contested arena. This thesis sits firmly within the discipline of geography, but is substantially informed by scholarship within international and comparative education studies, reflecting my biography as both geographer and educator. There has been little meaningful dialogue between the two disciplines, and scholars located therein, to date; education research has much to gain from geography (Taylor, 2009). My inter-disciplinary biography affords a unique geographic insight into the spaces, practices, and policies of education, and the subjectivities constituted through the interplay between them.
Furthermore, this thesis aims to extend the reach of emerging geographies of education. Although work within international and comparative education studies has focused on educational practices and policies throughout the world, most geographies of education have concentrated on the institutions, policies, and practices associated with the advanced capitalist societies of the Global North (Collins & Coleman, 2008). Very little research has attended to the geographies of education outside of this context, and in particular in Southern countries. Thus, it has been remarked that the geographies of education should adopt a ‘more balanced global vision’ through embarking not only on more detailed studies of education in the Global South, but on those that connect the two (Holloway, et al, 2010: 595). The school partnership offers a pertinent opportunity to move the debate beyond the confines of Northern economies to the education spaces of the Global South, and to explore the different ways in which educational restructuring has been realised in the localised education spaces, practices, and subjectivities of each country. The research looks beyond local conceptualisations of education, to an education system in another part of the world, undergoing similar processes of reform and restructuring. The thesis foregrounds subjective experiences of school partnerships in Tanzania and England, both in the establishment of the Copplestone/ Donge link over a period of eighteen months, and in the direct, personal experiences of a number of partner school visits.

Throughout this thesis, I have adopted an intersecting approach to studying these partnerships – on the ground level, I followed the partnerships and participated in the practices and reciprocal visits. I sought to understand the meanings and interpretations that the participants themselves placed on the GSP. On a second level, I sought to stand back from the immediacy and viscerality of the partnerships and consider the ways in which the partnerships were situated within wider political, economic, historical, and social structures of neoliberalisation and globalisation. Following a multi-site ethnographic methodology, then, the thesis contextualises the GSP within broader processes, heeding the argument for more ‘outward’ looking studies of education (Thiem, 2009). Combining this structural approach with the material cultural practices

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6 A notable exception is Nicola Ansell’s work on the importance of education in the reproduction of social skills in Lesotho (Ansell, 2008)
within the partnerships, this thesis aims to portray a rich, textured picture of the global school partnership.

The multi-site ethnographic research on which this thesis is founded was not without compromises; the finished text is a significantly compressed representation of a research journey that was replete with careful decisions and sensitive engagements. As I alluded above, it was essential to conduct ethnographic research from both the British and Tanzanian perspectives of the partnership, though in practice a truly balanced ethnography, with time spent in both locations, was not achievable. As I explore further in Chapter Four, the global school partnership programme was conceived, governed, and funded in Britain, ensuring to some degree that my ethnographic research would inevitably emanate from, and be more rooted in, this British context. There were also practicalities that curtailed the extent to which I was able to spend time in the other nodes of the partnership network. I live in England, and was therefore able to access the British schools far more readily than I could the Tanzanian schools, the research in which became focused into distinct and intense periods surrounding the teachers’ visits. These constraints have meant that the Tanzanian voices are fewer than might be expected, being restricted to those headteachers most confident in speaking English, who played the most significant roles in the teachers’ visits to Tanzania, and who were able to spare time preceding or following the visits to talk with me.

A further methodological constraint must also be openly embraced here. I followed the premise that the ‘ethnographic life is not separate from the self’ (Richardson, 2000: 253), taking inspiration from feminist and postcolonial scholarship, integrating the principles into my research praxis and relationships with the research participants. As I described above, the practical and conceptual logic of the partnership programme ensured that most of my time was spent with the British teachers, in particular from Copplestone, and I developed close, trusting relationships. Perhaps as a result, the narratives of the British teachers and headteachers are perhaps not as critical as they might have been. To a certain extent, the aim of the thesis was to create a more nuanced understanding of the school partnerships and this entailed a particular ethical disposition on my behalf towards all of the teachers I encountered. At times, the British research participants made inappropriate comments, which could easily have been written
into the thesis in a more critical fashion. However, I attempted to delve beneath these comments or behaviours and question why they occurred, what purpose they served for the participants themselves, and what deeper cultural narratives they might have been speaking to. It is these considerations that found their way into this thesis, and my intention to be ever-mindful of the ethics and politics of research practice, is hopefully evident in, and enriches, the final ethnographic text.

**Partnership actors: who’s in this thesis, and who’s not?**

It is important to include in this Preface that my earliest plans for this thesis had been to conduct a *children’s geography of global citizenship* through school partnerships. However, as I started to think through the methodological implications of this emphasis, I began to have serious doubts about the extent to which I would be able to elicit the depth of material for which I was hoping, by working solely with schoolchildren. I was sensitive to developments within children’s geographies that regarded children as capable of speaking for themselves, particularly in matters concerning their own lives. Turning to current children’s geographies’ literature, I found my doubts paralleled similar concerns arising in the sub-discipline, whose theoretical underpinnings were beginning to be re-articulated. The prevailing theoretical assumption of the competent child agent, which emanates from the ‘new sociology of childhood’ and underpins the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, had been recently contested in children’s geographies (Ansell, 2009; Vanderbeck, 2008; Montgomery, 2008). Criticisms had been levelled at the over-empirical focus of children’s geographies on the local and concrete, with the relative neglect of the more abstract and distanced ways in which these global processes intersect children’s lives (Ansell, 2009). Acknowledging that ‘children can only tell us so much’ about their own lives (*ibid*: 205), geographers were being called to take more heed of those adults that *surround* children, both in their daily lives as teachers and parents, but also those involved in the production of education and social policies that directly, and indirectly, affect children and young people. Furthermore, Ansell argued, the scope for transforming children’s lives rests not with the children themselves, who have limited power to voice their opinions and ‘act purposefully beyond their immediate encounters with people and places’ (*ibid*: 205), but with a greater understanding of the social, political, and economic processes that impact upon
their lives. The child had to be understood in relational terms with the adults that surround, nurture, and teach them.

These developments within the sub-discipline of children's geographies have significant implications for research practices with children, particularly within a school context that harbour vast assemblages of teachers, parents, community members, national curriculum and educational governance structures, and the ever-present processes of globalisation. Shifting from a focus on children's experiences of global citizenship through school partnerships, I chose to focus on one entire school partnership – the Copplestone/Donge link – and to widen my research field to encompass the adults with whom the children interacted on a regular basis, the networks of educational governance which influenced the child's school experience, and the wider political and social processes of globalisation, poverty and postcolonialism encountered through their partnership with a Tanzanian school. These themes are discussed in detail in Chapters One, Three, and Four.

In addition, I found that the educational studies of global school partnerships to date were largely focused on the practices of partnership as they related to children and their reception of global education, neglecting the essential role that teachers played in the mediation and performance of the partnership. Teachers are integral to the production of education identities and the ongoing crafting of moral subjects and globalised individuals. As a former teacher myself, it was the teachers’ practices within school partnerships that resonated, although I recognised that this would raise questions of positionality along the way that I have already discussed (see Carney, 2008). As my research progressed it also became very clear that the schoolchildren in Britain, and particularly in Tanzania, were not powerful actors in the partnership. Rather, it was the teachers and headteachers who participated in the visits to the partner schools in each country that possessed the most agency in the development of the partnerships within their institutions. Thus, this thesis has come to focus almost exclusively on the teachers’ experiences of partnership, and as a result, aims to draw attention within geographies of education, and geographies of children, youth, and families to the significant roles teachers play in this institutional context. Children's voices have

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7 Notable exceptions are Martin's ongoing work on teachers' learning in global partnerships (ESRC project, 2008-2012), and Disney's work on building teachers' knowledge base on citizenship education (2003)
not been neglected here; rather their presence within this thesis is commensurate with the level of their agency within the partnerships.

**Structure of thesis**

This thesis is divided into four parts. *Part One* is concerned with ‘placing’ the global school partnerships within a broader theoretical context, in both the geographies of education and critical education studies, and articulating the multi-sited ethnographic approach I took to researching the education subjects within the various primary schools involved in the partnership network. Specifically, *Chapter One* introduces the broad themes of the thesis, and discusses the literatures from geography and education that pertain to these. It provides a broad platform from which questions can be asked of the school partnership – what can it tell us about contemporary education landscapes, and what can it lend our understanding of neoliberal educational reform in a global context? What position does it occupy in the broader political debate about global citizenship? What do we learn about the partnership's role in the reproduction of ‘global citizens’ and what form of global citizenship is being promoted? *Chapter Two* charts the methodological process of researching global school partnerships, across two countries and continents, acknowledging the multiple subjectivities engendered within. It considers the processes of analysis and representation, by which the considerable amount of data generated in such a multi-site ethnography is crafted into the ethnographic text of this thesis.

*Part Two* positions the Global School Partnership programme within a wider political and geographical context and then shares empirical insights into the practices and encounters of partnership. The various practices of the GSP and the intercultural encounters of the teachers’ visits, which constituted the basis of the prevailing narratives considered in Part Three, are explored in depth. *Chapter Three* introduces the programme, framing it within the broader context of international development, social, and education policy in Britain, and searching beneath the ‘promise’ of partnership that ensues. It goes on to introduce the two key research sites of Copplestone Primary School in the rural, Devon village of Copplestone and Donge Primary School, in the suburbs of the city of Tanga, in north-eastern Tanzania. It maps the contemporary education landscape of each
location and positions the two schools in their historical, social, political, and economic geographies. **Chapter Four** describes the network of partnerships within which the two schools are situated, and which provides further empirical material from other schools involved in the teacher visits. The encounters provide an emotional terrain from which charitable actions emerged, further explored in Chapter Five.

**Part Three** forms the substantial empirical section of the thesis with two chapters exploring the prevailing narratives of the partnerships that were captured from participation in the four teachers’ visits between Copplestone and Tanga. **Chapter Five** unpacks the emotional foundations of the charitable acts and explores how the material inequality within the partnerships might be otherwise negotiated. Here, I investigate how the narratives of care and charity permeated the early stages of the partnerships, and consider the degree to which a ‘caring’ global citizenship was promoted within the British schools. A postcolonial critique of this charitable disposition is applied to the practices within the partnership and a more nuanced understanding of the Tanzanian schools’ perspectives results, beginning to rework notions of charity, care, and contribution within the partnerships. **Chapter Six** describes the multiple narratives of the British and Tanzanian teachers’ subjectivities that were produced, contested, negotiated, and in some cases, reworked through participation in the partnerships, and positions these within broader debates of neoliberal educational restructuring. Here, I ask what the GSP can lend our understanding of neoliberal educational reform in England and Tanzania, and what role the GSP plays in the reproduction of global education discourse.

**Part Four** comprises the concluding chapter of the thesis. **Chapter Seven** explores the multiple interpretations of ‘success’ in the partnerships, articulated by the teachers through various methods of evaluation, and presents the key findings from the empirical chapters of encounters and narratives of partnership, speaking back to the geographies of education mapped out in Chapter One. Drawing on the narratives from Chapter Five, I consider the role of the GSP in the reproduction of ‘global citizens’, and attempt to place the programme within the broader political debates of citizenship, global citizenship, and moral education. The key findings from Chapter Six are presented next, considering how neoliberal educational
Restructuring has been performed, negotiated, and experienced by the education actors within the partnerships. I examine the role that the GSP plays in the reproduction of global education discourse, and show how the GSP helps us to understand the extent to which teacher subjectivities are becoming ‘globalised’. Finally, I draw the conclusions together and postulate on the potential for primary school partnerships to become more critical vehicles of change.
Part I

Understanding Partnership
Chapter 1

Placing the global school partnership

Before I introduce the Global School Partnership programme, and the schools with which I worked in this research, it is important to position this ethnography within broader debates surrounding education, including the socially-constructed space in which education is delivered, and the performance, identities, and subjectivities of the multiple actors therein. Fundamental shifts have taken place in the education sector over the past twenty years, and these changes have been far-reaching, affecting schools, children, teachers, families, and communities on a global scale. This ethnography is primarily concerned with a partnership between two schools across the globe, and as such, necessitates a fuller understanding of the contemporary global educational landscapes in which it takes place. This chapter presents the key theoretical and empirical debates surrounding global ‘geographies of education’ that have served to anchor my reading of the Global School Partnership.\(^8\)

The school can be understood as an education ‘space’ in which many actors coalesce, undergoing a range of social, cultural, and emotional processes within that space, and subject to wider political-economic dynamics emanating from without. The primary school is integral to the production of children’s knowledge, the formation of their identities, the moulding of their behaviour, and the structuring of their future life opportunities. It is a site that performs a defined period of ‘childhood’, entailing adult-orientated conceptions of the appropriate qualities that childhood should engender, and lending a moral dimension to the formation of young identities. Indeed, the delicate interplay between the structured control of the school ‘culture’ and the agency of individual students sits at the heart of many geographies of education (see Cook & Hemming, 2011; Pykett, 2010). The school encapsulates a contested space of childhood, and children’s geographers have charted the prevailing (and alternative) social and cultural

\(^8\)This doctoral research has coincided with a steadily growing interest in the geographies of education. Since 2008, papers and special issues have appeared in a range of geographical journals, and conference sessions, and entire conferences have been dedicated to the emerging geographies of education (see for example, Collins & Coleman (2008); Thiem (2009); First International Conference of Geographies of Education (Loughborough, 2009); Holloway, et al. (2010); Special Issue of Social and Cultural Geography (2011); Special Issue of Children’s Geographies (2011); Special Issue of Emotion, Space, & Society (2011); 2nd International Conference of Geographies of Education (2012)
notations of childhood (Katz, 2008; Jones, 2008; Kraftl, 2006; Holt & Holloway, 2006; Cloke & Jones, 2005; Aitken, 2001). The school, and importantly the education practiced within, also have significance beyond the school boundary and must be placed within wider political, economic, social, and cultural contexts (Cook & Hemming, 2011; Collins & Coleman, 2008).

Mapping these extended configurations of education spaces presents a productive contribution of geographical analyses of education. A proponent of a political-economy approach to the geographies of education, Claudia Hanson Thiem believes serious geographical engagement with education’s ‘constitutive properties’ would make a valuable contribution to understanding the broader picture of educational reform (2009: 157). Education studies have been concerned with such processes for many decades but, as Taylor (2009) recognises, only recently have education studies begun to attend to spatial processes. Thiem (2009) calls for a greater focus on ‘outward’ looking studies that look beyond the education space, and the subjectivities and processes constituted therein, towards the global geographies of globalisation, neoliberalisation, and the new ‘knowledge economy’.

1.1 The changing landscape of education: neoliberal reform and the demands of the knowledge economy

Neoliberalism refers to a set of principles, policies, and technologies that coalesce around a political discourse and have social, material, and cultural effects in local spaces (Larner, 2000). Neoliberalism is the subject of much recent geographical theorisation. For example, see Barnett (2010); Roberts & Mahtani (2010); Peck, Theodore, & Brenner (2009); Barnett, Clarke, Cloke, & Malpass (2008); Harvey (2006, 2003), Brenner & Theodore (2002). There is a large literature on neoliberalism and globalisation in education policy and practice, produced by education scholars (see Singh, et al, 2005; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Apple, 2001; Ball, 1998). Comparative education scholars have been concerned with the global ‘convergence’ of education policies and practices, which bears witness to the ‘almost universal deepening of shift from social democratic to neo-liberal orientations’ within education (Rizvi, 2004: 22). In varying ways, these scholars engage with the articulation of globalisation within education, contextualising the phenomenon as surrounded by a raft of neoliberal discourses and policies, including marketisation,
performativity, and notions of the ‘enterprising individual’ (Apple, 2001: 409). One of the most fundamental shifts in this global educational landscape has been towards the reification of the ‘knowledge economy’. Education has been deemed crucial to long-term economic growth and has been enrolled in the promotion of ‘human capital’ (Robertson, 2007). The educational requirements of the knowledge economy have emanated from global organisations such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and the OECD, which have become increasingly influential in setting the education policy agendas around the world (Robertson, 2007). In the global North, national economies have embraced the new ‘information’ age, investing substantially in education and instigating significant reconfiguration of educational approaches. Educational restructuring, then, has comprised policies, initiatives, and concurrent cultural shifts through which governments have realigned education provision to match the ‘needs’ of the global knowledge economy. Two global trends demand further exploration.

1.1.1 Learner-centred pedagogy

The rhetoric of the ‘individualised’ learner has formed one of the cornerstones of the global knowledge economy. The teacher-centred, didactic approach that characterised traditional education since its inception in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has lost favour in many education establishments across the globe, being replaced by more child or learner-centred ‘active’ styles of teaching and learning (Rizvi & Lingard, 2004; Tabulawa, 2003). Education has been ‘re-imagined in individualistic terms’ (Pykett, 2010a: 6), where the autonomous, aspirational learner, vital in the globalised economy, is capable of creative thinking and democratic decision-making, and responsible for their own learning ‘journey’ (see also Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). Even within the context of the primary school, education has become orientated towards developing individual children’s potential to be ‘global cosmopolitans’, subjects equipped to successfully take advantage of the global economy, breaking free of the integuments of ‘local’ places and realising their full potential. This shift towards learner-centred pedagogy, underscored by the concept of the new ‘global’ learner, has become an
integral characteristic of ‘modern’ education across the Global North. The extent to which learner-centred pedagogy has found its way into education policies in countries in the Global South has been the subject of much research in comparative education and forms one thread in this ethnography (see Chapter Six).

(i) The British experience

Personalised learning in Britain has required the development of a comprehensive set of practices and technologies, all of which have been premised on an understanding of the child as a ‘naturalised’ learner. Personalised learning necessitates an appropriate raft of engaging teaching strategies and resources to cater for myriad learning styles, reframing the teacher’s role in facilitating this ‘ideal’ learner. The British teacher has become conversant with learner-centred technologies such as Assessment for Learning (AfL), in which students are taught to monitor their own progress towards agreed learning outcomes. Digital technologies, such as the ‘interactive whiteboard’, handheld digital cameras, and video recorders, have become permanent fixtures in all English classrooms, placing the learner at the heart of the new interactive ‘learning experience’.

Yet, there has been considerable critique of an educational discourse that is rooted in developmental psychology and neuroscience. Scholars have noted that there has been an ‘unusual congruence’ of learner-centred pedagogy with child-centred approaches, which emerged in earlier decades (Pykett, in Pykett, 2010a: 3). Indeed, it has been argued that individualised learning practices, formulated in the progressive teaching era of the 1960s and 70s, have ‘created, rather than reflected, the concept of the ‘child’ as a free and natural person’ (after Walkerdine, in Pykett, 2010a: 5). There has also been the recognition of a strong moralising discourse within learner-centred pedagogy, which assumes that the purpose of education is to bring about autonomous and emancipated individuals. In one of the few geographical studies of pedagogy, Jessica Pykett (2010a) conceives personalised...
learning as a ‘discursive formation’ that is not the result of a ‘singular neo-liberal rationality’ (2010a: 2), but one that is constantly emerging and circulating new meanings. Rather than learner-centred pedagogy being part of a ‘hidden’ neoliberal agenda, it is part of a more overt political move to reposition the individual and create ‘new moralised rationalities’ (ibid: 4). Pykett argues that adopting an ethnographic approach garners a more nuanced interpretation of personalised learning, moving some way towards explaining the contradictory nature of this pedagogic discourse. By this contradiction, I mean that although personalised learning can be positioned within neoliberal education restructuring, it is generally considered an inherently ‘good’ thing, with which few teachers can argue. A learner-centred pedagogy is more sensitive to the individual child’s needs, more inclusive and dialogic, it diffuses the hierarchical power between the teacher and learner, and encourages child participation - all of which resonate with discourses within critical pedagogy (Freire, 1972), human rights (Skelton, 2007; Chawla & Heft, 2002; Francis & Lorenzo, 2002; Hart, 1997), and children and young people’s geographies (see Horton, et al, 2008). The success of learner-centred pedagogy may be explained by how it has nestled into the English education system, aligning with progressive pedagogies of the preceding era and ensuring its acceptance by teachers as a positive change in attitude towards the children in their charge. Despite this smooth transition into already existing educational systems and values, learner-centred education remains problematic – if the learner is responsible for her own learning and aspirations, then what becomes of the socio-economic structural inequalities in education provision that geographers of education have been at pains to highlight (see Butler & Hamnett, 2007)? This is certainly visible within British schools, where ‘hidden’ stories of parental support and extra tuition are smoothed over in this discourse of the ‘ideal’ learner-subject, aspirational and high-achieving, erasing the spatial geographies of educational inequality (Pykett, 2010a).

(ii) Global geographies of learner-centred pedagogy

These geographies can be witnessed on a far wider scale, as the influence of a neoliberalised learner-centred pedagogy has reached other parts of the world. In recent years, there has been a rapid and widespread move towards incorporation of learner-centred pedagogies into national education policies in the Global South
(Schweisfurth, 2011). As critics in the North have illustrated, the large scale uptake of learner-centred pedagogy (LCP) here has principally been founded on evidence from cognitive psychology, which presumes an individualistic perspective from the outset, and resonates with the ‘rights-based approaches’ of inclusive or ‘participatory’ education. Despite being widely depicted as a policy panacea that will solve an education system’s ills, there has been an array of barriers to the effective implementation of the approach across the Global South (Schweisfurth, 2011). Firstly, as Tabulawa (1997) identifies, learner-centred pedagogy represents a paradigm shift for many within the education system, as it entails the radical restructuring of teacher-pupil power dynamics. Teachers are often ‘blamed’ for the slow uptake of LCP, yet their own lack of schooling in such pedagogic approaches leaves them without models of best practice, remedied only by expensive and time-consuming professional development. Change is often required far too quickly, and the inaccessible and obtuse policy language is often not understood at the practitioners’ level. Secondly, there are immense practical issues that have constrained the uptake of LCP (Schweisfurth, 2011). Class sizes in the Global South are large, requiring a certain physical orientation of desks and compounding the lack of resources, both of which render teaching styles that focus on the individual child highly problematic to achieve. The inclusion of LCP is resisted whilst it appears to conflict with the already-existing requirements of an education system that retains an examination focus. Thirdly, there are long-standing dynamics and relations, particularly in the collective cultures of many parts of Africa, where younger people adopt culturally-prescribed roles as passive and deferent to authoritative figures, proving resistant to change. The factors outlined above explain the poor uptake of learner-centred pedagogy, but to understand why Southern countries are striving to incorporate teaching styles that would appear to contradict their own educational systems, values, and resources, it is useful to consider postcolonial readings of educational restructuring.

(iii) A postcolonial reading of the rise of Western education

Postcolonialism aims to critique the twin components of colonialism, namely knowledge and power, and the construction of geographical imaginations that emanate from the two (Sharp, 2009). The persistent dominance of Western knowledge systems, as articulated through the spread of Western education, has
been subjected to postcolonial critique from a number of education scholars; from historical overviews of the colonial education system in Africa (Whitehead, 2005) and the remaining vestiges of colonial power in contemporary curricula (Willinsky, 1998), through to the interpretation of education as the key mechanism in the emergence of the ‘new form of western Imperialism’ (Tikly, 2004: 173). In his historiography of British colonial education policy in Africa, Whitehead (2005) points out that detailed studies reveal a more nuanced account of British colonial education policy. Here, Whitehall educational ‘guidelines’ adopted at a local level were mapped onto existing local economic and social imperatives, and rather than producing homogenous colonial education systems, the colonial experience was far more hybrid than often considered (after Grieg, in Whitehead, 2005).

Education marks the intersection of legacies of colonialism and present day processes of globalisation and, as such, a consideration of colonialism is important to the comparative study of education (Rizvi, et al, 2006; Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Many education systems around the world were founded in the colonial era and retain many characteristics from this former period, visible in the use of English and European languages as the medium of instruction and textbooks that remain published in former colonial centres. National education policy makers are faced with dealing with inherited systems of inequality in education provision, which place their countries in a diminished position from which to ‘compete’ in the global economy. Postcolonial countries continue to emulate their former colonisers’ ideals of education attainment and personal achievement, ensuring that the hegemonic influence of Western knowledge and education systems is reinforced (Gandolfo, 2009). As is the case in the present day with many African states’ insistence upon using English as the chief language of instruction in secondary and tertiary education (Brock-Utne, 2007), the British curriculum and examination syllabi were demanded by colonised Africans who wanted a chance to compete with others for British university places. Shahjahan (2011) argues that the prevailing neoliberal agenda of contemporary African education systems unwittingly ‘reproduces colonial educational policies’, as educational outcomes are quantified through frequent tests and examinations (2011: 196). He suggests that the tools of measurement in contemporary education are close relations of those utilised by colonial powers’ efforts to govern through the collection and regulation of statistics. Through this reading of educational reform, LCP is far from a ‘benign
and apolitical’ concept, and instead becomes a value-laden, political project, part of a broader ‘Westernisation’ agenda designed to spread and promote the notion of liberal democracy and the form of capitalism that it rests upon (Tabulawa, 2003: 15). Tabulawa traces the shift towards LCP in African countries back to international aid agencies who began promoting the concept after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the realignment of global geopolitics towards ‘democratisation’ in 1990s.

In addition, the evidence for LCP’s success in improving learning outcomes is by no means uncontroversial, as Carter discusses in her global critique of LCP and its ‘much lauded ability to promote improved learning outcomes’ (2010: 224). The OECD’s Programme for International Student Testing (PISA) undertakes regular testing in maths, reading, and science and the 2006 results found that the socio-economic status of the child was by far the key driver in educational attainment. This concurs with Northern critics who argue that framing the individual as responsible for their own achievement ensures that failure rests with the individual, or the family, or even the teachers themselves, but never with the socio-economic stratification of society in which the individual is positioned (see Pykett, 2010; Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). The fact that LCP is held as the ‘neoliberal pedagogy of choice’ (Carter, 2010: 228), designed to encourage a set of flexible skills befitting the cosmopolitan worker, signals the need for more critical exploration.15 Importantly, learner-centred pedagogy serves to ‘encode a view about the world’ and ‘the kinds of people (responsible individuals) and society (social citizenship) we want to create’ (Carter, 2010: 227). Perversely, the increase in international education standards has required the wholesale adoption of standardised curriculum and testing, accountability, and teaching to the examination, all of which would appear to be producing less, not more, autonomous subjects.

1.1.2 English as the global language of education

English remains the chief language of instruction in many African education systems, including Tanzania, and it is on a brief discussion of this point that I will end this section on the global delivery of education. Although no longer a

\[15\] See Waters (2006) on the impact of international higher education on recruitment in eastern nations for further geographical discussion of this argument
requirement of colonial policy, the use of English has become an important tool in African nations’ drive to compete in the global knowledge economy. In the ‘sociolinguistic reality’ of Africa where vast numbers of mother tongues co-exist, language has been a ‘contentious issue’ since African independence (Ouane & Glanz, 2010: 4). Linguistic integrity has been fundamental to national identity in Africa and, in recent years, there has been increasing resistance to the reliance on English in the delivery of African education, mounted through an ‘Africanisation’ agenda where multilingualism and curriculum content reflects and promotes African history and culture (Ramoupi, 2011). Increasingly, the prevalence of English-only education policies in other African countries is being questioned as the fallacy of the immersion approach to language learning is highlighted by linguistic scholars (Brock-Utne, 2003; 2007). Language experts have long considered educational instruction in a learner’s mother-tongue as being more effective than learning in a foreign language (Ouane & Glanz, 2010), yet there remains strong parental resistance to changing the language of instruction in most African countries, underscored by the belief that English is paramount to their children’s future success. Yet, as Willinsky articulates, this attachment to a former colonial language comes at a price:

[H]ow are students to withstand the sense that English has assumed its global status out of a natural superiority and the superiority of its native speakers? How are they to interpret English’s status as a national language in so many states? How are they to resist judging people, and themselves, by how well they speak this one language, by how native a speaker of English they can be? (Willinsky, 1998: 205).

He goes on to argue that schools have played a historical role in ‘expatiating the loss of languages in one generation after another in a colonial project that needs serious reconsideration after the age of empire’ (ibid: 191). Despite the official ending of the colonial era over fifty years ago in Tanzania, it is sobering to learn of the original 1935 mandate of the British Council:

Our object is to assist the largest number possible to appreciate the glories of our literature, our contribution to the arts and sciences and our pre- eminent contribution to political science. This can best be achieved by promoting the study of our language abroad. (in Willinsky, 1998: 208)
The provision of English language courses and internationally recognised examinations still comprise a substantial remit of the British Council, bringing in considerable income. The cultural programme of the Global School Partnership programme occupies an uneasy position within this postcolonial context.

The global shift towards personalised, and some would argue, Western pedagogies provides a significant context for my reading of global school partnerships. By conducting an ethnographic study of these partnerships, I follow Carney’s supposition that the movement of ‘seemingly politically neutral technical interventions’ (2008: 40) like learner-centred pedagogy, from governments to practitioners, is not as straightforward a process as some contend (see Tabulawa, 2003). Instead, Carney suggests, ‘policy borrowing’ from the West is a symbolic act serving to signal the commitment of the nation state to ‘modernisation’, often a requirement of conditional aid. Importantly, the shift towards personalised learning is enacted differently in local places and Chapter Six of this thesis explores the nature of pedagogical discourses as they circulated in Copplestone and Donge.

The following section shifts our attention towards deeper questions that infuse educational establishments. What is education for? What are we educating our children to be? There is another discourse of education that runs parallel, at times contrary, to the widespread discourse of knowledge economies and individualised, aspirational learners. In this, the fundamental purpose of the educational institution is to produce ‘moral citizens’ oriented towards bringing about a ‘good’ society, historically on national, but increasingly on global, scales. The next section considers the extended notion of citizenship and the role it plays within, and beyond, the school.

1.2 Schools as sites of moral citizenship

Democratic societies are produced and maintained in diverse spaces, amidst various institutions and practices of governance, but it is the institutional space of education, notably the school, that constitutes the ‘most crucial’ (Mitchell, 2003: 389). Since their instigation in the nineteenth century, state schools have played a vital role in the reproduction of social and cultural values, and have done so

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16 For more geographical accounts of other ‘citizenship spaces’ see Jones, Pykett, & Whitehead (2011); Anderson et al (2008); Skelton (2005); Painter & Philo (1995)
through a combination of discipline, curriculum, and pedagogy (Thiem, 2009; de Leeuw, 2007; Mitchell, 2003). The subject of citizenship has an important function within this context; in some countries, it forms part of the national curriculum, and in others, it is taught more informally through school policies (Staeheli & Hammett, 2010; Weller, 2007). Although citizenship, as both status and practice, is not a fixed category that can be studied comparatively from country to country, it is accepted that the teaching of ‘citizenship’ within schools is amongst a collection of spatialised technologies employed by governments in the task of nation-building and reproduction of national citizens (Mitchell, 2003). The concept of citizenship per se is fluid and responsive, and citizenship education is thus reflective (and some might say constitutive) of a temporal and spatial moment in a nation’s history. Citizenship education, at a basic level, is used to deliver the skills, knowledge, and dispositions required for students to become citizens. Some countries go further, specifying the particular qualities that a ‘good’ or ‘responsible’ citizen should possess, and encouraging students to develop those qualities through pedagogical means (Biesta, 2010).

The purpose of citizenship education has been strongly contested by both governments and academics. Critical education scholars have argued that citizenship education must be understood as part of a wider neoliberal project of reworking the relationship between the state and the citizen (Biesta, 2010; Robertson, 2009; Mitchell, 2003). Framing citizen-subjects within the geographies of education, Thiem (2009) raises the important question of how the production of citizens is changing within the rapid neoliberal restructuring of education spaces, and asks how curricula alterations are reflecting these shifts. Education in general, and citizenship education in particular, has become a regulatory government tool within the qualification and socialisation of students, with the over-riding purpose of producing certain kinds of ‘ideal’ or ‘strategic’ citizens that will play productive roles in the new globalised knowledge economy I have outlined above (Olssen, 2004; Mitchell, 2003).

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17 Many commentators use the term ‘public’ to describe education funded by the state, as opposed to ‘private’ schools funded by private means. In the UK, the term ‘public’ is used confusingly to refer to ‘private’ schools, and public schools here are known as ‘state’ schools. This is the term I shall use here.

18 Citizenship was introduced into the National Curriculum of England and Wales in 2002 by David Blunkett, following the Crick Report (2000)

19 The nation-building properties of citizenship education are amply demonstrated through studies conducted in Russia and Ukraine (Jamaat & Piattoeva, 2007), South Africa (Staeheli & Hammett, 2010; Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004), Canada (de Leeuw, 2007), Bolivia (Lazar, 2010), and the United States (Gordon, 2010; Mitchell, 2003).
An alternative interpretation has been forwarded that critiques the framing of citizenship education within the execution of an over-arching neoliberal logic, and attempts to steer a course away from ‘the moralised realm of dead-end questioning as to whether education is being privatised, neoliberalised, or employed as a form of social control’ (Pykett, 2010c: 632). Certainly, there are other ‘political agents’ to be considered alongside state and corporate players; teachers, parents, students, and communities all contribute to the complex process of citizen formation (Staeheli & Hammett, 2010: 672). Of particular relevance here is the ‘mediatory role’ that teachers play in the delivery of the citizenship curriculum (Pykett, 2010c: 628), acting as the interface between the curriculum and the students. Staeheli & Hammett, in their study of citizenship education within South African schools, show how the statutory provision of citizenship education is contested and resisted by teachers and students at the point of delivery in schools and that, as a result, ‘the kind of citizenry that emerges may be contrary to what was envisaged’ (ibid: 669). A more nuanced account of the formation of citizens can thus be presented through paying closer attention to the pedagogical processes within schools, and to the meanings that both teachers and students ascribe to the concept of ‘citizenship’. This approach reveals the paradoxical nature of an education that, at once, seeks to constrain and regulate through prescribed curricular content, and to enable and emancipate, through the invitation of students and teachers to critically question the premises upon which citizenship rests (Pykett, 2010c; Robertson, 2009). To counter this more hopeful interpretation, it is important to bear in mind that persistent constraints on teachers’ agency have been identified (Staeheli & Hammett, 2010). The lack of training in critical citizenship, and the lack of both money and time to implement more critical programmes of citizenship education, remains a persistent obstacle to teacher agency.

The relationship between the state and citizenship education can be further troubled by attending to the shifting territory of the nation state through globalisation. Early citizenship programmes, such as those in nineteenth century America and Canada, were concerned with the formation of a national identity that

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20 It is important to note that citizenship education in England’s National Primary Curriculum is not a statutory requirement, although there are curriculum 'guidelines' for teachers to follow within their own whole-school policies. Citizenship is still statutory in secondary schools at Key Stages 3 & 4, although the National Curriculum is currently under review by the Coalition Government.
could be mapped onto fixed, bounded state territories. Over the past thirty years or so, the nation-state has been undergoing a process of de-consolidation and de-territorialisation through globalisation, which has reframed the spaces and scales in which citizenship is produced (Mitchell, 2003). The promotion of national identity and patriotism through national citizenship education programmes has sparked fears amongst scholars that attention is being diverted away from acknowledging a more plural sense of identity, and nurturing a ‘global consciousness’ (Staeheli & Hammett, 2010: 674). However, demonstrative of the contradiction that lies at the heart of citizenship, the narrative of the ‘global’ or ‘cosmopolitan’ citizen has endured throughout.

1.2.1 Global citizenship

In recent years, education has become an important context in which new global subjectivities are produced and negotiated, and the concept of global citizenship has become an increasingly prominent fixture in the national curriculum in England and Wales since the turn of the century (Ibrahim, 2005). Although education has included a global element since the 1970s, exemplified in projects such as the World Studies Project, the addition of the concept of ‘citizenship’ is distinctive in this case and denotes the need for action (Davies, 2006). The concept of global citizenship has received scant attention within geography despite significant contestation of its meaning, and subsequent appropriation within education in the formation of citizen-subjectivities. The global school partnership has been enrolled as a device that aims to foster a sense of global citizenship and, as such, this concept demands our closer attention.

The term ‘global citizenship’ has become a familiar refrain in recent years within primary and secondary schools throughout Britain, albeit often under variant guises. The term ‘global learning’ (adopted by the Development Education Association), for instance, focuses on the acquisition of skills and dispositions,

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21 As the previous authors remark, it is informative to see how the debate around the ‘scale’ of citizenship surfaces at times of national insecurity, such as that which followed the civil unrest in northern England in the early 2000s. Following such times, citizenship narratives shifted away from multiculturalism towards those rooted in ‘community cohesion’, in which stories of national identity and belonging are privileged. Already, narratives of citizenship, rooted in responsibility and conformity, are emerging following the riots across England in August 2011.

22 It has been argued that public education in colonial times sought to engineer a ‘global’ imagination – see Willinsky (1998) and Ploszajscza (1999).

23 The National Curriculum now only applies to England, with Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland each following their own distinctive curriculum, loosely based on the National Curriculum. Global citizenship is a very familiar element in all of these curricula, and to some extent is more explicitly catered for in the curricula of Scotland and Wales.
whilst the ‘global dimension’ (as favoured by education policy documents) leans towards the incorporation of global themes across the entire curriculum. Despite subtly different emphases and terminology, these concepts share a common rationale rooted in cultural, political, economic, and technological trends (Ibrahim, 2005). Firstly, there is an inherent acknowledgement of our existence within a rapidly globalising and interconnected world that is facing a number of global ‘issues’ that require urgent, collective action. Framed as the ‘future’, children need awareness of the key global issues of poverty, hunger, climate change, environmental degradation, and human rights that will demand their attention in future years. The inevitability of globalisation weighs heavily in this acknowledgement, with threats to security and ever-expanding communication and technological horizons commonly cited as reasons enough to adopt a global perspective, although Matthews & Sidhu (2005) argue that exposure to such processes of globalisation is not enough on its own to foster a globally-oriented subjectivity. The second common theme within global citizenship is the positioning of the educational institution as the ideal platform for the delivery of global citizenship – not only through the preparation of children for playing an effective role in this competitive world, but also through the production of ‘good’ global citizens that will endeavour to make this world a better place.\(^{24}\) This latter narrative of nurturing ‘good’, responsible global citizens appears at odds with the more ‘strategic’ cosmopolitan discourse of producing efficient, competitive subjects at ease in a globalised economy (Mitchell, 2003). This contradiction provides the fulcrum of a somewhat ambiguous argument for the importance of global citizenship in British schools that requires closer interrogation.

To gain a deeper understanding of this contradiction within global citizenship in education, it is productive to look at how it has been addressed beyond the school curriculum. The premise of global citizenship or cosmopolitanism has been in circulation since the time of Aristotle, and until 1800, the four political concepts of cosmopolitanism, citizenship, nation, and patriotism were understood collectively (Heater, in Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005). After that time, citizenship became closely tied to nationality, until the dawning of the modern globalisation era when the scales and territories of national citizenship were no longer tenable (see Desforges, 2004). Since that point, the concept of global citizenship has been the

\(^{24}\) There are other platforms for global citizenship, such as DFID’s new International Citizen Service launched in 2011.
subject of fervent academic debate, between scholars such as Thomas Pogge and Martha Nussbaum, both firm advocates for global justice achievable through becoming ‘a citizen of the world’, and vocal critics of global citizenship, such as Hannah Arendt, who argue more pragmatically that global citizenship would lead to statelessness and the deprivation of rights as afforded to a citizen of a sovereign state (Bowden, 2003). There has been increased engagement with this concept in recent years within the political and social sciences, prompted by the rise in programmes intended to facilitate global citizenship in many facets of public and institutional life. In an empirical study of the multiple voices within public discourses of global citizenship, Schattle (2005) concludes that two broad discursive camps have surfaced. On the one side, there is a strong ‘civic republican’ discourse, dating back to the times of the Stoics, that highlights notions familiar to many human-rights, pro-peace, and grassroots organisations; being aware of major global issues, recognising the presence of inequality and social injustice, fostering empathy, and developing the critical political capacity and commitment to address such problems. The other camp of public discourse revolves around a libertarian discourse, stressing international mobility and competitiveness in the world economy, two central premises of the hegemonic globalisation schema. With its focus on the individual, the acquisition of ‘cosmopolitan’ skills, such as foreign language learning and intercultural competence, becomes paramount, leading to the production of ‘market-oriented, cultural savvy, liberal subjects’ (Mitchell, 2007: 709). This conception of cosmopolitanism, or global citizenship, envisages a fluid world in which the movement of capital, labour, and resources between nations flows in accordance with the inherent processes of globalisation (Roman, 2003). The education of the elite individual - the ‘strategic cosmopolitan’ - able to operate effectively and productively within this realm has become a prime concern to governments around the world.

It is unsurprising that global citizenship education reflects some of the contestation that is apparent in the divergent meanings of global citizenship. The inclusion of a ‘global dimension’ into citizenship education in the national curriculum in England in 2002 marked the government’s attempt to formalise public orientation towards the concept of global citizenship. However, Davies, Evans, & Reid (2005) argue that although there is an overlap between global
citizenship education and citizenship education, the English education system is still far more attuned to delivering citizenship education focused around the needs of the nation-state, rather than global education that looks to the world beyond. This might begin to explain how the two public discourses outlined above remain starkly incongruous as they find their way into the education system. Critical education scholars have argued that, as schools are crucial spaces in which subjectivities are produced, global citizenship education has favoured the neoliberal production of ‘world-class’, global citizen-subjects of the new knowledge economy. In contrast, Pykett, et al (2010) critique the reliance on such overly-structural theorisations of neoliberal subjectification and, by favouring more feminist and ethnographic approaches, offer instead a more nuanced account of the ways in which subject positions are produced in education. Rather than seeing the production of citizen subjectivities as a fixed outcome of policy and curricular interventions, they argue that a range of ‘ethical comportments’ are enacted through educational practices of teachers, students, campaigning organisations, and policy makers (Pykett et al, 2010: 4). Indeed, despite rhetoric within education and economic policy statements that lean towards the production of competitive neoliberal cosmopolitans, the practice of global citizenship education in Britain has been characterised by a more ‘progressive’ approach, rooted in narratives of social justice, human rights, and poverty alleviation.

Thus far, I have discussed global citizenship education as it pertains to the British education system but, as Mitchell asks, who else gets to join this ‘cosmopolitan quest’? (2007: 708) Jefferess argues that ‘the discourse of global citizenship, while it represents the idea of universal inclusivity, produces insiders and outsiders: not everyone is a global citizen’ (2008: 27). Global citizenship education, in Britain and other North Atlantic nations, establishes the criteria of the ‘global citizen’, which has been enrolled in the performance of social justice and development campaigns in schools. In the positioning of people within Western countries as ‘global citizens’ who are capable of acting responsibly towards those who

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25 In their research into the delivery of Fairtrade education, for example, Pykett, et al (2010) note the powerful mediating role that organisations have played in the construction of citizenship narratives through the deployment of educational materials. Oxfam has developed Global Citizenship Guides (2006) that detail the kinds of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that ‘good’ global citizens should develop in school. Organisations such as the Fairtrade Foundation, Christian Aid, CAFOD, and Leeds Development Education Centre, have produced many curriculum materials that engage students with the injustices within the commodity supply chain, using pedagogical strategies such as role play and testimonial accounts (Pykett, et al, 2010).
experience social injustice and deprivation, a clear distinction is being made between those that can help, and those that are helped (ibid). In this interpretation, global citizenship is framed as an ethically-motivated identity, which works to make the world a better place for, rather than with, others. This critique of global citizenship as a ‘cultural politics of benevolence’ (ibid: 29) draws heavily on postcolonial theories that recognise the construction of ‘global citizen’ identities as imbued with the legacies and lingering discourses of imperialism and colonialism. Importantly, Jefferess believes that global citizenship framed as responsibility for global others is predicated upon a narrative or ‘structure of feeling’ in North Atlantic nations that privileges benevolence. Indeed, Lester (2002) argues that the British sense of responsibility for distant others has its roots in the humanitarian discourse that emerged in the colonial era of the early nineteenth century. This humanitarian discourse as ‘civilising mission’ continues through to present day development policy for Africa (Biccum, 2005: 1124), and the ongoing production of the ‘British national narrative with the global citizen as both raison d’etre and mode of delivery’ (ibid:1124).

Little research has been conducted into the mechanics of how this concept of ‘development’ (for Africa, and elsewhere) is produced and understood within British society (Smith, 2004a). If we understand the discourse of development to be part of a wider structure of feeling of benevolent global citizenship, it is productive to turn to the practices of institutions that mediate our understandings of development, and our role within it. In a similar context to Pykett et al’s (2010) work, Smith explores the role that international non-governmental development organisations (NGDO) play in the production of development narratives in their education, media, and fundraising work. He highlights Arnold’s work that shows how NGDOs have utilised affective strategies to represent development that focus on stirring feelings of pity and ‘moral duty’, which have come under increasing criticism over the past thirty years. Smith argues that it is necessary now to move beyond critiques of ‘development stereotyping’ to paying closer attention to the ways in which these narratives are (re)produced in British society.

26 Williams, who coined the term ‘structure of feeling’, argued that it constituted the ‘social character’ of attitudes and behaviour that is ‘taught’ both formally in schools, and informally in family and social contexts, and produces a distinctive ‘way of life’ (Williams, 1961, in Jefferess, 2008: 34).
Critical scholars have explored a range of other contexts in which the hegemonic neoliberal (and imperialist) imaginaries of development dovetail with the rubric of global citizenship of responsibility and ‘making a difference’. Palacios (2010) conducted ethnographic research into an Australian university programme that places undergraduate students for short-term projects in Southern countries and warned that, unless such projects distance themselves from the development aid discourse and reframe their goals as intercultural understanding and learning, they have the potential to ‘fall under the ‘umbrella’ of neo-colonialism’ (2010: 861). In a critique of service-learning programmes in the United States, Bruce & Brown (2010) forward the proposal that such projects must become critically reflexive if they are to move beyond the Eurocentric, and hierarchical, dichotomy of the server and the served. In a similar exploration of the U.S. ‘study abroad’ programme, Zemach-Bersin (2007) reinforces the argument that global citizenship is a privileged identity open to some and not others.27 Through a detailed postcolonial critique of the encounters between the Northern students and their Southern counterparts, she suggests that:

> [S]tudy abroad students join their historical predecessors; the ranks of missionaries, colonizers, anthropologists, and humanitarian aid workers who have served as ‘goodwill ambassadors’, promoting the soft power interests of the metropole. (Zemach-Bersin, 2007: 24)

She concludes by arguing that shifting the discourse of ‘study abroad’ towards more critically reflexive accounts of positionality has become an imperative that would prevent ‘perpetuating systems of power and imperialist desire under the rhetoric of universality and innocence’ (2007: 26). This conclusion points towards the need for a decolonising, critical pedagogy that unsettles and reworks taken-for-granted narratives of benevolence and responsibility for global others (see Tejeda, et al, 2003). Critical education scholars in the field of international education have been enriching their work with postcolonial theory: Fiedler presents the concept of creating postcolonial education spaces that foster such critical reflexivity ‘where identities and difference are constantly negotiated and re-written’ (2007: 56). Andreotti outlines the contribution that postcolonial theory can make to development education in providing the direction towards Spivak’s notion of

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27 For further critiques of the ‘study abroad’ and ‘service learning’ sector, see Lewin (2009).
‘planetary citizenship’ (Andreotti, 2006: 10). In a similar vein, Martin (2011) draws on her critical study of teachers’ learning within North-South partnerships and argues that education systems must develop critical awareness of the colonial legacies that continue in their midst, to assuage the barrier to learning that they present.

With reference to their work on international volunteering schemes, Baillie-Smith & Laurie argue that development imaginaries are ‘historically rooted and intimately implicated in contemporary national and global socio-political processes’ (2011: 546). The studies discussed above reveal how international placements, volunteering, study abroad projects, and global partnerships all draw upon familiar repertoires of global citizenship, as responsibility and benevolence, which are reminiscent of recent neoliberal development and aid discourses. These narratives are ahistorical as they serve to mask the structural inequalities that exist in the globalised world, which are themselves the result of past imperialism and colonialism (Jefferess, 2008). The discourses which characterised the colonial era, as Lambert & Lester (2004) suggest, linger on in the ‘new’ development discourses of the present day, and seam into national cultural discourses of multiculturalism and social cohesion (Biccum, 2005). Many of the studies point to the importance of employing a critical reflexivity in such international projects and partnerships founded in postcolonial theory. These philosophical debates surrounding citizenship and global citizenship dovetail neatly into an ongoing conversation within the education system that has focused on the fostering of children’s morality. The third context I wish to discuss, then, concerns the prevailing discourses in moral education.

1.2.2 Moral education

Geography has a long tradition of interest in matters of ethics and morality in society (see for example, Smith, 1997; 2001; Cutchin, 2002; Cloke, 2002; Valentine, 2003; Massey, 2004; Popke, 2003; 2006; 2007; 2009; Barnett & Land, 2007; Barnett, 2010). Childhood has been conceived as the time in which ethical and moral subjectivities are forged from children’s ‘natural’ dispositions, requiring careful socialisation and education into moral adults (Holloway & Valentine, 2000; Jones, 2000). Important work has been conducted within the sub-discipline of
children’s geographies that has focused on theorising the predominantly adultist construction of childhood and the ways in which this is mediated through children’s identities, behaviours, and relationship with space (Ansell, 2009; Jones, 2008; Kraftl, 2006; Cloke & Jones, 2005; Holloway & Valentine, 2000).

However, the role of education, and specifically of the school, in the production, negotiation, and contestation of ethical and moral subjectivities in children, has received relatively scant attention from geographers. Specifically, the everyday practices and spaces of this cultural process of ‘moralisation’ of childhood have been neglected by geographers (Kraftl (2006)). This paucity of geographical research into the production of moral subjectivities in schools is perhaps surprising in a time when fears over a ‘moral decline’, particularly in children and young people, are rising in popular society and prompting social and educational programmes through which to mitigate such shifts in subjectivities (see Neuberger, 2006).

Much of the research into the moral education of children, and the role of schools in its delivery, has been conducted within education studies, particularly in North America, with a host of scholars such as Dewey (1905), Piaget (1932), Durkheim (1961), Kohlberg (1981), and Gilligan (1982) presenting theories of children’s moral development, and how it might be most efficiently nurtured within schools.

Since their inception, schools have been charged with shaping the individual moral welfare of children and producing subjects versed in the moral code of their society. Through employing ‘pastoral power’ in the discipline of their emotional conduct and disposition (Boler, 1999: 21), early public education sought to control children’s moral and social conduct and to produce self-regulating subjects of the future. Disciplinary methods were employed that worked to structure hierarchies of competition, create climates of fear, surveillance, and meritocracy, and enrol teachers, predominantly women, as ‘caring police’ that served to curtail emotionally labile behaviour (ibid). As Boler eloquently argues, children were constructed as ‘rational’ and ‘moral’ citizens, rooted in the masculinist, liberal tradition, in which the control, and preferable eradication, of unsavoury emotions

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29 A notable exception being the work of Ploszajksa (1994; 1999) on geographical education and citizenship in Victorian reformatory schools.
30 Although see Boffey & Helm (2011) for Tony Blair’s alternative take on the moral decline of Britain.
31 Again, the North Atlantic bias of this scholarship is acknowledged; recent theorisation around moral education in Africa has centred on imperialist connotations of moral education in this continent, and the emerging African philosophy of Ubuntu as a central feature of current moral education trends (see Swartz, 2010).
was deemed an essential element of schooling. The early twentieth century witnessed an intense period of industrialisation, mass migration, and urbanisation in both America and Europe, which together placed new demands on the formation of a public education system that was able to cater for a burgeoning capitalist society. Education was believed by theorists, such as Dewey and Durkheim, to offer the potential solution to the disturbing changes being brought about by this newly industrialised, modernist society (Dill, 2007). Dewey, for example, described the school as the space of transition between the psychological, domestic world of the individual child and the complex adult-dominated world beyond, through which the moral education of the child could be expanded and deepened in the social practices of community life in the school. Writing in America at a time of minimal investment in public education, Dewey was instrumental in advocating the vital role that education could play in society:

By law and punishment, by social agitation and discussion, society can regulate and form itself in a more or less haphazard and chance way. But through education society can formulate its own purposes, can organize its own means and resources, and thus shape itself with definiteness and economy in the direction in which it wishes to move. (Dewey, 1929 [1897]: 80)

The role of teachers in bringing about the moral education of their students has long been recognised. Dewey stated that he believed that ‘every teacher should realize the dignity of his [sic] calling: that he is a social servant set apart for the maintenance of proper social order and the securing of the right social growth’ (1929: 80, my emphasis). The vast majority of teachers at the time, however, were women and Boler (1999) presents a critical exploration of their role in early twentieth century education. In an illuminating twist, Boler notes how women have been cast as the ‘natural’ repository of emotions in Western culture, whilst at the same time given the role of preparing moral citizens, through the promotion of the rational, controlled child. As teachers, women themselves were expected to be emotionally ‘mature’ and to act as ‘guardians against the irrational’ (Boler, 1999: 31). The study of teachers’ roles in the nurturing of children’s moral welfare remains a point of interest to this present day, and points to wider questions about the purpose of education in contemporary society. Teachers’ practice is imbued with ‘moral care’, shown through their choice of ‘caring’ pedagogical techniques,
and a ‘higher’ purpose of teaching, beyond curriculum delivery, which nurtures the ‘whole character of pupils in order to become a good citizen’ (Gholami, 2011: 142).

In recent years, again amidst fears of moral decline in rapidly changing times, there has been a resurgence of interest in the role of education in the moral development of children and young people. In her review of the comeback of American character education in ‘threatening times’, Winton (2008) shows how educational outcomes have been attuned to the neoliberalisation of social and economic life, through attempts to manage students’ behaviour, promote academic achievement, and prepare students for active citizenship (2008: 306). She argues that these attempts have once again focused on the *individualisation* of the moral subject and, in doing so, have turned attention away from structural inequities within the social, economic, and political system. Key questions arise about how a globalised society will both impact on the moral welfare of students, and require new forms of moral education to cater for new globalised identities. Recent work in children’s geographies addresses the former point by studying how the construction and performance of different childhoods is undergoing change in an increasingly globalised world (Holt & Holloway, 2006; Hörschelmann & Schaefer, 2005; Katz, 2004). Recent debates within the subfield of moral education have focused on the latter, by considering how globalisation demands new forms of ‘moral cosmopolitanism’ (Merry & Ruyter, 2011) and ‘moral care’ (Noddings, 2010). Merry & Ruyter (2011) describe the workings of moral cosmopolitanism in modern schools, where teachers require a deep understanding of pluralism - as a disposition towards different ‘others’, a recognition of our historical and cultural positionality, and a desire and ability to communicate effectively on an intercultural plane. Their focus on ‘much careful listening and dialogue’ and ‘mutual recognition, ethical responsibility, and reciprocity’ (*ibid*: 9) has echoes of new postcolonial theories of care and responsibility within geography (Raghuram, Madge, & Noxolo, 2009), and places moral education in a productive dialogue with geographies of cosmopolitan responsibility (Popke, 2007).

Noddings (2010) argues that moral education should adopt a feminist care ethics in an era of globalisation. Following the work of Carol Gilligan, Noddings has written extensively over the past three decades about feminist care ethics and the role of care in education, but this paper represents her embryonic attempts to
address long-held criticisms of care ethics as premised upon, and limited to, localised, parochial, and familiar relationships. In this paper, she goes part way to addressing this criticism by suggesting that, as caring relationships are founded in embodied, face-to-face encounters, opportunities should be encouraged within educational contexts – cultural exchange programmes, and student exchanges, for example – that build upon the ontological relationality of care. Her statement that ‘[w]ealthy nations, banding together, could accomplish much to improve the living conditions of people living in impoverished nations’ (2010: 394) has uncomfortable paternalistic undertones. Noddings’ work points towards an understanding of the school as a ‘caring space’, through which relationships towards those close, and more distant, are founded on principles of care and responsibility. This reading of ‘moral care’ in globalised times, however, omits any reference to the historicity behind such disparities in wealth. Raghuram, Madge, & Noxolo (2009) have married feminist care ethics with postcolonial geographical theory, in a more concerted attempt to address criticisms of postcolonial theory as being divorced from the materiality of life in the Global South, and criticisms of narratives of care and responsibility as neglecting critical and historical readings of global inequality.

Considering the avalanche of government interventions within primary education in England over the past twenty years, it is appropriate that schools be conceived as ‘moral landscapes’, in which children are inculcated into the received moral code of their society, through the interpellation of the curriculum, pedagogy, teaching praxis, and institutional policies and cultures. With the move towards a reinvigorated ‘citizenship’, and its position within the neoliberal political climate, education and its material establishments have once again become significant spaces of moral negotiation (see Chapter Five).

1.3 The subjectivities of education

The introduction of neoliberal education policies, as exemplified by broad shifts within the curriculum and the turn towards ‘global citizenship’, has also been accompanied by significant changes in the production of subjectivities within the teaching profession. I use the term ‘subjectivities’ to describe the complex configuration that results from the interplay of an often competing set of factors.
These include the teacher’s motivations that stand behind the choice of career, and the ongoing motivation that keeps them in the profession; the background of policy, qualifications, training, ethos and values that inform and drive teaching practice; the emotions that infuse daily practice and their relationships with others; and the conception of professional identity that results from these factors. The extent to which neoliberal education policy shapes teachers’ subjectivities has been a rich source of educational research since the inception of such policies in the 1980s. The following section outlines the chief components of neoliberal teacher subjectivities.

1.3.1 Neoliberal reconfigurations of teacher subjectivities

As Rizvi & Lingard (2010) argue, one of the chief goals of public policy is ‘the creation of subjects predisposed towards the values it embodies’ (ibid: 23). As I have outlined in an earlier section, from a critical education perspective, neoliberal education policy reform has radically reconfigured the student subject and purpose of education and teachers’ subjectivities have realigned accordingly (Davies & Bansel, 2007). In this evolving landscape, teachers and educators have found themselves increasingly influenced by the principles of managerialism and performativity that have infused educational institutions, with greater emphasis on teamwork, collaboration, continuing professional development, and mentoring (Ball, 2003). Public trust in teachers has been eroded as the new professional paradigm imposes standards and professional criteria, such as performance-related pay, from beyond the profession. The language of the marketplace has infiltrated educational establishments, framing teachers as professionalised individuals and classifying the emerging roles of teachers as they enter ‘the ever expanding ranks of the executors of quality’ (ibid: 218). Aligned with the rise of professionalism within education, the pervasive neoliberal discourse of standardisation has also had notable effects on the production of teacher subjectivities. The introduction of market force principles into the sector, through parental choice mechanisms, for example, has ensured that educational institutions have been required to become increasingly competitive.32 To enable schools to operate effectively in such a climate, successive governments have

32 Market-forces principles lie behind the Academy programme, introduced by Labour, and furthered by the Coalition government, and are likely to become an ever-increasing discourse in public education in Britain. The programme is discussed by Purcell (2011).
subjected education provision to significant restructuring, including the introduction of standardisation and measurement devices. In England and Wales, since the 1990s, this restructuring has been visible through the auditing procedures of Ofsted, the National Curriculum and associated attainment targets, Standard Assessment Tests (SATs), and the publishing of results in league tables. Referring to the education system in the United States, Shahjahan makes a strong case for the rise of a 'high stakes performativity and accountability culture' (2011:192) and interrogates the subjectivities, of both student and teacher, that are being produced in this process. He believes that a 'monoculture of mind' is being promoted through the standardisation of the curriculum, as teachers and students are assigned specific roles in this dynamic (ibid: 182). Teachers 'teach to the test', producing students who are well-versed in competition and quantitative techniques, but who become anxious subjects, internalising their SATs scores, believing them to be outward signs of personal merit and achievement. Teachers are thus judged on their ability to get their students through the tests, their schools labelled as effective or failing accordingly. Shahjahan notes that there is resistance to this pervasive 'monoculture' of standardisation – citing teachers who boycott SATs, or demonstrate more subtle resistance through 'playing the game' to their own ends. Some teachers show ultimate resistance through leaving the profession, but as Shahjahan and others have argued, there are always new teachers entering the profession, well-schooled themselves in the 'art of testing' and more comfortable with the new neoliberal subjectivities (Archer, 2008). For many critical education scholars, the 'great concern is the speed at which education leaders, students, and teachers are being rushed through standardised processes that leave little time for reflection, authenticity, and healing' (Shahjahan, 2011: 200).

Not all education scholars subscribe to the critical structuralist interpretation of neoliberal reform. Silcock (2003) discovered conflicting opinions and beliefs towards 'professionalism' in primary education in Britain: Higher Education academics viewed teachers as 'autonomous, intellectual and creative' who were prey to neoliberal pressures, whilst teachers themselves regarded professionalism as 'developed practical expertise' (ibid: 28). In addition, Storey (2007) notes that much educational research has criticised the new managerial approach for its corrosive effect on teachers' creativity in a British context. In contrast, she
suggests there is a growing receptivity of the managerial style amongst teachers, brought about through the rising numbers of mature entrants from other professions who bring their aptitude in the language of performance, accountability, target-setting, and delivery to their new workplace cultures. Storey argues that, whilst education research generally portrays a vivid picture of lost creativity, creativity is actually increased by teachers attempting to fulfil performance criteria in imaginative ways. These contrasting studies demonstrate an interesting tension between academic and practitioner perspectives on neoliberal reform, echoed in work conducted under the umbrella of the geographies of education, where a tension is evident between the unbending ‘structure’ of neoliberal reform of education policies, and the agency of those involved in education. Specifically, in the production of citizenship within educational establishments, scholars recognise a tension between the structured imposition of specific curricula objectives, designed to produce skilled national citizens with common values, and the agency of both students and teachers, in the consumption and delivery of such curriculum materials. Rather than resorting to ‘overly structural readings of the learning process, in which ruling logics are stamped methodically onto largely passive students’ (Thiem, 2009: 162), more emphasis should be placed on the ‘political compromise’ that is reached through teachers’ subjective interpretations of curriculum ideals, and students’ resistance to such controlling operations (ibid). This negotiation between overarching neoliberal structures and individual subjectivities is a productive element of recent geographic scholarship in other areas of study, and there is certainly scope to expand this approach to the contextualisation of the political-economy (Laurie & Bondi, 2006).

The impact of neoliberal educational discourse on teachers’ identity has prompted other scholars, often women, to explore the facets that comprise teacher subjectivities in further ways. Mockler (2011) argues that as teachers’ work has been increasingly framed within a technical-rational framework, there has been an accompanying diminishment of attention to what it means to be a teacher, despite the recognition that a sense of moral purpose forms the ‘heart of every teacher’s work’ (Day 2004, in Mockler, 2011: 523). She presents a critique of this technical framework, which operates in teacher training establishments, and throughout teachers’ careers, which privileges simple, technical ‘solutions’ (or ‘what works’).
over a more nuanced understanding of the complex and messy dimension of the ‘very human enterprise’ of teaching (ibid: 518). She reiterates the emotional and moral nature of teaching, berating the modern teacher’s lack of time for reflection on their professional identity and personal affiliation with being a teacher. In an echo of the earlier discussion about teachers’ role and desire to produce whole, moral characters, beyond the confines of the national curriculum and attainment targets, she quotes Jennifer Nias:

Teachers are emotionally committed to many different aspects of their jobs. This is not an indulgence; it is a professional necessity. Without feeling, without the freedom to ‘face themselves’, to be whole persons in the classroom, they implode, explode – or walk away. (Nias, 1989, in Mockler, 2011: 518)

The study of the emotional element of teaching has been gaining ground in recent years, as the emotional impact of neoliberal reforms upon teachers’ personal and professional lives has been acknowledged. Zembylas argues that emotions are ‘embedded in the school culture, ideology, and power relations (2005: 15), and proposes the inclusion of appropriate pedagogies in teacher education and continuing professional development (CPD) to address the emotional landscape of teaching. Research has variably explored the emotional dimension of educational reform, including the complex emotional labour of school leadership in neoliberal times (Kelchtermans, et al, 2011), and the array of emotional responses of teachers experiencing reform (Zembylas & Barker, 2007; Ball, 2003).

The neoliberal trends of professionalism, standardisation, and managerialism, characteristic of educational restricting, have provoked a commensurate shift in teacher subjectivities, and these have had detrimental, emotional, and creative effects. The reworking of teacher subjectivities has been a global phenomenon, and the following section explores this from both education and geography disciplinary perspectives.

1.3.2 The globalised production of neoliberal subjectivities

It is important to reiterate that national education policies adhere to an ever-familiar global discourse of education, as national governments ‘borrow’ education policy and principles from other countries (Waldow, 2009; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004; Carney, 2003). Rizvi & Lingard argue that the social imaginaries of
globalisation have come to hold a ‘widely shared sense of legitimacy’ (2010: 34), through their ongoing production and repetition in the mass media, popular culture, and education curricula. The hegemonic concept of globalisation, and its attendant sense of ‘interconnectedness’, has thus become the driving force behind state education restructuring around the world. This received version of globalisation has been reproduced and reinforced through intergovernmental organisations, such as World Bank, the OECD, and UNESCO, which seek to entwine education and development policy through conventions and internationally agreed targets, such as the Millennium Goals (Robertson, 2007). As globalisation of education has gathered momentum, the nation-state’s capacity to produce autonomous national educational policy has been brought into question. Indeed, the sub-field of comparative education, where the nation-state and its ‘national’ education system have provided a bounded context for decades of productive scholarship, is facing a crisis of identity (Ball, 2005; Dale, 2005; Cowen, 2000). In recent years, the core purpose of comparative education studies has been to seek out the supranational or global perspective and to investigate the various ways in which neoliberal reform policies have been implemented in various national and local contexts. For example, Beech (2009) forwards a three-tiered framework to understanding the production of ‘educated identities’. The production of educational ‘discourse’ (that features learner-centred pedagogy, educated identities, and aspiration, for example) occurs in ‘global space’, in the manner suggested above, and is then translated down to national state level, and implemented in individual local institutions. The notion of ‘global policy space’ is ambiguous, but exists perhaps as a ‘complex array of diverse networks of cooperation, competition, alliances, and disputes’ (Beech, 2009: 352). As educational discourses shift to state levels, their interpretation becomes contingent on the state’s social, economic, political, and historical contexts. As individuals within education institutions in local contexts work with these discourses, Beech suggests that it can be hard to negotiate the often contradictory and competing discourses. Following Appadurai, Carney (2005) forwards another perspective by proposing an educational ‘policyscape’ or ‘eduscape’ as an object of analysis, which crosses national boundaries and responds productively to counter the hegemony of globalisation and Western culture. Scholars are increasingly highlighting the importance of place and locality in such comparative studies, and
looking at the ways in which neoliberal education policies sit alongside, co-opt, or compete with other historically and culturally contingent education narratives and practices. Czerniawski (2010) charts the effect of neoliberal globalisation on teachers’ subjectivities around the world and concludes that the official script of education reform is enacted by teachers differently in different places.

These debates within education studies are paralleled with similar trajectories within the geographies of education. Here, the pressing question is becoming how we can productively capture and articulate the lived experiences of those involved in education. Holloway, et al (2010) argue that the focus should be brought firmly back to the lived experiences of those embodied subjects of education affected by restructuring, drawing on insights from social and cultural geography, and the geographies of children, young people, and families to avoid what they term ‘anaemic’ studies of neoliberal education reform (ibid: 592). However, as I mentioned in the Preface, recent debates within the sub-discipline of the geographies of children, youth, and families suggest that caution be applied in this endeavour.33 Furthermore, Holloway, et al (2010) advocate for holistic research that acknowledges the ‘fluid institution of the school’ by exploring both policy and practice, and the impact of both on the emotional, embodied subjectivities of both staff and students (ibid: 588).

1.4 Conclusions

This chapter introduces the broad concepts and literatures that pertain to the study of global school partnerships. The partnerships of this thesis take place between schools that possess socio-cultural geographic significance both within and without their walls, where wider political, social, economic, and cultural processes impact upon adults and children, who in turn negotiate and contest educational discourses. The educational landscapes around the world are changing amidst neoliberal restructuring policies and discourses, which together address the requirements of the new ‘knowledge economy’. The global trend towards more personalised learning is clearly evident in a British context, and we can see how countries in the global South have variously taken the new paradigm on board. With the partner schools being situated in Tanzania, a postcolonial

33 I borrow the term ‘geographies of children, youth, and families’ from the RGS-IBG research group of the same name (see http://www.gcyf.org.uk) though much research within the sub-discipline continues to focus on children alone (Cele, 2008).
reading of hegemonic Western educational practices is productive in this context, and I offer the ascent of English as the language of instruction in many African states as an example of how discourses of globalisation, neoliberalisation, and colonialism continue to intersect in the education sector.

In addition, I have demonstrated how the broad discourses of citizenship, global citizenship, and moral education frame the (re)production of cultural knowledges, and the formation of moral identities, in schools. The Global School Partnership, with its objective to foster global citizenship, ensures it occupies an ambiguous position within this discursive framework. Little research has been conducted into the ways in which narratives of global and moral citizenship are ‘worked out’ and performed in primary schools, and which ‘form’ of global citizenship is being privileged. The partnership presents a unique vantage point from which to explore this discursive topography and this is explored in greater detail in Chapter Five. The final section of this chapter returned to the broad theme of neoliberal education restructuring and described the production and realignment of subjectivities of teachers involved in the increasingly neoliberalised practices and spaces of education. There is a growing move, in both education studies and the geographies of education, to highlight these subjectivities and examine how broader, global policies are negotiated and contested in education spaces. The teachers enrolled in the school partnerships, in both England and Tanzania, were each subject to this global reconfiguration of professional identity, affecting their practice as teachers and shaping how they engaged in the partnerships.

These multiple elements of contemporary educational policy and practice underpin my reading of the practices, encounters, and narratives of school partnerships. This thesis acknowledges both the structural and subjective elements that constitute contemporary education in England and Tanzania, as experienced through partnerships between schools in both countries. The next chapter addresses the methodological question of how I went about researching the multiple subjectivities, narratives, and practices of global school partnerships, and placing them within wider political-economic processes of neoliberal educational restructuring.
Chapter 2

Researching Global School Partnerships

It is not against a body of uninterpreted data, radically thinned descriptions, that we must measure the cogency of our explications, but against the power of the scientific imagination to bring us into touch with the lives of strangers. It is not worth it, as Thoreau said, to go round the world to count the cats in Zanzibar. (Geertz, 2003 [1973]: 156)

This chapter examines how I went about researching global school partnerships, by employing a methodology that would afford intimate experience of the reciprocal visits and dig beneath the ‘public face’ of the partnerships. It considers how a multi-site ethnography presented the most appropriate methodology for exploring both the subjective experiences of those involved in partnerships and the political, social, cultural and economic structures in which the schools and their inhabitants were embedded. It goes on to outline the feminist and postcolonial principles that have informed my research in various ways, before moving onto a detailed account of the research process, including an examination of the key research methods I employed.

Having secured a topic for my research, and identified a lacuna within existing research, as I described in the Preface, I directed my energy towards creating a flexible research strategy that was capable of working amidst the contested, heterogeneous milieu of global partnerships. I was aware that such a strategy could not be delineated in detail beforehand; instead, my research demanded an approach that could bend and flex as required, and respond creatively to new directions that may present. Ethnography presented the most productive methodology for such requirements.

2.1 Ethnography

Ethnography, literally meaning ‘writing people’, is the in-depth, immersed study of distinct ‘cultural groups’, often conducted over a substantial period of time, culminating in a monograph of ‘thick description’ (after Ryle, in Geertz, 2003 [1973]: 147). Unique amongst research methodologies, ethnography is both the process by which ‘data’ is generated, through extensive fieldwork and multiple
research methods, and the final written text through which this material has been subject to analysis, interpretation and representation (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Ethnography privileges the situated knowledges and meanings generated and ascribed by people within a group or social setting, and attempts to capture and understand the myriad voices and narratives that constitute these social worlds through participation in their everyday activities.

Recent work in political and economic geography has highlighted the contribution that ethnographic research can make to rebalancing our understanding of the complex effects of geopolitical processes on people’s everyday lived experiences (Megoran, 2006; Hart, 2004). This follows the growth of ethnographic research in other disciplines, such as international relations (Heathershaw, 2011), social anthropology (Horst & Miller, 2006; Mosse, 2005; Mosse & Lewis, 2005), development studies (Bebbington & Kothari, 2006; Crewe & Harrison, 1998), and cultural studies (Hannerz, 2004), which together share a mission to contextualise and enrich our often homogeneous interpretations of hybrid social entities (Heathershaw, 2011). Ethnography has also proved a valuable methodology for researching education; for example, in the relationships and identities engendered within the classroom (Putney & Frank, 2008; Holland, Gordon, & Lahelma, 2007), school yard (Gustafson, 2009), and out-of-hours school spaces (Tsolidis, 2008), and in the everyday enactment of education policy (Robinson, 2008).

Traditionally the realm of anthropologists concerned with portraying the exotic ‘other’, in recent years more nuanced shades of ethnography have emerged. These ‘alterative’ ethnographies (Bochner, 2000: 267) have drawn inspiration and theoretical insight from a variety of sources. Feminist ethnographies have centred around the relationship between the researcher and the participants, their emotional experiences and the significance of ‘situated knowledges’ (Bennett, 2004; Bondi, 2005; Haraway, 1988); post-structuralist and complexity theorists have offered ontological accounts of the relationality and co-constitution of reality in the interplay between research method, researcher and researched (Law & Urry, 2003); critical theorists have developed the notion of critical ethnographies, in which research ceases to be ‘formalised curiosity’ (Jazeel, 2007) and consciously aims to address social problems through the application of critical social theory to more participative ethnographies (Soyini Madison, 2005; Raghuram & Madge,
Proponents of embodied, material geographies have argued for the acknowledgment of the body's inherent value as research tool and the cultivation of more haptic knowledges (Crang, 2003) or ‘sensuous ethnographies’ (Paterson, 2009), representing a subtle shift from more occularcentric and discursive constructions of the social world (Stoller, 2004; Davidson & Milligan 2004; Crang, 2003). On embarking upon a geographical ethnography, it was important to acknowledge these critical developments both within, and beyond, geography, and to a certain extent, I have drawn inspiration from each of these emerging themes at various times. The significant shift that has occurred within anthropology in recent years, from the preponderance of the classic single-site, Malinowskian ethnography towards the pursuit of the multi-sited ethnographic endeavour, has particularly informed my research (Marcus, 2005).

2.2 Multi-site ethnography

Our heterogeneous, composite social world cannot readily be segmented into isolated ‘sites’ for the convenience of research. The conventional single-site ethnography attempts such a feat, and draws upon macro theory to reinstate itself within the ‘world system’ (Marcus, 1995) but, in this thesis, I have employed an alternative methodology that literally embeds itself in this complex world system - the multi-site ethnography (Marcus, 1998). Here, a ‘following’ methodology allows one to start from a personal affinity with a particular story, discourse or commodity - in this case, the ‘story’ of the global school partnership - and shift from the ‘personal to the distanced ‘social” by pursuing the networks in which this story is embedded (Marcus, 1998: 15). To some extent, a multi-site approach counters one of the key criticisms of ethnography. Ethnography has historically inclined towards localised studies, with a small number of participants, and a focus on detailed accounts of people's agency, daily practices, and meaning-making, leading to claims that it lacks the capacity for generalisation across other social contexts (Herbert, 2000). By attending to a multi-site approach, ethnography becomes an ‘uniquely useful method’ in geographical inquiry (ibid: 550), through its essential role in bridging the gap between macro-scale structures and the ‘micro-scale’ daily enactments of everyday life; where the ‘processes' of creating, modifying, and challenging the structures, interact with the ‘meanings' people place on their responses to these structures in daily life. The multi-site
ethnography affords a ‘differently configured spatial canvas’ on which to study how knowledges, meanings, practices, and policies ‘travel’ across the globe (Marcus, 1995).

The networked nature of global school partnerships, both within England and Tanzania separately, and through the cross-continental connection of the partnership itself, demanded a multi-site ethnographic approach. The partnership between Copplestone and Donge Schools required intensive fieldwork in both locations, facilitated through the teachers’ visits to each other’s’ schools, yet I remained open to engagement with further sites or nodes that emerged within, and beyond, the wider partnership network. Throughout my research, I looked beyond the micro-details of the partnership and teachers’ visits, and attempted to expose the social, political, and economic processes of educational restructuring that encompassed and constituted them. It is important to recall the caveat to this laudable aim of multi-site ethnography. As I outlined in the Preface, there was a conceptual logic to centring the ethnography on the British institutional assemblages emanating from the British-centric nature and governance of the GSP programme, but there were also practical restraints on the time I could logistically spend in both locations.

A further point should be raised regarding this approach to ethnography. Criticism has been levelled that ethnography can tend towards over-empiricism, with the focus of the study traditionally being on a small-scale situation with a limited number of participants (see Herbert, 2000). Similar criticisms have been levelled at children’s geographies (Vanderbeck, 2008), in which micro-geographical studies have focused on children’s immediate environments whilst neglecting the wider social and political structures which impact upon children’s lives, thus failing to have policy relevance (Ansell, 2009). I was mindful in this research to mitigate this criticism and believed that the dynamics within the two schools used here as research sites were likely to be generalisable to other settings (Herbert, 2000). Certain structures, routines, and curriculums will be very similar in other schools, for example. Differences occurred in the personalities of the staff, the history of the school’s recent development, and the dynamics of the surrounding community, but the process by which personalities within a school affected the ethos and

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34 The networks of partnership are considered in more detail in Chapter Four.
‘culture’ of the school and its development is certainly generalisable to other contexts. The establishment of school partnerships in primary schools is increasingly common and again, processes and pitfalls are surely replicable. In this sense, the schools encountered a range of issues as they established their ‘global partnership’ and, hence, could ‘plausibly stand in for other places’ (Herbert, 2000: 560). However, I remained attentive to the premise that ‘(w)hat generality it contrives to achieve grows out of the delicacy of its distinctions, not the sweep of its abstractions’ (Geertz, 1973: 164).

As I discovered in my earliest forays into this research methodology, ethnography has an intricate relationship with theory (Soyini Madison, 2005; Geertz, 2003; Marcus, 1998). My role as an ethnographer was to witness actions in and around the schools, listen to the stories told about the partnership, and note the comments made, however seemingly insignificant; then to interpret these actions and stories, offering a fresh perspective of which the staff and children may not have been aware.35 In the early days of my fieldwork, remaining open to the meanings the participants placed on their own experiences proved to be a demanding task. My past teaching experience, and more recently within critical development education, had shaped my theoretical position on global learning. As a consequence, I confess to having my own critical academic account running alongside my early research encounters; it was an ongoing challenge to remind myself that ethnography seeks not to ‘test’ pre-conceived cultural theory in the field, but to allow space for theories to emerge from the empirical findings (Marcus, 1998). The extensive literature on ethnography that I consumed in my first year was unequivocal - entering the field only when literatures and theories have been internalised was not to be encouraged, leading as it does to problems of ‘translation’ upon encountering the research group. As the fieldwork continued, it became an ongoing balancing act between open mindedness, and acknowledgement of my position as an academic who held a raft of theories close. The result was an iterative research process, which evolved over time, with constant revision of research questions, and responsive methods.

Theory emerges, then, from the practice of ethnography, constituted through ‘thick description’ and cultural interpretation of embodied social action, and refined

35 ...and, as Malin (2003) notes, may not necessarily like to hear either.
through the application of existing social theory (Geertz, 2003 [1973]: 166). The manner in which we employ theory in our ethnographic research is deeply personal (Daly, 1997); in other words, 'scratch a theory hard enough and you'll discover a biography' (McLaren, 2008). Throughout my fieldwork, feminist and postcolonial theories informed my personal methodological stance as I sought to acknowledge the politics inherent in the research process, entailing close scrutiny of my positionality throughout the process, in both England and Tanzania, and of my ever-evolving role as the chief instrument of research.

2.3 A feminist-informed ethnography

One of the central tenets of feminist geography is the close attention that has been paid to the nature, location, and production of knowledge. Traditional assumptions about who produces knowledges, for whom, and how, have been interrogated by feminist geographers over the past two decades (see Moss, 2002; McDowell, 1999; WSGG, 1997; Rose, 1993). Knowledge is understood to be situated, subjective, relational, and partial, and valued in multiple guises of experience, embodiment, sensation, and emotion. The social world is shaped through the meanings and importance that people invest in these knowledges, and these are then explicated by the researcher, being crafted into a text that both sophisticates our understanding of the world (Stake, 1995) and furthers the feminist project of promoting a more equal society. Validating these different ‘ways of knowing’ through our research requires a sensitive and carefully crafted methodology (Madge, et al, 1997; England, 1994).

Feminist-informed research endeavours to unsettle traditional, masculinist, and positivist notions of the hidden, unbiased, objective researcher, by being attentive to the ‘personal’ (Madge, et al, 1997: 88). The researcher is a co-constructor of research, and has a life-story that, in myriad ways, fashions the way she views the world around her and how she chooses to embark upon that research. My choice of research topic was contingent on my life-story, as I indicated in the preface to this thesis, but the manner in which I undertook the multi-site ethnography was also predicated on my personal biography. I was a teacher for twelve years before I returned to academia in 2007, working across a spectrum of educational contexts. Alongside my work, I studied homoeopathy in the Lake District, a three-
year, part-time process that began in 2001, in which I became a 'learner' after many years of being the 'teacher'. Here, I learned how our social interactions are relational encounters, shaped by emotion, inscribed on our physical bodies, and constitutive of the world in which we are situated. I carried this new knowledge into my teaching, and my personal life, where it had enormous impact. Coupled with my experiences of working with, and advocating for, young adults with learning disabilities, I forged a perspective on the world that, as I later discovered on my return to the academy, sat firmly, and reassuringly, within the over-arching paradigm of feminism.

In ethnographic research, the researcher herself is the main research tool (Cloke et al, 2004) and inevitably, fieldwork evokes considerations of one's self (Nagar, 2002). A researcher is 'an instrument of cultural translation that is necessarily flawed and biased' (Schep-Hughes, cited in Malin, 2003: 26) necessitating a transparency in the research process. From a feminist perspective, the relationships constructed between the researcher and research participants are pivotal in this cultural translation. Ethnography requires the researcher to view the world, as far as possible, through the eyes of the research participants, yet retain enough detachment to view their actions from a theoretically informed perspective (Herbert, 2000). In my research, I was called upon to chart the unique trajectory from the position of outsider (researcher, adult, white person) to that of insider (student, member of the exchange group, female), fluid categories of which I slipped in and out over the course of the research. Indeed, this 'tacking back and forth between cultural understandings' is considered the 'very essence of ethnography' (ibid: 563).

### 2.3.1 A 'care-full' research practice  

When I came across feminists’ work on the ethics of care, and its influence on geography, in the latter stages of the research process, I reflected on the nature of my research experience and was struck by the 'care' it had exhibited. Lawson describes geography thus: 'We are a caring discipline. I am excited about

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36 Feminist geographers have also troubled the delineation of a bounded 'field', in which the researcher enters to conduct 'fieldwork', preferring to use the term 'expanded field' (Cook, 1998; Katz, 1994).

37 Here, I borrow Newstead’s term of 'care-full encounters' - I endeavoured to foster ‘care-full' encounters and relations in this research, which took heed of the mediation and embeddedness of responsible relations in the interpersonal contact zones’ (Newstead, 2009: 80).
geography precisely because we are a discipline that takes the substance of care very seriously’ (Lawson, 2007: 2). This does not mean to say that I wish to position myself as a ‘caring’ researcher, or that I conducted ‘caring’ research, but that my feminist approach to the multi-site ethnography had been steeped in care in various ways. As a geographer, my methodology was guided by a feminist ethics of care, through ‘careful and responsible geographical practices’ (ibid: 3) that were based on trust, respect, relationship, and attention to emotions, which in some way served to counter more suspect past geographies that were inscribed in power, inequality, exploitation, and domination (see Driver, 2001). Insights from a ‘carefull’ ethnography can actively help to promote embodied, emotional, emplaced knowledges about the world. As Davies & Dwyer concede, ‘the world is so textured as to exceed our capacity to understand it’ (2007: 258) and any attempts to do so are necessarily partial and subjective. However, ethnography, as a ‘caring’ methodology that pays close attention to the smallest detail, valuing what people say, and do, perhaps comes closest to understanding this textured world. As I began this research process, I committed myself to engage with the subtlety of the school partnerships, to remain open to the multiple, conflicting narratives, and to foreground ‘other’ knowledges constituted therein, including subjective, emotional, and embodied knowledges.

This thesis has been particularly attentive to the emotional knowledges produced through the teachers’ encounters with others. At the turn of the century, emotions were still widely neglected in the study of the social world (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Widdowfield, 2000) but, since then, geographers have become increasingly attentive to more emotional understandings of everyday spaces and lives, in both public as well as private realms, and across different scales of experience (Pain, 2009; Bondi, et al, 2005). Whilst acknowledging the complex debate surrounding the definition and interpretation of emotions and ‘affect’ (see Pile, 2011, 2010; Tolia-Kelly, 2006; Thien, 2005; Thrift, 2004), I have chosen to adopt a feminist interpretation of the ‘emotional’, in the sense that emotions are both personal and relational, and have material consequences in the world. Warning against reducing emotions, affects, and feelings to ‘sharp-edged definitions’, Bondi & Davidson (2011: 596) argue that they are ‘messy matters’ with which to work. In this spirit, I use language relating to these terms interchangeably, whilst remaining cognisant of the potential for it to become ‘lost in translation’ (ibid: 597)
It was through the teachers’ visits, an inherent part of the multi-site ethnographic fieldwork, that I also came to appreciate ethnography’s potential for a more collective reflexivity. Reflexivity has a substantial history within qualitative research, emerging from feminist scholarship as one of the key tools with which to describe positionality (see Bain & Nash, 2006; Pini, 2004). Described as ‘explicit self-aware meta-analysis’, reflexivity is considered to be a monitoring or even audit device in research (Finlay, 2001: 209), emphasising the individual researcher as self-reflective and introspective, all classifications that speak to the solitary and cognitive nature of reflexivity. This interpretation finds its critiques amongst feminists, who have described it as narcissistic, self-centred, unproductive, and essentially individual (Kobayashi, 2003; Falconer Al-Hindi & Kawabata, 2002). Nagar (2003) suggests that reflexivity must become a more collaborative affair:

If our goal is to transform power hierarchies embedded in knowledge production, it is clearly not going to happen merely through a discussion of how we represent others and ourselves (Nagar, 2003: 360)

Feminist researchers, then, must become ‘border-crossers’, forming collaborative partnerships between academics and non-academic others (ibid: 369). As I came to understand that ethnography produces embodied, sensory, emotional and situated forms of knowledge in relational space (Pink, 2009), so I began to pay close attention to my own, as well as my research participants’, sensory and embodied experiences, and to reflect upon these matters with them. This carried me towards unexpected avenues of understanding and knowledge (ibid), which provided fertile ground for my consideration of how the ‘encounters’ were worked out (see Chapter Four).

The visceral experiences of the partnerships, and their emotional and material ramifications, came to occupy a pivotal, instinctive place in my research. Traditionally marginalized or written out of the ethnographic monograph completely (Crang & Cook, 2007), re-placing the body in my ethnography not only lent a more truthful account of the field, but also aided my understanding of how intercultural encounters were performed and experienced. Adopting an approach that was sensitive to emotional and sensory knowledges, my fieldwork presented two significant questions, however. Firstly, there was an epistemological question of how this corporeal knowledge gets produced. From a phenomenological
perspective, normal daily ‘embodied consciousness sinks into the background of experience, allowing the world to be foregrounded’ (Crossley, 2006: 79). It is only when the body encounters pain, or illness, or out-of-the-ordinary sensory stimuli, such as that encountered on our visit to Tanzania, that the sensory experience gets brought forward into consciousness and the external world is pushed back. This theory of bodily absence (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) suggests that extreme physical conditions will inevitably change the perception of the person who is experiencing them. The host of corporeal episodes besetting the teachers (and me) meant that, at times, they/we were unlikely to think of anything beyond their/our bodily discomfort, and there was little opportunity to collectively reflect on the extent to which emotions and bodies were affecting the ability to do the partnership ‘work’ they were there to do. Importantly, such awareness of our bodily state is not inherent in the human condition and must be learned (Crossley, 2006). An embodied reflexivity, then, might entail learning to pay attention to one’s body, an exercise that requires time and practice, and a critical awareness of the extent to which emotions and the body have been devalued in society.38 By writing my own embodied, emotional experiences and those of my research participants into the research, I hope to lend weight to the validation of these situated knowledges.

This brings me to the second question of representation and the dilemma of articulating these sensuous experiences into the written form (Paterson, 2009). If the medium is to be textual, then what form should they take? Paterson speaks of the linguistic limitations of conventional ‘somatosensory lexicon’ (ibid: 785) in sensuously-disposed ethnography and ponders whether we should turn to a more ‘poetic sensibility’, apparent in the rhythm and metaphor of creative writing. Writing can range from the richly poetic (Rowles, 1978) to the performative and auto-ethnographic (see Spry, 2001), but perhaps the question here should be not how poetically we can write, but how useful it can be to the ongoing research project and its participants? This chimes with Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy’s attempt to shift geographers’ methodological concerns from how to conduct or represent visceral scholarship, towards ‘the creation of effective political strategies for affecting progressive social change’ (2010: 1274). I chose to actively work with the teachers on noticing and valuing their own bodily responses and thinking through how these affected their behaviour and constituted their relational

38 See Boler (1999) for an excellent account of this historical side-lining of emotions.
emotions. By extending reflexive responsibility beyond myself to my research participants, the participants gained a growing awareness of how their embodied, emotional experiences constructed certain relationships between them and steered the development of the partnerships.

2.4 Postcolonial principles

Being an ethnographer becomes even more complicated when research is conducted in Southern, postcolonial locations. The second influence on my ethnographic research, then, came from postcolonial theory, and in particular, its consideration by geographers. Early ethnographies of tribal cultures conducted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with their implied ‘gaze’ of the researcher cast over the ‘subjects’, contributed in no small part to the colonial project (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). They rendered the ‘other’ knowable and definable and, thus, open to subjugation by imperial powers. Aware of the long history of economic and political exploitation of the South by the North, I was wary of the ways in which geographical and ethnographic research had been complicit in constructing knowledge of/for the colonised, in what Sidaway terms ‘world-picturing’ (2000). I was mindful of the political implications of being a ‘Northern’ doctoral student conducting cross-cultural research in a ‘Southern’ context. Tanzania has a colonial history within a broader geopolitical context that required an appreciation of historical and contemporary North-South relations; indeed, it was this colonial history that constituted the contested objectives of the partnership programme that had so captured my interest in this research. Sidaway (1992) outlines some of the concerns for geographers researching overseas, including the translocation of the researcher into a position of comparative wealth, the unintended consequences of research, and the excavation of knowledge from the South. How the British and Tanzanian teachers negotiated these cross-cultural encounters formed one of the cornerstones of my research. Although I was considered by the British and Tanzanian teachers to be an active participant in the teachers’ visit, I was also a white, female researcher, and former teacher, from an English middle-class background, and it was inevitable that I would carry certain cultural values into the field (Twyman, Morrison & Sporton, 1999). It was vital to remain constantly vigilant of my position and committed to
thinking critically and reflexively about my role in the schools, and my unwitting complicity in reproducing differential power relations within the research field.

In my research, then, the ethnographic method was crucial to the process of revealing complex entanglements of North-South relations articulated through the vehicle of the global school partnership, but it also presented potentially harmful power inequalities between myself and the participants. Conducting research in Tanzania, therefore, demanded an ethical and political framework within which I could feel comfortable with my role. To this end, I found debates in postcolonial studies, around the ethics of conducting Western research in the South, to be extremely useful in delineating the dangers of attempting to ‘speak for the other’, as well as more productive suggestions on how to engage ethically in such research. Spivak’s (1994) critique of Western academic research in the Global South as ‘epistemic violence’, for example, left me in no doubt of the impossibility of fully representing the Tanzanian teachers’ perspectives, particularly as I would have relied on hearing their stories in translation. Ahmed argues that encountering and ‘consuming’ the other through translation renders us complicit in the colonial project – only the ‘generous encounter’, in which one remains open to the broader political context that constituted the relationship, and leaves space for the named other to ‘surprise’, can provide hope for an ethical engagement (2000: 152). Some scholars have argued that postcolonialism acts as a ‘kind of therapy that is used to overcome anxieties over past injustices’, a view disputed by Sharp, who argues that white, Western academics should not feel they must remain silent, and instead ‘develop a certain degree of rage against the history that has written such an abject script for you that you are silenced’ (Sharp, 2009: 115). Her advice is to learn the language, immerse oneself in the place and culture, and consistently interrogate one’s position as a researcher in such a context; and ‘then you will see that you have earned the right to criticise, and you will be heard’ (ibid). Furthermore, Laurie & Calla (2004) argue that the connection between feminism and postcolonialism has not been fully recognised, and that engagement with postcolonialism should go hand in hand with feminist commitments to expose inequalities in power relations and knowledge production. Madge (1993: 297) suggests we ‘work passionately and sensitively within these power relations’ by adopting a more feminist approach to overseas research. My search for postcolonial research methods began early in the research process, starting with
the interrogation of why I had chosen to research in a Southern context in the first place (Raghuram & Madge, 2006). I acknowledged that the North’s mediated and cultural portrayal of the ‘other’ had rarely corroborated with my personal experiences in the South. As a former teacher always interested in global education and intercultural encounters, I was eager to see if an educational tool like a school partnership could be used to address some of the injustices between the North and the South. When our personal motivations have been acknowledged, Raghuram and Madge suggest attention be turned to how research methods can be made more participatory, accountable, and transparent, by drawing on participatory and feminist methodologies, and framing research questions in a wider geopolitical context. These were essential if I was to conduct ethical, sensitive, and worthwhile research in the postcolonial context of the school partnerships.

2.5 The research process

For the rest of this chapter, I will describe the practical details of the research process – from the overall research strategy, through the various methods of data creation and interpretation, to the final crafting of the written ethnographic text. From the earliest days of the process, I pursued an ‘energetic’ approach to my ethnographic research. In this context, I do not define ‘energy’ as the physiological means by which bodies move from one place to another, and engage in activities. Rather, I mean something more ephemeral and intangible which, over time, allowed me to map the networks of global education, and afforded me insights into the affective workings of the partnership. This entailed grasping opportunities that presented themselves, provided they roughly adhered to the remit of ‘global learning’ or partnerships, to see where they would lead. ‘Doing’ fieldwork was combined with reading and writing from the very beginning of the project (Crang & Cook, 2007); I visited primary schools with partnerships, and participated in global learning conferences and seminars organised by TiDE (Teachers in Development Education), with whom I had participated in a study

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39 I have travelled extensively in southern Africa, in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, and have visited The Gambia in western Africa.
40 Methodological ‘tool-kits’ were also useful in preparing me for some of the dilemmas faced in overseas fieldwork (Robson & Willis, 1997).
41 ‘Energy’ is a term I first came across in studying for my homeopathy diploma. We were taught to ‘sense’ the energy of a patient, to gauge their illness through how their symptoms manifested in their bodies, how they talked about their symptoms, how they felt about their illness. This created an ‘energetic’ picture of what was important in the diagnosis and treatment of the individual. Experimentally, I applied the same approach to my research, and it served me well throughout.
visit to the Gambia some years before. During the first year of my research, essentially, I followed the energy that was generated through my encounters with others, my emotional responses to the events I attended, and my theoretical foraging, an experience that was both inspiring and unsettling, in equal measure. Working with these ‘happenings’ in a creative way, I was able to mould myself with the vagaries of the social world, and seize inspiring moments – for example, that led to the securing of a suitable, accessible, and enthusiastic research ‘subject’ in May 2009 (Copplestone Primary School), and the generous invitation from its headteacher, Stuart Busby, to accompany the school’s teachers on their forthcoming visit to Tanzania. But adopting an energetic, multi-site ethnographic approach also presented the specific dilemma of bounding the ‘field’ (Marcus, 2005). On leaving the field on each of the four key occasions, I was always left feeling there was more to ‘follow’. Inevitably, limitations of time, research budget, and energy, as well as a strong desire to retain a cohesion in the empirical material, meant that the ‘boundaries’ of the ethnography, material, emotional, and theoretical, were redrawn many times during the research journey. By always returning to the sites of the Copplestone-Donge partnership, I emphasised the way in which the teachers created a partnership discourse and ‘culture’, both in a bounded location and within a network of partnerships that spanned two continents.

The complete research process took eighteen months.42 The fieldwork commenced in May 2009, towards the end of my first year; I made my first visits to Copplestone and then was invited to participate in the visit of the Tanzanian teachers to the school in July 2009. My second year began with the academic ‘rite of passage’ of the upgrade, some three weeks before I embarked on my first overseas fieldwork to Tanzania. In-depth interviews followed the visit to Tanzania in the snowy months of January, February, and March (2010), followed by the stirrings of preparations for the next visit of the Tanzanian teachers in the spring months. In between these times, I wrote up my fieldnotes, and worked steadily through the long, arduous, but indispensable task of transcribing hours of recorded interviews and conversations, each transcription affording me time and space to (re)immerse myself in my empirical materials. The summer of 2010, following the second visit of the Tanzanian teachers to Copplestone, was spent writing through

42 See Appendix II for a full research inventory
my methodology, continuing transcription, and honing my research map for the forthcoming visit to Tanzania in October 2010. This visit marked the end of my ‘fieldwork’, save for one governor meeting at Copplestone, and I turned my attention towards compiling the many empirical materials - transcripts, documents, photographs, fieldnotes, and videos – into a collection for analysis. I spent four months in the analysis of the materials (although inevitably this analysis had been underway throughout the process), and the generation of the structural foundations of the thesis. Writing the ethnographic text began in earnest in April 2011.

2.5.1 Research methods

Ethnographic research employs multiple methods to gather, generate, and create empirical material (Crang & Cook, 2007; Davies & Dwyer, 2007). Flexibility is paramount, and the researcher utilises this range of methods to glean a more nuanced sense of participants’ own interpretations of everyday events and processes. In this sense, the researcher acts as a ‘bricoleur’, collating methods, and piecing together empirical fragments of the world captured through multiple methods (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003). The result is a ‘bricolage’, which allows for multiple voices and narratives to sit alongside each other, destabilising the vantage point of the feminist researcher and her ‘gaze’. The choice of the methods, as well as the research focus, interpretative paradigms, and manner of representation, was predicated on my own subjective inclinations (Moser, 2008). I employed various methods that comprise an ethnography, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, working with small groups, and archival exploration through websites, policy documents, and individual school documentation.

(i) Participant observation

In order to produce the ethnography, I concerned myself with charting the ‘cultures’ of the partnered primary schools in England and Tanzania, as well as the ‘partnership culture’ fabricated in the spaces between. The key method employed in this pursuit was participant observation, which involved participating fully in school activities, whilst retaining enough ‘observational’ detachment to ask

43 Bricoleur means literally ‘a maker of quilts’.
questions, and probe the research participants' definitions and meanings of their actions and behaviours. Used extensively in ethnography (indeed participant observation is often thought of synonymously with ethnography), this method aims to position itself at the ‘cutting edge’ of human experience, and importantly, offers the potential to be there on the ground when a ‘micro-event’ happens (Bowen, 2002), affording the researcher first-hand, direct understanding of people’s responses to the event.

I undertook four intense periods of participant observation, as the Tanzanian teachers visited England on two occasions (July, 2009; June, 2010), and the English teachers visited Tanzania on a further two occasions (October, 2009; October 2010). In total, I spent some six weeks in Tanzania, twenty days of which were spent on the teachers’ visits. Over the course of eighteen months, I spent around thirty days in Copplestone Primary School in total, including attending the two teachers’ visits, which were ten days each in duration. I observed people’s minute actions, behaviours, and interactions, during this time, as I strived to understand their experiences, relationships, and subjectivities, and the meanings they attached to these (Walford, 2001). During the teachers’ visits, I attended school every day, and several evenings, as well as visiting the school before and after in an attempt to gauge anticipation of, and subsequent reflection on, the event.

Bearing in mind recent developments within geographies of education, my broad multi-site ethnographic strategy aimed to cover the many facets of school partnerships and entailed not only working with the teachers and children within the school institutions, but also looking further afield to the agents of partnerships involved in the governance, training and critical thinking around the GSP programme, like the British Council, DfID, and TiDE. I gathered numerous documents, government policies, training materials, schedules, websites, and pamphlets. This process helped me to garner a sense of the wider political, social, and economic processes in which the partnerships were entrenched, and the broad discourses of global citizenship, development, and education that underpinned the GSP programme. This also took place during the periods of overseas fieldwork. I extended my 2010 visit to Tanzania, spending three days in the capital, Dar-es-Salaam, meeting Chambi Chachage (an independent researcher and author of several critical blogs on Tanzanian and African society), George Agango (Project
Delivery Manager, British Council) and members of HakiElimu (an educational research organisation). Our conversations were pivotal at this stage in my research, and stimulated further lines of enquiry for my participation in the teachers’ visit the following week. In Tanga, I used the time before the Copplestone teachers arrived to meet with some of the Tanzanian headteachers I had met the previous October, and visited the library and the City Education Office for further contextual information.

Research generates many emotions in the researcher, ranging from ‘passionate immersion’ in the topic, to the ‘cool contemplation’ required whilst analysing the data (Bondi, 2005: 232), and my participation in this second teachers’ visit to Tanzania was no exception. When the Copplestone teachers arrived in Tanga, my research pace stepped up several gears, pausing only whilst I slept, every waking hour occupied with participant observation, interviews, and reflective groups. In truth, the research even permeated my sleep, as I rehearsed research questions and Swahili phrases. As a consequence, these periods of fieldwork were both exhilarating and exhausting, in equal measure. Attempting to keep up to date with my fieldnotes was an ongoing challenge, caught between my desire to ‘participate’ in the group as fully as possible, and my urge to retain as much of the richness as possible. On several occasions, I took time out of the group’s activities to complete my journal and plan my research strategy for the day ahead, and conduct a series of interviews whilst the others relaxed at the beach. I had many informal conversations during these periods of participant observation that I chose not to digitally record, as I was mindful that the participants needed ‘time out’ as well from my researcher’s gaze. Plenty of detail was missed, but I strived to keep the essence of their comments with me, forming part of the general picture I built over time, inevitably informing my research strategy at later stages.44

Writing fieldnotes from one’s participant observation is an integral part of learning to be an ethnographer, and the classic text ‘Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes’ (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) was invaluable support in this endeavour. Over the course of the research, I filled nearly three journals of fieldnotes, with details of the ethnographic settings, observations of people’s behaviour and interactions in those contexts, reflections on the research process, and personal reflections

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44 Thank you to Stuart Sewell, headteacher of Somers Park, who helpfully pointed this out to me whilst in Tanzania.
founded on my own emotional, embodied experiences of research (Cloke, et al, 2004). Over time, I honed my writing craft, settling on a satisfactory method for producing fieldnotes that involved making rapid notes in pencil as I observed lessons, or interactions, or events, and following the advice of Emerson et al who made three recommendations; to note down the key details of a scene, to avoid making generalisations or judgements about people’s behaviour, and to note the ‘concrete’ details that show rather than tell one about the scene or event (1995: 32). When observing conversations that it felt inappropriate to record, I scribbled down key words and phrases that conveyed the sense of the conversation. Where I made a connection with thoughts from other research ‘moments’, I enclosed these in [square brackets] to distinguish them from the fieldnotes. At the end of a day’s fieldwork at Copplestone, I would finalise these ‘rough’ notes on the train journey home, ensuring I had committed any memories to paper, and then type them up into a more coherent narrative after the intensity of the fieldwork had died down, sometimes days later. Here, referring to photographs and videos I had made at the time, proved invaluable in folding me back into the sensory aspects of the experience, and my fieldnotes proved to be an ‘ongoing sense-making process’ that informed and shaped my research journey (Cloke et al, 2004: 197).

My identity as an observant participant shifted over time. From a professional perspective, I commenced the research as a former teacher-turned-scholar but over the course of the research, as I began to ‘do the things that ethnographers do’, my confidence in my identity as a professional researcher grew (Reimer, 2008: 204). An excerpt from my field journal on the second visit to Copplestone Primary provides a pertinent example of this shift, in this case in my relationship with children, formerly my ‘charges’ in my teaching years:45

For the first time ever, I am not in the role of a teacher and I don’t have to worry about disciplining them, telling them to sit still, or straight, as I used to worry about when I worked at Gastrells’⁴⁶ I don’t have to worry about whether other teachers would be looking at me and judging me, whether I was ‘doing my job properly’, I can just talk to the children as equal human-beings! What a great position to be in at last. I show them respect and they return the favour. (Fieldnotes, 26/06/2009)

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45 This reflection on my role as researcher also proved invaluable in my later analysis of the neoliberal identities adopted in the British educational system.
46 I worked at Gastrells’ Primary School in Stroud, for just over a year, where I managed the Communication and Interaction Centre, for six children with Statements of Special Needs. Attempting to teach my children to ‘conform’ to the school system was an ongoing pressure that I internalised over my time at the school.
My rapport with the research participants, such a cardinal element of a rich ethnography, grew over the two years, on both personal and professional levels. Although I felt welcomed into the Copplestone school community from the very start, I was aware that I had only formed relationships with one or two ‘key’ members of staff by the time of our visit to Tanzania in October 2009. Other members of the Copplestone community were wary around me initially but over time, and with concerted effort at building rapport, suspicion gave way to familiar joviality. Conducting research with small groups demands a degree of intimacy and this necessitated careful negotiation of various ‘cultural’ roles and identities (Rowles, 1978). In the early days, my fears of being perceived as a ‘snooping stranger’ (in Walford, 2001) dissolved as my role shifted variously into being a ‘friend’, a somewhat more ‘critical friend’, a ‘confidante’, a ‘potential advocate’, and a ‘seasoned traveller’ capable of making the research participants new to Tanzania feel more at ease. At times, these various roles left me in an uncomfortable and ambiguous position; ultimately, keeping everyone’s trust and confidence was essential to my integrity as a researcher (Russell, 2005).

My relationships with the Tanzanian teachers also developed over time. I endeavoured to be transparent about my role as a university researcher, but was always acutely aware of this privileged position (see Twyman, Morrison, & Sporton, 1999). I began learning Swahili during their visit to Copplestone in July 2009, and developed it further during each successive visit. Although far from fluent, I was able to hold basic conversations with the teachers, enabling me to share a closeness and humour that facilitated our relationships. Over the course of two years, I was welcomed countless times into my many research locations, and developed my own sense of belonging to the research community that we had forged together. Leaving the ‘field’ at the end of November 2010 was an emotional wrench.

(ii) Interviews

The semi-structured interview also made a specific contribution to my ethnographic ‘tool-kit’. The interview has a temporality that spans past, present and future, enabling biographies to be told, stories related, and memories recalled. How the teachers talked about the partnership, and the meanings they ascribed to
it, became very important to the evolution of a coherent narrative, and this was gleaned from regular interviews with some key actors within the partnerships. I took a feminist approach to my interviewing technique, following a psychoanalytical approach that employs active listening techniques and adopts an unconditional positive regard for the person (Bondi, 2005). It was imperative that the research participants trusted me, and one of the ways in which this trust was fostered was by paying attention to creating a safe interviewing space, in which emotions could be freely explored.\(^47\) Inevitably, the hectic school environment meant that it was not always possible to create such spaces, and opportunities to talk with research participants were grasped during assemblies, whilst the children were out of the classroom, and after school, when the teachers could be free for more than a few minutes. Throughout, I adhered to Denzin’s position that:

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\text{Interviews are part of the dialogic conversation that connects all of us to [a] larger moral community. Interviews arise out of performance events. They transform information into shared experience. This reflexive project presumes that words and language have a material presence in the world; that words have effects on people. Words matter. (2001: 24)}
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Interviews offer spaces for generating a variety of knowledges. In the early stages, I sought to assemble people’s understanding of the school partnership and global citizenship, their personal accounts of how global citizenship was performed through the partnership, their underlying assumptions surrounding partnership with a Southern country, and their emotional responses towards certain issues. One of the limitations of the interview is the capacity for people to inflate their good behaviours and play down their bad habits, for fear of judgement or embarrassment. In the case of interviews I conducted within the school, again in the early days of the research, this translated into a desire to ‘sell’ the school and its partnership, and convey to me the benefits of the partnership to the wider school community. These interviews presented a somewhat skewed picture of the partnership, and later participant observation became essential to fill in the gaps, and garner a richer picture of what was happening.

During and after my participation in the teachers’ visits to Tanzania, I endeavoured to conduct a series of interviews with the key Tanzanian headteachers involved in

\(^47\) I was mindful of the critique of feminist methods that regards such personal, intimate methods as potentially exploitative and harmful to the participant (Madge, et al, 1997)
the wider network of partnerships. Not all headteachers were confident conversing in English and, for some, although eager to share their thoughts, the interview proved a considerable strain. In these situations, I drew on all of my reserves to put them at ease, and although conversations were stilted initially, with some headteachers wary of being recorded, I found spending time walking around the school, asking questions, and sharing personal information helped to smooth the process. Other interviews called upon my emotional reserves, as the headteachers expressed their own emotional responses to the partnerships, and shared the pressure they were under in their daily management of the school. My interviews with both Tanzanian and British teachers also afforded me space to talk about the progress of my doctoral research, sharing my thoughts on emerging themes and insights from other elements of the research, and getting a sense from the participants of whether I was on the right track. My experience of conducting interviews was almost entirely a positive one; the participants were keen to share their thoughts, even when they felt they had nothing of any 'value' to say, and often the interview extended by their own volition, helping them to reflect on their own practice and experience. The most stimulating interviews were those that presented an opportunity for a true dialogue to take place, in which we worked through issues that had been troubling me, or them, and understandings were generated that went on to inform my interpretations of the partnership. Not all dialogues occurred in an interview context, however. Numerous informal (and unrecorded) conversations - on the bus, over a beer, walking down the street, as well as in emails and texts that flowed back and forth between periods of fieldwork – became the life-blood of the research project.

Following my return from Tanzania in November 2009, I began to think through ways I could work with the British teachers to recapture their emotional experiences of the visit. I wanted to conduct ‘post-visit’ interviews and so started to think about how I could ‘reach’ these no longer tangible, emotional experiences within the interview context. Feminist qualitative researchers were the first to recognize that interviews could be sensory, emotional experiences (Bondi, 2005; Bennett, 2004; Davidson et al, 2004). I knew there had been moments of discomfort, miscommunication, anxiety, displacement, all of which had affected the teachers’ overall perception of the trip, so how might an interview back in England be able to adequately ‘recapture’ these experiences? Photographs of the visit had
already been shared amongst the participants and I wondered if these could offer a route into deeper, more emotional, recollection. Original qualitative methods abound within geography (Davis & Dwyer, 2008) but I decided to stick with the more tried-and-test visual method of photo-elicitation (Rose, 2007). I was aware that the teachers had been looking through, and using, their photographs for some months now, the experience being narrated and re-inscribed through the familiar images, so instead I used my own photographs to ‘jolt’ their memory of the experience. On the visit, I had steered myself away from taking the aesthetic shots I was so used to taking as a keen amateur photographer, toward more commonplace photos that documented everyday activities. I had countless photographs of the participants on the visit, often taken in awkward moments, offering potential reminders of discomfort and anxiety. These photos formed the focus of the in-depth interviews, operating as effective gateways into different sensory and emotional registers (Rose, 2007), enabling us to share common experiences and delve deeper into what had been felt in the moment. These interviews were lengthy and many details surfaced that had hitherto been unknown or uncertain to me during the visit. The interviews served to ground their experiences from the reciprocal visits, and so in subsequent fieldwork, the teachers had an emotional vocabulary from which to approach the partnerships. As the teachers became more aware of the impact of their embodied experiences on the quality of encounters they were able to have with the Tanzanian teachers, thoughts turned to other ways in which future visits could be organised and managed. Although these embodied narratives did not necessarily find their way into this thesis, they informed and shaped the direction it took, both from my own research perspective, but also from that of the research participants. This method became a cogent part of a more collective reflexivity, feeding back into an iterative research process, and raising awareness of the deeply emotional and embodied nature of the visits, a central component of the feminist-informed research project.

At this juncture, I wish to include a note of what I term the muddy waters of research intervention. Our research practices transform the social world into a succession of representations – field notes, interview transcripts, conversations, images, personal reflections - that become interpreted, written up, and disseminated as one perspective on the world (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003). Law & Urry (2003) extend this notion of transformation, by describing social science
methods as performative, and claiming that they are as important in their enactment of the social world, as they are in the capturing of its qualities. Methods are not innocent. Social science research, therefore, enters the realm of ‘ontological politics’ (ibid: 1), whereby this performativity must be acknowledged and worked with (see also Crang & Cook, 2007). Marcus describes the multi-site ethnography as presenting opportunities for ‘mediations and interventions’ (2005: 26), in which questions of ethics become points of discussion within the ethnographic encounter. My research involvement raised recurrent questions of how far I should intervene in the development of the partnership. Evidently, participant observation requires the researcher to maintain a consistently reflexive stance and such questions are likely never to be fully ‘answered’, yet time and again in the field, my research position forced me to acknowledge the performative and mediatory nature of research. Inevitably, I became a character in the unfolding story of a school partnership, a co-creator and mediator of the social world I was studying.

(iii) Reflective groups

I also facilitated various reflective group discussions, with groups of two to four children, or with groups of teachers, which tended to be reflective in nature. For the children, selected by the headteacher for their enthusiasm and ability to articulate themselves confidently with adults, these groups offered an opportunity, outside of both classroom and normal curricular activity, to talk about the school partnership and what global citizenship meant to them. I conducted four of these group discussions before the Tanzanian teachers’ visit in July 2009 with a total of thirteen children, and then revisited these groups after the event to consider how they felt it had gone. Over the full period of research, I returned to these groups of children to get a sense of the ongoing production of a partnership discourse, which moved beyond the positive slant that perhaps they felt their headteacher wanted them to portray to me initially. For some of the older children, these group discussions presented an opportunity to talk through some of the ‘hard’ questions surrounding the partnership, and I was rewarded with extremely thoughtful responses. It was not possible to conduct similar group discussions with the children in the Tanzanian schools for a number of reasons. My limited understanding of Swahili, and the children’s limited understanding of English,
meant that direct conversations with the children were not able to move beyond the most basic of communication. In addition, there was very limited time within the hectic teachers’ visits to organise groups where the Tanzanian teachers could have been asked to act as translators, and unfortunately, my research budget was not able to extend to independent translation services. Finally, the power relationship between me as a Western visitor, and the school pupils who were unused to voicing their opinion, would have generated very partial accounts. I also conducted reflective group discussions with the British teachers on their second visit to Tanzania in October 2010, in which we discussed their experiences of the day’s events in their partner schools, and the meanings and narratives they were beginning to construct to make sense of them. As Kneale (2001) suggests, the groups offered opportunities for the teachers to examine and reflect upon their own taken-for-granted beliefs.

2.5.2 The final phases of research – interpretation and representation

When I completed my fieldwork in November 2010, I shifted into the final interpretive phase of the research process. I had become an ardent supporter of ethnography, but recognised that the day would arrive when the vast amount of empirical material would need to be ‘interpreted’, analysed, and moulded into a narrative that spoke to what happened, and that could be recognised by the participants as somewhere approximating the ‘truth’. Of course, the art of interpretation had begun long before, in the very early stages of my research as I learned to craft fieldnotes from my ethnographic experiences. With the research and the fieldnotes complete, the ‘artful and political’ practice of interpretation started in earnest (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994: 15). Remaining ‘open’ to what emerges from one’s research is an integral part of ethnography, yet should perhaps be accompanied with a warning: be prepared to change your mind, to discard theories that no longer ‘fit’, and to think again, and again, about how, and why, people do the things they do. The research process over time, then, became an exercise in tuning out the inevitable ‘noise’ that sits amongst the messiness of the social world, and tuning into the narratives that ‘made sense’ to me, and to my participants.
In practice, this tuning-in process entailed a series of practices, each of which was necessarily subjective and contingent. I decided not to use a software package to organise or analyse my materials, preferring to immerse myself in my research and so, when the fieldwork was completed, I produced five bound ‘books’ of transcripts, in chronological order, interspersed with my typed fieldnotes from each key period in the ethnography. These books contained transcripts of around thirty-two hours of interviews, eighteen hours of group reflections, nine hours of participation in meetings, and a further ten hours of recorded events.\(^{48}\) I read through these empirical materials in their entirety, taking an overview of the entire research process and making notes of possible themes that were emerging. From this process, I compiled a comprehensive coding map, within four or five broad themes, and made up of both ‘in-vivo’ (emanating from the participants themselves), and more theory-oriented codes that I had constructed myself (Jackson, 2001). On the second read through of the materials, I used this coding map to highlight specific sections of the text, and wrote notes in the margins, marking and expanding the codes, or making reference to points of theory (Th) and methodology (M). At the same time, I opened a series of word documents and dropped in the references to the codes (B1: 78 = Book One, page 78), as I worked through the texts. These documents increased in size over time, as I extrapolated the codes and began to write short narratives linking them (Emerson, et al, 1995). They formed the foundations of the core ethnographic chapters of this thesis – the political and geographical context in Chapter Three, the networks, practices and encounters in Chapter Four, the two broad partnership narratives of Chapters Five and Six, and the evaluation of partnership in Chapter Seven. The emerging narratives also informed the range of literatures to which I turned, and these were finally shaped into the literature review of Chapter One, encompassing three broad themes - the trend towards learner-centred pedagogy, the configuration of global and moral citizenship, and the shifting subjectivities of teachers. At the end of the ‘enlightening, fruitful and revealing process’ of interpretation (Cope, 2010), I was immersed in the empirical and theoretical materials and the next step was to work this collection of emergent themes and narratives into a coherent ‘story’ of the partnership and create the final ‘public’ text. In this endeavour, I found Flyvbjerg’s (1998) concept of multiple narratives useful. For him, there are many angles to

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\(^{48}\) Again, see Appendix II for the full inventory of recorded and observed events.
one story, different events that are perceived differently by different actors. As I picked my way through the ‘piled-up structures of inference and implication’ that forms the essence of the ethnographic project (Geertz, 2003 [1973]: 147), I selected and discarded narratives and interpretations that offered a more or less coherent picture. The end product, this ethnography, is inevitably subjective and partial, but one that has endeavoured to stay true to the spirit of the partnerships with which I engaged over the past three years and to do justice to the multiple voices and narratives that resulted from this engagement. Writing has been a method of inquiry and a method of ‘knowing’, too (Richardson, 2005).

Certain dilemmas presented as I began to write through the materials. Deciding whether to grant my research participants anonymity was a difficult decision to make. Each participant completed an ethics consent form, which stated the nature of the research and offered the option to remain anonymous. Each teacher said they were happy for me to use their names and words, yet at times, during writing up this research with some distance from the ‘field’, I have pondered on the ethics of this decision. Ensuring research participants remain anonymous is generally an assumed position for the qualitative researcher, yet the nature of ethnography renders anonymity almost impossible (van den Hoonaard, 2003). The groups I worked with were small and knew each other well, the schools were happy to be identified, and even unnamed teachers would be relatively easy to trace should a person really wish to (Walford, 2005). I have decided, for now, to keep participant’s real names and have ensured that any event or conversation included is vital to enrich our collective understanding of the partnerships. Indeed, only a small fraction of my written observations have found their way into this ethnography (Cloke, et al, 2004).49 A second issue arose over the final presentation of the many photographs that I took over the course of this research. These photographs proved invaluable when I was writing my fieldnotes as I mentioned earlier, assisting the recall of the embodied experience, and also provided an innovative method with which to reach the participants’ memories of their visits to Tanzania. However, in this final text, I have only chosen to reproduce a few of these images, as collections of ‘snapshots’, designed to offer a flavour of the research context and encouraging the reader to engage more fully with the written ethnographic text.

49 Publications from this thesis will make the schools involved anonymous.
As I began to write the final text, I took reference points from some inspiring ethnographies – Laurie Thorp’s (2004) moving ethnography of creating a school garden in an elementary school in the United States, Crewe & Harrison’s (1998) story of international aid projects, and Ulf Haneerz’s (2004) ethnography about global correspondents – which gave me crucial insights into the intricacies of writing ethnographies, and lent ideas on how to create the ‘thick description’ that constitutes the essence of ethnography (Geertz, 2003 [1973]: 166). In particular, Horst & Miller’s comprehensive ethnography of the cell phone in Jamaica provided a productive example of how to structure my chapters, ensuring a balance of subjective detail from the participants with informative accounts of the wider social, political, and economic processes at work in the partnerships, and carrying the reader through a dynamic and enlightening story. Each chapter of this thesis strives to balance theoretical insight from the literature, with ethnographic material garnered from multiple sources – informal conversations, transcribed interviews and events, my own field experiences, explorations in and around the networks, and circumnavigation of the theories of global citizenship, education, and international development. I was ever mindful of how I selected the empirical material, and how I chose to represent it, as I outlined in the Preface.

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter set out the methodological framework for this research. The networked nature of school partnerships, positioned in two countries across two continents, called for a multi-sited, ethnographic approach that was informed by postcolonial principles that could trouble the North-South nature of the research encounter. Equally, the emotional nature of the teachers’ encounters during the visits to their partner schools required a research methodology shaped by feminist concerns, one attendant to the material and emotional production of partnership. The overall aim was to follow the ‘story’ of a school partnership closely as it evolved, and to uncover the intricacies, dilemmas, and incoherencies amongst the practices, encounters, and narratives of partnership.

This methodological approach has created the ethnography of school partnerships that fills the remaining chapters of this thesis. *Part One* summarised the core literatures from both the geographies of education, and education studies, which
provides this thesis with a broad platform from which to understand the many processes and narratives of partnership. It then presented, in this chapter, an account of the particular methodological approach that I undertook to create this ethnography. The following two chapters comprise *Part Two*, which aims to position the school partnerships on a wider political, historical, spatial, and economic canvas. The next chapter charts the political beginnings of the Global School Partnership programme, followed by a descriptive portrait of the two key locations of my research, Copplestone and Tanga, and the specific school spaces in which the global partnerships were constituted.
Part II

Practicing Partnership
Chapter 3

The governance and promise of partnership

Before we can attend to the subjective experiences of those involved in school partnerships, it is necessary to understand the political and social policy context from which the Global School Partnership programme originated. As I described in the Preface, the twenty-first century global school partnership has a very different point of origin to the ‘class link’ I made through my travels to Zimbabwe in the mid-1990s. An entire configuration of governance has been mobilised to formulate such partnerships now, replacing their once serendipitous beginnings. There is a website that collates interested schools from around the world and puts them in touch with each other.50 There are application forms to be filled in, funds to be sought, agreements to be signed. This chapter charts the ‘beginnings’ of the global school partnership through the exploration of two key themes – the political genealogy behind the neoliberal governance of school partnerships (in both British international development and education policies at the turn of the century) and the constitution of the affective ‘promise’ of school partnerships, read through an appraisal of the associated grey literature. Following this contextualisation, I turn to the two key locations that featured in this research – rural Devon, England and suburban Tanga, Tanzania – and introduce the two key primary schools, Copplestone and Donge, and their current and historical educational structures.

3.1 Governing the partnership: the policy context

As I briefly outlined in the preface, the Global School Partnership (hereafter known as GSP) programme was created by the Department for International Development (DfID) in 2003. This political genealogy raises some interesting questions. Firstly, what was the rationale behind the department for international development formulating an educational initiative for widespread implementation into schools across the UK? What perceived ‘problem’ was it attempting to remedy, and what discursive tone was adopted? Secondly, widening the focus, what was the

50 Global Gateway (2009)
educational and social policy context in the UK at the time, and to what extent was the GSP programme entangled or implicated in other policies?

3.1.1 The international development context

In order to more fully understand the context from which the GSP programme emerged in 2003, it is imperative to place it within the broader government strategy of international development in the preceding years. In 1997, the newly-formed DfID produced a White Paper laying down the foundations for a new direction in overseas development. The paper *Eliminating World Poverty: a Challenge for the 21st Century* presented a ‘significant shift’ in the UK’s development policy (ODI, 1998: 1), and emphasised the UK’s ‘moral duty’ to provide international aid to tackle global poverty (Slater & Bell, 2002: 342). Partnerships, already a familiar feature of neoliberal governance (see Larner & Craig, 2005), formed the cornerstone of delivering international development in practice.51 The partnership paradigm within Britain’s development discourse has been critiqued by various geographers, who highlight its paternalistic and patriarchal undertones (Noxolo, 2006; Slater & Bell, 2002), and its inability to trouble already existing inequalities in North-South power relations (Mercer, 2003; Power, 2003). Postcolonial theory has been effectively deployed to critique the practice and discourse of partnership, making visible the colonial legacies that infuse contemporary international development discourse (Power, 2009; Noxolo, 2006).

The White Paper (1997) made it clear that progress would not be made towards the goal of eliminating world poverty without mobilising ‘greater political will across the international community’ (DfID, in ODI, 1998: 1). It established the clear objective to raise the profile of international development, in an effort to ‘expand and deepen awareness, commitment and support’ amongst the British public (ODI, 1998: 5). The Development Awareness Working Group was set up with the remit of assessing the extent to which formal and informal education, as well as the media, business, and church and faith groups, could contribute to expanding this public awareness of development issues. The Building Support for

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Development (BSD) strategy was duly launched in 1999 and it was the education landscape of the UK that became the ‘top priority’ (DfID, 1999: 4) in its efforts to engage the public with the need for international development and to ‘spread the challenge of poverty elimination more widely’ (ibid: 1). Specifically, the strategy aimed to shift attitudes to development away from those ‘based on compassion and charity’ and towards ‘a real understanding of our interdependence’ (ibid).

Acknowledging that a range of development awareness organisations and networks already existed but had been somewhat neglected under the previous government, the strategy wished to build on existing expertise and bring the rather disparate narratives together into a single coherent ‘message’ of development. Importantly, one of the key objectives within the formal education sector was to encourage whole-school or community activities based around development issues, and school links with ‘developing countries’ were believed to offer an excellent opportunity for such engagement. DfID thus proposed that every school should have the chance to forge links with schools overseas, provided they were built on the principles of ‘mutuality, shared learning and curriculum development’ (DfID, 1999:4). The strategy recognised the long-term nature of the task and was backed with a commensurate level of financial support, starting with increasing the budget for development awareness in 1999/2000 to £3 million. By 2007/08 DfID’s budget for its development awareness work totalled £14 million, with the GSP programme being the most ‘resource intensive’ of all the initiatives and organisations enlisted (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2009: 23).

The Global School Partnership programme was constituted in 2003. This new school linking programme was confidently positioned within the broader ‘partnership’ paradigm of international development policy, with links henceforth adopting the formal label of global school partnerships, steered by the principles of mutuality, equity, and reciprocity. The broader debate between the rhetoric and reality of partnership, as explored by the geographers mentioned above, provides the backdrop against which the school partnerships are considered in this thesis.
Figure 3.1 Key policies and initiatives in ‘global’ education (Source: actual documents)
3.1.1 The wider British policy context

Policy theorists have drawn attention to the ‘intertextuality’ of educational policy and initiatives, where policy is produced in a broader political context by drawing upon and referring to other policies, either explicitly or in more subtle discursive ways (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). A second question, therefore, arises from DfID’s conception of the Global School Partnership programme in 2003 - what was the nature of the extended educational and social policy landscape in the UK in the years surrounding the creation of the programme, and to what degree was the GSP entangled with, or implicated in, this landscape?

During the period of international development policy formulation as outlined above, the then Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) was actively making policies that ran parallel, if not slightly askew, to DfID’s vision of a nation supportive of its international development policy.52 The concept of the ‘global dimension’ was starting to surface in education policy, emerging as a direct response to the government’s recognition of the impact of globalisation on public life and the need for skills to function and compete in the rapidly growing knowledge economy. By 2005, a complex web of policy documents, intentions, and legislation had manoeuvred this new ‘global’ theme into the UK education system (see Figure 3.1). In the nascent spirit of joined-up government, a consortium of organisations including DfID and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) produced a guidance document Developing the global dimension in the school curriculum (DfID et al, 2005) for primary and secondary schools, stressing the importance of incorporating a global dimension and outlining how this could be embedded into the whole-school curriculum. Concurrently, the global dimension was seeping further into the policy landscape as one of eight ‘doorways’ in the Sustainable Schools Framework (DfES, 2006; QCA 2009), itself arising from yet another imbricate policy context - the Sustainable Development National Strategy ‘Securing the Future’ (DEFRA, 2005). Through this framework, the government stated that by 2020 it would like ‘all schools to be models of global citizenship, enriching their educational mission with activities which enrich the lives of people living in other parts of the world’ (DfES, 2006: 34). The underlying ethos within

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52 Between 1995 and 2001 it was called the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE). It was called the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) between 2001 and 2007. It was then split into two departments – the Department for Children, Schools, and Families (DCSF) and the Department for Innovation, Universities, and Skills (DIUS). On the election of the Coalition government in May 2010, Michael Gove changed it back to the Department of Education.
global citizenship of developing a positive attitude towards difference, was also traceable back to a plethora of movements present in the educational field since the 1970s and '80s, including multicultural and anti-racist education, peace and world studies, human rights and development education, (see for example Hicks, 1988; Pike & Selby, 1988). Again, like development education, these often informal strands of education did not constitute a distinct part of the school curriculum. This began to change following the election of the New Labour government in 1997, as the value of engaging with difference became formally acknowledged in the advisory report *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture, and Education* in 1999. This report argued for a stronger emphasis on a cultural and creative education in schools, to balance the more traditional skills of literacy and numeracy, and to prepare children to engage ‘positively with growing complexity and diversity of social values and ways of life’ (NACCCE, 1999: 5). Taking on board some, if not all, of the report’s recommendations, the curriculum underwent revision in 2002 and directed the engagement with diversity and difference into the subject of *citizenship*, for the first time a statutory element in secondary schools and as official ‘guidelines’ for primary schools, (DEE & QCA, 1999).

Traversing the social and educational policy landscape in the UK over the past ten years or so takes us some way towards understanding the heterogeneous political context into which the global school partnership came into being, and some of the competing narratives at work during this period. I want to return now to the anonymous ‘problem’ that DfID’s GSP programme and the curricular orientations towards the ‘global’ hoped to address. In the next section, I suggest that this ‘problem’ can be read through the communication of the perceived ‘benefits’ or what I shall call the ‘promise of partnership’ (after Ahmed, 2010).

### 3.2 Implementing the policy: the promise of partnership

One of the key changes in the processes of educational policy over the past 15 years has been in the multiplicity of the methods of implementation (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). As policy makers have become cognisant of the growing public relations nature of policy realisation, policy texts have become increasingly ‘mediatized’ (Lingard & Rawolle, in *ibid*: 19). Policy, and associated text, thus becomes an affective interface, between the policy-makers and those assigned the
task of producing the institutional changes necessary, which ‘offers an imagined future state of affairs’ (ibid: 5). As the text associated with the initiative described, the Global School Partnership programme presented a raft of benefits or future states, which pointed the reader towards the way in which the problems of the past could be alleviated through its incorporation (DfID, n.d.a). By exploring this ‘official’ text and uncovering its emotional registers, I want to introduce the idea that these benefits generated effects that had material consequences.

Despite the paucity of substantial evidence for these purported benefits in the review of DfID’s support for development strategy (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2009), an interview with a ‘stakeholder’ pointed towards the ‘tangible’ value of the GSP programme that made it ‘attractive’ to teachers (ibid: 30). The orientation of teachers towards school partnerships was in some way a product of their ‘affective value’ (after Ahmed, 2004). This value arose partly as a result of the emotive language invoked in the official literature, as it was taken up and circulated by those involved in the partnerships.

As I hinted in the Preface, words and descriptions of global encounters are often emotive. In order to muster interest in the partnership programme, the language employed in the literature had to have the power to ‘move’ people. The description of benefits of the GSP on the website (DfID, n.d.a) suggested a range of emotive points around which educators could mobilise. Primarily, the GSP promised a dynamic approach to the hopeful element of global citizenship that equips children to deal with difference. DfID envisaged that a partnership offered a context for activities that engendered global citizenship. The partnership afforded children an ‘exciting and effective’ way to learn about the wider world (DfID, n.d.c) and offered a more personal perspective on issues such as development and poverty. For teachers feeling the ongoing pressure of delivering an ever-expanding curriculum, a partnership with a school overseas may well have promised a useful pedagogical solution to teaching about complex global issues.

According to the literature, children who became involved in and committed to their school’s partnership could hope to have a quality learning experience that

53 This economic interpretation of the emotions comes from Ahmed (2004) and her thesis on affective economies.
was ‘more motivating, meaningful and empowering’ (DfID, n.d.). As the website claimed,

[a] direct school to school partnership, with reciprocal visits by teachers, joint curriculum activities and the involvement of local communities can breathe life into the classroom learning experience. The personal contact generated between young people separated by thousands of miles can have a transforming impact in building understanding and unity. (ibid)

It was not only the children who were portrayed as the beneficiaries of the partnership. For teachers in both partner countries, a school partnership promised both professional and personal development. The partnership offered spaces for such development to take place, as ‘the different learning and teaching contexts experienced by staff broadens and deepens their professional expertise and commitment to global dimension goals’ (DFID, n.d, my emphasis).

The ‘promises’ of partnership continued. The establishment of a school partnership not only accorded individual benefits to both learners (in this case, explicitly children) and teachers, but hinted at whole school transformation through the building of a coherent ‘ethos’ and sense of well-being. The partnership was cast with the impetus to gather people together, from all corners of school life, to work together. In addition, the partnership was portrayed as working to open up participants to the world beyond the school and local community, and become the stimulus for creating a more outward-looking school culture. This was something, we were told, which both children and adults could benefit from, pointing to the persistent problem of introversion and global innocence.

Through a brief consideration of the emotive vocabulary employed in the GSP literature, the ‘promise’ of partnership becomes apparent. There were many more promising and hopeful stories that originated with the teachers themselves, and I explore these further in later chapters. The circulation of these stories, within and between schools and teachers, assigned the global school partnership with an affective value. Tempted with the seductive stories of whole-school transformation, personal development, motivated learners, and the promise of global citizenship and equality, teachers and headteachers sought out the global partnership in the (often unconscious) hope of realising this promise. In part, this
thesis sets out to delve deeper into this promise, to follow the stories of partnership, and to wriggle beneath the smooth surface of its affective currency.

So far in this chapter, I have contextualised the policy landscape in formation during the early stages of the New Labour government and positioned the GSP within the intersection of international development and educational policies. A brief overview of the UK's international development policy context at the turn of the century framed the pivotal role played by DfID in stimulating the public discourse around the ‘need’ for development that led to the creation of the Global School Partnership programme in 2003. Through the enlisting of school communities, within and beyond the school site, it is clear that the ‘global school partnership’ presented a creative addition to the department’s development awareness toolkit.

The roots of the ‘school partnership’ concept can also be traced back to the radical education movements in the 1970s. Over time these movements have, to a greater or lesser extent, been incorporated into the national curriculum and education policy, and have been changed or diluted as a result. The serendipitous school links of the past, made by enthusiastic teachers in their earnest attempts to create a better world, have given way to the fully governed, funded, and regulated operations of the GSP, demonstrative of the neoliberal shift towards more formalised and professional partnerships (Larner & Craig, 2005). Some might say they have lost something in the process. On the other hand, many schools have benefited from the associated advantages of funding (albeit for a maximum of four years) and guidance, and it could be argued that this neoliberal shift towards more professionally governed partnerships has been a substantial achievement in the field of development education.

It is time now to meet the two primary schools that occupied the loci of this ethnographic research. The two primary schools of Copplestone and Donge formed a global school partnership in 2007, and exist within broader geographical, historical, and educational contexts that require elucidation at this juncture.
3.3 Copplestone Primary School, Devon, England

The rural village of Copplestone lies five miles north-west of the small market town of Crediton, itself some eight miles north-west of Exeter, in the county of Devon in the south-west of England (Figure 3.2). Two key transport routes dissect the village. The busy A377, formerly known as the Exeter to Barnstaple Turnpike, was built between 1828 and 1831. The Tarka Line, a branch railway line connecting Exeter and the north Devon coastal town of Barnstaple, arrived in 1851 and runs almost parallel to the A377 through the village. The village boasts a small, picturesque, unmanned station and the hourly trains in both directions may be stopped by ‘request’ by passengers. Copplestone has a rambling morphology with no easily defined centre – a tenth century cross marks the historical centre but the village stores perhaps create the 21st century focus. It has a pub and several churches. The Post Office closed, under protest, in January 2009.

Copplestone Primary School is a community school for 4-11 year olds, located a short distance up Bewsley Hill on the outskirts of the village (Figure 3.3). Situated within substantial grounds, the school is bordered by a tree hedge on two sides and woodland on the other. Faced with a picket fence bordering the lane, children enter the small playground at the front of the buildings via a small latch-gate. Building work, of some degree or other, took place throughout the duration of my research – a new ICT suite at the rear of the school had been recently completed, new classrooms added, and preparations were being made for the construction of a new pre-school building to house the ‘Busy Bees’ nursery. Opened in 1975, the school has a familiar exterior of grey pebble-dashed concrete with draughty aluminium windows and colour-worn panels. Most teachers commute into Copplestone each day, some from as far afield as Exmouth and Torrington. Their cars occupy a limited car-park to the side and they enter via a locked main entrance door set back from the curtilage. Over the past fifteen years, British schools have undergone an escalation in security, but compared with some schools in which I have worked and visited, Copplestone was refreshingly accessible.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{54} The Working Group for School Security was set up in December 1995, an immediate response to the fatal stabbing of London headteacher Philip Lawrence, and later made 22 recommendations (TeacherNet, 2008) that ushered in the irreversible modification of school spaces that remains one of the cornerstones of contemporary school health and safety policy.
Figure 3.2 Copplestone, Devon, south-west England (Source: Digimap)

Figure 3.3 Copplestone village

Copplestone is located in the centre-top of the first map. The A377 runs through Copplestone joining the A3072 in the centre of the village.
The double front door of Copplestone Primary School led into a small vestibule area, the walls filled with school awards and certificates. A poorly lit corridor to the right led past the staff toilets, a cleaning cupboard, and the headteacher's office, to the modern, if rather cramped, staff room. The door to the left of the entrance opened out into the main school area with a colourful corridor-space heading off in two directions, housing the photocopier, small tables, chairs, cases full of books and teaching resources, and walls covered with displays from each class. There was a computer station tucked into a corner. The corridor scribed a quadrangle around an open-air space at the centre of the school. A decked sandpit and a pirate ship furnished the space within this mini-playground. Turning to the left, there were three classrooms, each with a clatter of low, coloured Formica-topped tables and small plastic chairs that betrayed the dimensions of the room. A door at the back led out to the children's cloakrooms and playground. The whiteboard took centre position on the front wall; all other conceivable space was occupied with striking displays of subject topics and children's work, book cases crammed with textbooks, pots of pencils, drawers overflowing with coloured paper. Somewhere to the side of the whiteboard was the teacher's desk. The assembly hall and a small kitchen lay beyond the classrooms. Another corridor led off to a further three classrooms, housing children from Key Stage Two, with Purple Class occupying the final 'wing'. Next door was the recently completed ICT suite, with a vaulted ceiling, and maybe twenty desktop computer stations. (Fieldnotes, 26/05/2009)

At the time of my research, Copplestone had 179 children on roll, divided into six classes, each named after a colour – Blue (Year One/Reception), Green (Year One), Yellow (Year Two), Orange (Year Three/Four), Red (Year Four/Five) and Purple (Year Five/Six). The number of pupils on the roll had risen dramatically in the last ten years, from 124 (2002) to 179 (2011), warranting single year group entry for the previous two years. Countering a Devon-wide trend towards a lower than UK average birth rate and lower roll numbers (Devon County Council, 2009), Copplestone Primary was something of an anomaly. The increase might be attributed to the recent rise in Copplestone's population - the census of 2011 is likely to show a much larger figure than its 2001 figure of 894. Two new housing estates were completed in 2004. Exeter had witnessed the influx of business and employment opportunities in recent years, and Copplestone offered a rural lifestyle within a short commuting distance. However, there had been some informal speculation within the school that families were attracted to the village because of the growing reputation of the primary school, not of the village itself. Recent research points to the new social geographies emerging as a result of the differential quality of education provision, where successful schools have a significant spatial impact on local housing availability and market value,
particularly in middle-class urban areas undergoing gentrification (Butler & Hamnett, 2007). The majority of people moving into Devon are middle-aged families bringing their children (Devon County Council, n.d.); a village with an ‘outstanding’ primary school (Ofsted, 2010) is certain to have spatial and social ramifications.

This portrait of a rapidly expanding, affluent village must be tempered with another, less prosperous, economic portrait of both Copplestone and the Mid-Devon district in which it is situated. Some 56% of Devon’s population live in rural areas, where the house price to earnings ratio is above the regional and national average (Devon County Council, n.d.) and rural deprivation is a significant factor. Mid Devon has a higher than national average of ten per-cent unemployment, over 11% of the population have no skills (the second largest in the county), 13% employed in elementary trades (the third highest in county) and 18% occupied in skilled trades (the second highest in county). Many of the children at Copplestone come from families who are struggling financially.

State-maintained primary schools in England, like Copplestone, have a duty to deliver a ‘broad and balanced’ National Curriculum, introduced in the Education Act in 1988, and modified in 2002. The Curriculum is designed to promote the ‘spiritual, moral, cultural, mental, and physical development of pupils at the school and of society’ and seeks to ‘prepare pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities, and experiences of adult life’ (QCDA, n.d.a). Copplestone Primary School is required to teach eleven statutory subjects – English, Mathematics, Art and Design, Geography, History, Science, Physical Education, ICT, Music, Design and Technology and Religious Studies – at both Key Stages One and Two. The subjects of Personal, Social, and Health Education (PSHE) and Citizenship are non-statutory elements of the curriculum at both Key Stages, and Modern Foreign Languages is introduced in Key Stage Two. Beyond the legal requirement to cover the subjects in the National Curriculum, Copplestone has the freedom to choose how to deliver the subjects and to extend the ‘school curriculum’ into other areas of learning, such as thinking skills and global awareness. Copplestone, in its own words, provides a ‘rich, diverse, relevant, and differentiated’ curriculum (Copplestone Primary School, 2010a), with additional, innovative pedagogical approaches like Fantastic Fridays, in which children’s practical creativity is
developed, and Forest School, in which children participate in ‘engaging, motivating, and achievable activities in the woods in all weathers’ (ibid, n.d.). The school prides itself on being a ‘warm, close-knit school community’ (ibid, 2010b) and the teachers appreciate the genuine ethos to provide a happy and relaxed school environment. Like all primary schools in England, Copplestone Primary assesses the national attainment targets in Reading, Writing, and Mathematics through the Statutory Attainment Tests (SAT) at the end of both Key Stages One and Two, when children are around seven and eleven years old respectively. For the previous three consecutive years, the Key Stage Two results were higher than both the county and national average – 92% of all eligible children reached Level Four and above in Reading, 83% in Writing, and 85% in Mathematics (Copplestone Primary School, 2010b: 3). Key Stage One results showed a ‘marked improvement’ (ibid: 3).

As well as overseeing standards in teaching and learning within the school and leading the school’s development, the responsibility for the school budget fell to the headteacher, Mr. Stuart Busby, and the school governing body. At the time of research, the British education system received 12% of the nation’s total budget expenditure (Chantrill, 2011). Central government gave funding in the form of the Dedicated Schools Grant, with the county of Devon highlighted as receiving one of the lowest grants in the country (Hands Up, 2010). This funding was then distributed to schools as a Standards Fund of some £3500 for each child on roll. Devon Local Authority issued top-up grants for certain additional areas, such as literacy, assessment and special needs provision, but it was anticipated that these avenues of funding would be reduced by the spending cuts of the Coalition government. Moreover, the nature of the Standards Fund meant that smaller rural schools with fewer pupil numbers faced considerable financial pressure.

Primary schools in Devon belonged to one of 31 Local Learning Communities throughout Devon, each with between ten and twenty primary schools, and being roughly synonymous with the local secondary school catchment area. Each Learning Community had a chair, finances officer, Extended Services officer, and Devon Association of Primary Headteachers (DAPH) representative, all drawn

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56 Statutory is sometimes replaced with ‘standard’, and ‘attainment’ with ‘assessment’

57 I have written this description in the past tense to denote that this was the state of play during my research period (May 2009 – November 2010). The education sector is once again undergoing rapid change and many of these details of budget and governance are being redrawn at the time of writing.
from the schools within the community. Although schools received funding on an individual basis at the time, Stuart believed it was likely that schools in the Learning Community would soon share funding for the provision of art and music, in an attempt to keep the smaller schools from closing. The very smallest schools would be pushed towards federation with other schools in the Community, under the management of just one headteacher. Copplestone was one of thirteen primary schools in the Crediton Learning Community that fed into Queen Elizabeth’s Community College (‘QE’) in Crediton. The Learning Community principally aimed to deliver the government’s Extended Services agenda, through charging all schools with the ‘Duty to Co-operate’ and working collaboratively with the Local Children’s Trusts to ensure the safeguarding of all children (Whiteley, 2010). The organisation of local schools into Learning Communities led to increased contact between the headteachers, who regularly met during term time and held an annual teacher’s conference. Shared school funding was likely to deepen these partnerships between primary schools in the future.

Twenty-seven people worked in Copplestone Primary School, supporting the 179 children. There were eight teachers, including Stuart, twelve Teaching Assistants, five Midday Supervisors, and two cleaning staff.\(^{58}\) The teachers of Copplestone are subject to the revised professional standards of the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA), set up by the New Labour government. Most teachers had been appointed after Stuart took on the role of headteacher, many being newly qualified and only familiar with the ‘modernisation’ era of teaching that had been in operation since 2000. This modern agenda has a long and tortuous history, emerging from criticism in the 1970s that progressive teachers in the ‘liberal educational establishment’ held too much sway over the education sector and were not responding to the changing economic conditions of the early neoliberal era (Whitty, 2000: 283). In addition, the ‘Back to Basics’ campaign of the Conservative era (1981-1997) was a reaction to the erosion of traditional education by those regarded as the ‘enemy within’ (ibid: 285). The election of New Labour brought about a pernicious clash between what was viewed as ‘traditional’ education and the modernisation agenda, the retreat of the state continued, resulting in the far-reaching reconfiguration of the education landscape. In 1997, the *Excellence in Schools* White Paper continued the ‘modernisation’ of the teaching

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\(^{58}\) These supervisors cover the lunchtime break, and were formally known as ‘dinner ladies’.
profession, driven by the ‘inevitability’ of globalisation and underscored by the discourse of ‘world-class’ education. In this new modern era, teachers became the vanguards of change, governed by performance standards more akin to managerialism, and rewarded through the introduction of performance-related pay.

Stuart took up the position of headteacher of Copplestone Primary School in 2007. Following an undergraduate degree in history at Exeter University, he took a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and started teaching in 1996. After a few years of being a class teacher, he became Deputy Headteacher of Somers Park Primary school, a large community school in Malvern, Worcestershire. Stuart was ambitious and a few years later, he was appointed Headteacher of Copplestone Primary School, arriving at a precarious moment in its history. The previous headteacher had left some eighteen months previously, an acting headteacher had taken responsibility in the meantime, and school roll numbers were ebbing. One of Stuart’s tasks in the initial few weeks of his headship was to take the school through its first Ofsted inspection since 2002. The school was graded ‘Satisfactory’, with an ‘Inadequate’ Foundation Stage but he was commended for his ‘thorough and insightful analysis of the school’s strengths and key priorities for development’ and his ‘determination to achieve challenging goals’ for the school (Ofsted, 2007). He set about creating a vision for the school, drawing on his experience from the larger, more urban Somers Park. An initiative that became one of the cornerstones of ‘new’ Copplestone was the creation of a global partnership with Donge Primary School in Tanga, Tanzania. Stuart had witnessed the positive impact of the partnership that Somers Park had with Chumbageni Primary School in Tanga, and he was keen to establish a partnership in a similar vein. In addition, new members of staff were employed, teaching standards improved, and the culture of Copplestone Primary School began to shift. In the final weeks of the summer term in 2010, Copplestone Primary School was graded an ‘Outstanding’ school by Ofsted.59

Stuart found working at Copplestone Primary School a very different experience to Somers Park. Copplestone had a quarter of the pupils, and a significantly smaller

59 A week before the 2011 visit of the Tanzanian teachers to Copplestone, OFSTED called again and scheduled another surprise visit. Copplestone was graded ‘Outstanding’ once again following this visit, making the school an extraordinarily successful school in Devon.
staff and budget, but it was the introverted disposition of the school community that he found so intractable on his arrival. The pupils from Copplestone were all predominantly white and all spoke English as their first language (Ofsted, 2010), and in many ways, the village school represented the archetypal rural, homogenous institution. One teacher described Copplestone as a place in which people grow up and stay put, wary of the ‘world outside’. The school’s recent trajectory towards a more inclusive and globally-aware ethos, through the partnership with Donge, has been disconcerting for some of the Copplestone community. For many years, this convention of the all-white school in a rural context has been largely operating in isolation of the increasingly ethnic mix of urban Britain. The school with few children from different cultural or ethnic heritages was thus a space in which issues of racism and culture were deemed ‘irrelevant’, such schools often considering themselves to be free of the ‘problems’ encountered by their urban counterparts. Yet, the value of being educated about race and difference is especially pertinent in these ‘all-white’ schools (Gaine, 1995, 1988). In his latest work, Gaine charted some of the positive changes in attitudes towards racial difference made recently in all-white schools (Gaine, 2005), a trend corroborated within Copplestone school. This changing educational landscape can perhaps be traced back to the steady introduction of the global dimension into the school curriculum at the turn of the century that I outlined earlier in this chapter.

A further narrative - the Community Cohesion agenda – sits uneasily alongside this emergence of the global dimension in the education sector. The New York attacks on September 11th 2001 and the ‘race’ identified civil disturbances in Oldham and Bradford some months before, both fuelled a growing chagrin with multiculturalism. This disquiet manifested in a substantial shift in the UK government’s policy agenda, with community cohesion emerging as the primary social discourse. Attempts were made to move away from discourses of diversity and towards the discourse of integration and the ‘cohesion of ‘different’ communities into a (British) whole’ (Worley, 2005: 484). A new Institute for Community Cohesion was established in 2005, to provide ‘a new approach to race, diversity and multiculturalism’ (IcoCo, n.d.). Spurred on by the 7/7 London bombings in 2005, the community cohesion agenda found its statutory outlet

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60 Throughout this thesis, I use italics to denote quotations from the research participants’ speech when they are interspersed in the general text.
within education in the passing of the 2006 Education and Inspections Act, which accorded schools the legal responsibility for the enhancement of this ambiguous concept. Schools faced a host of legal responsibilities to build learners’ understanding and appreciation of belonging to ‘communities’ at local, regional, national and global scales.

The discourse of community cohesion has been prominent in the spaces of local government in Devon. The third largest county in England, Devon is predominantly rural with 97% white population (population over 740,000), and low but increasing numbers of ethnic groups outside the urban area of Exeter (Office of National Statistics, 2006). The Local Authority officer responsible for community cohesion in schools visited Copplestone Primary School soon after the general election, in June 2010. His remit was to respond to recent Ofsted reports from schools throughout Devon that found they were generally good at creating strong school identities and linking to their local community, but were ‘less good’ at promoting the global dimension. Their real ‘Achilles’ Heel’, as he described it, was helping Devon children to understand what it meant to be British. He had heard reports of Copplestone’s successful global partnership and he speculated on the idea of making the school a case study to demonstrate good practice to other schools in the county, even hinting that county funding might be secured to support the development of other school partnerships around Devon. Over the time of my research, however, there was a discernible shift in the Local Authority’s sphere of policy interest. Deemed an essential element in this advisor’s remit in June 2010, community cohesion was in reality already making way for Whitehall’s new social policy of the ‘Big Society’. When it was first aired, this concept aimed to fix what Prime Minister David Cameron termed the UK’s ‘broken society’ (Cameron, 2010). This ‘broken society’ referred initially to the rise of what he regarded as anarchist Britain, fuelling gang crime and violence, and the culture of dependency on state benefits. The fix of the Big Society was described as ‘rolling forward society rather than rolling back the state’ (Cameron, in Helm, 2007), and focused on tackling the root causes of poverty and deprivation through collective social endeavour. The community cohesion agenda finally ‘slipped off the agenda’ when the new government announced changes to the school inspection criteria (Sheppard, 2010: n.p.) and Copplestone Primary School heard nothing more from the Community Cohesion advisor.
Plate 3.1 Copplestone Primary School
Despite this latter retreat, the inspection of schools’ endeavours to create ‘community cohesion’ had important ramifications during the course of my research, in that it contrived the demand for school partnerships. The facilitators at the Grant Preparation seminar I attended in Exeter, organised by the British Council, noted that Devon had the highest uptake of GSPs in England and Wales. As the ‘tick-box’ for community cohesion at a global scale remained unchecked on their Ofsted reports, schools scrambled to establish links and several from the Crediton Learning Community turned to Copplestone School for guidance. A distinction was drawn between those schools setting up partnerships for ‘genuine’ reasons, and those who were reactionary in their ‘ticking the box’ agenda. The all-white school in the rural, isolated county became a recurrent trope in the impetus to have a school partnership. Stuart joked about the isolated experience of the local population from Copplestone and their ‘generational’ uncertainty about people from ‘other’ places, including nearby Exeter, but the children’s ignorance of other religions and cultures was also stated as another important incentive. On one occasion, Stuart told me how he had asked his pupils what they knew about Islam - ‘apparently they’re all terrorists and Mahatma Gandhi was an Islam, so not even a Muslim but he was an Islam and looking at it, it just shows exactly the reason for doing [the partnership]’ (Stuart, 08/06/2010).

This section has painted a picture of Copplestone village and its primary school (see Plate 3.1, p.101), and portrayed some of the social, economic, and political characteristics of rural mid-Devon, and the educational landscape in which the school is situated. In the following section, I turn my attention to Copplestone’s partner school - Donge Primary School, in Tanzania (see Plate 3.2, p. 109).

3.4 Donge Primary School, Tanga, Tanzania

Schule ya Msingi Donge is located in the large city of Tanga, just south of the Equator in the East African state of the United Republic of Tanzania (Figure 3.4). The city of Tanga (henceforth known simply as Tanga) forms one of the eight districts that constitute Tanga Region, and is situated on the tropical coastal plain bordering the Indian Ocean in the north-east of the country (Figure 3.5). Tanga has an estimated population of 261,613 (NBS et al, 2008) that has doubled in the past three decades, the rapidly growing economic centre and employment
opportunities having attracted considerable in-migration from the outlying rural areas of both Tanga region and the rest of Tanzania. Average gross personal income has increased in recent years, and in 2004 it stood at 355,712 Tanzanian Shillings (TSh), about £160 per annum. The fourth largest city in Tanzania, Tanga has also benefited from its large natural harbour, which has developed as the country's second major port. Exports reach 500,000 tonnes a year and include commodities produced in the Tanga region, such as beans, coffee, sisal, and cement (NBS et al, 2008). Tanga is well connected to other parts of Tanzania; it lies 360 km north of Dar-es-salaam and is reached via the major A14 road to Tanga, which continues through to Mombasa, Kenya. There is also a small airport in Tanga, plying some 6,000 people annually on daily scheduled flights to Dar-es-salaam, Zanzibar, and Pemba, and other destinations within Tanzania. Tanzania remains one of the poorest nations in the world, with a Gross National Income of $500 (US) per capita (World Bank, 2009) and around 89% of the population continuing to live below the international poverty line (ibid).

Tanga began life as an Arab trading port ruled by the Sultan of Zanzibar, the coastal plains having long been the geographical focus of the Indian Ocean slave and spice trading routes. In 1891, Germany took control of the port and established a township that became the capital of the newly formed colony of Tanganyika and German East Africa. The Germans planned and constructed the new commercial and residential areas of the town and were responsible for the building of the Tanga-Moshi railway line, Tanga High School, and the Bombo Hospital. Walking around the colonial district that forms the commercial and business centre of Tanga today, it was evident that the city had known more prosperous times. The Mkonge Hotel, standing in tropical gardens in the colonial residential district of Raz Kazone, is the city's only five-star international hotel, and its name marks the source of Tanga's past fortune. Mkonge is Swahili for sisal, a plant fibre crop introduced by the Germans early in their colonial history. Within a decade, numerous plantations in the coastal plains were drawing labour from all over the East African territories and Tanga rapidly became the political heartland of the sisal industry. By the 1920s, Tanganyika had become the world's leading producer of sisal. However, the 'white gold' of the region suffered a series of setbacks following Independence in 1961, and the industry became a 'dying' concern until its minor revival in the late 1990s (Sabea, 2001). With their fates intimately
Figure 3.4 United Republic of Tanzania (Source: MapsGet)

Figure 3.5 Tanga region, north-eastern Tanzania (Source: Tanzania Private Sector Foundation)
entangled, the decline of sisal signalled the demise of Tanga; the ‘ghost town’ of today bears only the faintest hint of its former fortune (ibid: 4).

With the advent of the First World War, the German East African colony became the focus for the wider geopolitical struggle between Britain, France, and Germany, for power over the African territories. In November 1914, the British sailed from Bombay with ships full of Indian troops and attempted to take the strategic town of Tanga from the Germans (Chricton-Harris, 2001). Following a disastrous and costly three-day battle, the British were defeated and it was only in the final stages of the war that the British finally claimed Tanga. The colony of Tanganyika came under British protection until its formation of the independent United Republic of Tanzania in 1961, the name being an amalgam of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Today, the city of Tanga is a sprawling urban area, covering some four square miles of flat coastal land (see Figure 3.6). The centre, however, occupies no more than five rows of streets, in a typical colonial grid pattern with banks on most corners, interspersed with electrical shops, cafes, offices, and internet shops. The once grand colonial German buildings are now in varying states of decay - paint peeling, concrete crumbling, and paving stones forced up at perilous angles through flooding in the rainy season. The still functioning Tanga Library, an imposing building on Independence Avenue, has fallen into an advanced state of entropy, the large and decaying volumes of the ‘Climate of Africa 1965’ and the ‘Water Master Plan 1967’ presenting damp remnants of the brief period of post-Independence investment. The market stands in the centre of town, a large grey concrete structure, with sides open to the street, basketware overflowing, and a measured atmosphere. Street traders sit under umbrellas around the market and sell ‘top-up’ cards for one of the four major telecommunications companies in Tanzania. Colourful signs for TIGO, Zantel, VodaCom, and Celtel are attached to any available surface, and adorn the corporate T-shirts that the young salesmen wear, as they circulate the streets in SUVs touting for new custom. The Asian supermarket across the road is well stocked with familiar and expensive imported brands. The main commercial zone of Ngamiani, in which the majority of local people reside, lies south of this former colonial heart, and is bounded to the east by Swahili Road and the west by Taifa Road, the main road down the coast to Pangani. With another extended grid iron of small streets, numbered for convenience,
Ngamiani houses the undercover market and bus terminal, and a host of small clothing and hardware stores. Behind Ngamiani lie the main residential wards, with thousands of small, detached residential houses, some made from concrete, some from mud and poles, in which many of the households (with a decreasing average 4.6 people) cook with firewood and charcoal, and light their homes with wick lamps (NBS, et al, 2008). Tanga has one of the best water supplies in Tanzania, with most houses having individual access to a clean and consistent water supply. Electricity supply is not so widespread, with less than 10% of households having a connection to the local supply (ibid: 35). The city has Broadband Internet and the emergence of many small internet businesses in the centre speaks to the rapid growth of interest in communicating with the wider world. A connection is still expensive, however, and very few households have private access. With the arrival of the new underwater fibre-optic cables down the East African coast, internet access in Tanga is set to rapidly improve in the coming years. With a swiftly expanding population, the city limits of Tanga are being continuously redrawn, as more people move to the city, hopeful of making their living in the urban context.

Donge Primary School is one of Tanga’s 79 public schools and is located in Mabawa ward, some four kilometres south of the city centre, beyond Ngamiani.

The school building of Donge was just one storey high, painted blue and cream, and physically attached, but administratively separate, to its 'sister’ school, Kwakaheza Primary. The frontage was maybe two hundred metres long, separated from the quiet dirt road by a sandy area planted with mature trees, each casting welcome shade from the tropical sun. A flight of concrete steps led up to the entrance shared by the two schools. The covered entrance looked out over a sandy courtyard, around which the seven classrooms of Donge lay to the right and those of Kwakaheza to the left. The raised concrete veranda ran around the edge, almost a metre from the ground and interspersed with steps. The final side of the quadrangle was filled with the large ‘Copplestone’ garden and beyond that, a toilet block and a small shady woodland in which the children gathered and played. A large sandy playing field could be glimpsed between the toilets and the final classroom, home of the smallest children. The headteacher had a small, windowless office to the left of the entrance. The school had no classroom to cater for pre-school children and no dedicated staff room. The few resources the school possessed – textbooks, paper, sports equipment - were kept in a locked cupboard in the headteacher's office. The school had a clean water supply from which the children could fill water bottles, but no electricity or internet connection. The local women cooked uji (maize porridge) for the orphaned pupils under the trees in the front of the school. (Fieldnotes, 26/10/2009)
This map from the Rough Guide was used by the Tanga Tourist Information Office. Donge Primary School is not shown on this map, but lies about two miles south-south-west of Swahili Street.
Tanzanian children start school at seven years old in *Darasa Moja* (Standard One) and leave in *Darasa Saba* (Standard Seven) after sitting the Primary Leavers Examination at fourteen years old. If they pass the exam, they receive a place at their local secondary school, which educates children up to Ordinary and Advanced Level. Donge shares the site with another primary school, Kwakaheza, which opened first in 1990. In 2003, when the number of children exceeded five hundred, it was divided into two schools. At the time of this research, Donge had 632 pupils (2009), and like Copplestone, the numbers were rising each year. Mabawa ward is situated towards the outskirts of the city and the site of significant in-migration from outside the area. The increase in enrolment since 2000 is also indicative of the significant progress Tanzania has made in the past ten years towards universal primary education for all.\(^{62}\) With the implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) in 2002, school fees were abolished and increased investment into educational infrastructure was facilitated by a substantial loan from the World Bank. Table 3.1 outlines some of the key ‘successes’ in Tanzanian education in the duration of the first PEDP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000/01</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrolment in primary schools</td>
<td>4.4 million</td>
<td>8.3 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net enrolment %</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
<td>97.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of primary schools</td>
<td>11 873</td>
<td>15 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition to secondary school</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>67.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.1 Key successes in Tanzanian education during PEDP I (Source: Simwanza Sitta, 2007)*

Throughout Tanzania, this rapid increase in pupil numbers has not been accompanied by a sufficient classroom construction programme and has resulted in very large class sizes of up one hundred pupils being taught together in each classroom (Uwazi, 2010). The classrooms in Donge bore the uniform Tanzanian functionality, with three lines of wooden desks, at which three or four children sit,

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\(^{62}\) The second Millennium Development Goal. This overall progress portrays a somewhat simplified picture of improvement in school provision (see Lewin (2009) and Kuder (2005) for a comprehensive analysis).
Plate 3.2 Donge Primary School
and a solitary teacher’s desk to one side. Donge classes comprised around eighty pupils, the large numbers requiring careful management and, although corporal punishment has been banned in Tanzanian schools, the use of a stick to keep children in line was still a familiar sight. Large blackboards covered the full extent of the front of the classrooms, but the other walls remained mostly bare. There were no storage facilities for children’s belongings, so the floors were cluttered with bags, coats, cups, shoes, pens, and exercise books. The side walls had open windows with metal surrounds, offering little protection in the rainy season, but allowing cool breezes to circulate around the classroom.

Like England, Tanzania has a National Curriculum that all public schools must follow, developed by the Tanzanian Institute of Education. Instruction is in Swahili in primary education and in English thereafter. There are seven compulsory subjects in the primary stage – Swahili, English, Mathematics, Science, Civics, History, and Geography – and two optional subjects of ICT and French, which individual schools can choose to deliver if they have the resources. Unlike in England, where classes are taught all subjects by just one teacher, Tanzanian teachers specialise in both subject and age range - a teacher might teach only English and Civics, for example, and then only at certain darasa levels. As a result, Tanzanian schools have proportionately more teachers per class than British schools, but higher teacher: pupil ratios. Tanzania has a comprehensive assessment structure with termly and annual exams co-ordinated by school, and the Primary Leaver’s Examination organised by National Exam Council at the end of the school year in November. Preparatory exams are organised in June by Tanga City Council and, according to Saidi Moshi, headteacher of Donge, the schools in the city were well aware that they were competing to be top of the handwritten city league tables that adorned the education office walls. The stark contrast between the Donge and Kwakaheza results (56% and 83% respectively) had been questioned by the City Education Office.63 Unsurprisingly, private schools perform better still in exam results with sometimes a 100% success rate for secondary school entrance. The results in Tanga were improving year on year, with 50.1% of primary pupils successfully gaining a place at secondary school in 2008. In 2009, the figure reached 58.6%, prompting logistical problems of providing sufficient

63 It was never certain why this disparity existed between the schools, and Saidi was reticent to discuss it further.
secondary school places. Mlenduka, a City Education official, confirmed that those who do not pass the Leaver’s Examination entered private schools or vocational training, or simply started their working lives in farming on the fringes of the city, fishing in the nearby coastal waters, or as street vendors around the city.

It is widely acknowledged that the education system in Tanzania faces multiple and substantial challenges (Uwazi, 2010a, 2010b). Less than 60% of children go onto secondary education and even fewer are able to attend university. George Agango, from the British Council in Dar-es-Salaam, informed me that recruitment for jobs was extremely difficult, with companies tending to look beyond Tanzania to Kenya and Uganda for suitably qualified candidates. Despite the apparent success of the Primary Education Development Plan launched in 2002, there is growing concern that the rapid expansion of the primary education sector in Tanzania has not been accompanied by a rise in education standards (Uwezo, 2010; Rajani, et al, 2007; Davidson, 2004; Rajani, 2003).\(^6^4\)

The quality of primary education is regarded as poor, remaining heavily oriented towards traditional teacher-centred pedagogy, exam-focused teaching, often irrelevant curriculum content, and a lack of inclusion of learners in their own learning (Uwezo, 2010). It is within this challenging education context that the staff at Donge Primary School found themselves, with large class sizes, insufficient numbers of classrooms, decreasing funds for essentials like textbooks and learning materials, and inadequate training, particularly in subjects such as English and mathematics, the key subjects responsible for the poor average pass rate of the Primary School Leavers examination in 2009.

To fully contextualise the challenges facing the teachers in Donge today, it is important to acknowledge the hidden, or not so readily visible, ways in which the current educational challenges can be attributed to the colonial legacy. I introduced the connections between colonialism and present-day education systems in the first chapter, and the history of education in Tanzania is illustrative

\(^{64}\) *Uwezo* is an initiative hosted by TEN/MET (Tanzania Education Network) that published a controversial report entitled ‘Are Our Children Learning?’ in September 2010, just a few weeks prior to the national election on October 31st 2010 and the day after Tanzania received an award for its progress towards the MDGs. It found that one in five primary school leavers (PSL) was unable to read a Standard II Swahili text, 50% PSL was unable to read in English, and only seven out of ten PSL were able to do Standard II mathematics, concluding with the ‘stark reality’ that ‘despite the enormous advances in education made possible by investing trillions of shillings each year, the vast majority of children in Tanzania are not learning’ (Uwezo, 2010: 7). The report attracted considerable coverage by the national media and Tanzanian blog sites, such as Udadisi and Wanazuoni, in which its findings were described as ‘glaringly saddening’ (Chachage, 2010).
here. In the years just prior to Independence, Julius Nyerere described the deep inequality of the British-governed education system:

‘Last year Government had £3,200,000 [...] to spend on education. After setting aside £800,000 for our future university, Government divided the rest equally between the three racial groups; the 25,000 Europeans, the 70,000 Asians, and the 8,000,000 Africans received each £800,000 to spend on the education of their children. This in Tanganyika is called racial equality. Needless to say, madam, that it is an equality which may please the Governor of Tanganyika, but to the Africans it is slightly irritating.’ (Nyerere, 1956)

On his election as the first president of independent Tanzania in 1961, he recognised that the inequality that he inherited would present vast challenges to his newly-formed government. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 set out his vision of African socialism that he termed *ujamaa* and led, amongst other changes, to the nationalisation of all existing faith schools in 1970 and the introduction of free and compulsory schooling for all children by 1974. The deputy headteacher of Donge, Cecilia Hiza, was able to recall these promising days in the smaller class sizes and free schooling of her childhood. However, the progressive agenda was not to last long. A long war with Uganda virtually bankrupted Tanzania and by 1984, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) introduced structural adjustment policies, which demanded the introduction of ‘cost-sharing’ measures to offset public expenditure on education (Vavrus, 2005: 180). This entailed the re-introduction of school fees barely ten years after they were abolished and school enrolment dropped dramatically within a few years. It was only in 2002, with the introduction of the PEDP I that school fees were once again abolished. To this date, Tanzania retains a complex educational bureaucratic and financing structure from the post-Independence era. Each of the 24 wards in Tanga has a ‘ward education co-ordinator’ who deals with all education matters in the six to eight schools within their ward. The government spends 20% of its annual budget on education, issuing the Capitation Grant to the City Education Office, who distributes it through the wards. The Capitation Grant, allocated to each child enrolled in school, is officially 10,000 Tanzanian Shillings (TSh) (around £4) and is designed to fund examination fees, administration, the purchase of textbooks and other learning materials, and finance repairs to the school building. This funding mechanism has become a growing problem in primary schools

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65 Swahili for extended family.
throughout the country. The grants have proved insufficient for schools’ budgets and their distribution by the local authority has been unpredictable, often arriving late into the school year (Uwazi, 2010).66 Although school fees have been abolished, parents must now make an obligatory ‘contribution’ of around 5000 TSh (£2) to supplement the government funding, but even when the headteachers allow it to be paid in instalments, the percentage of full payments is small. These unsatisfactory budgetary arrangements ensure that even basic requirements for a child’s education, like sufficient textbooks for each statutory subject are beyond the reach of most state primary schools.

At the time of research, Donge Primary School had eighteen teachers. Apart from Saidi Moshi, the headteacher, and Victor, the Physical Education teacher, all of the teachers were female, representing a higher ratio than average for Tanga as a whole, which had 898 female teachers to 342 male. In an interview, Mlenduka, the Academic Education Officer in Tanga City Council, described employment conditions within the education system. Teachers usually complete a minimum of one year’s training at a specialist training institute after their secondary schooling. Following qualification, teachers are posted by the government to the rural districts that find it difficult to recruit and retain sufficient teachers. Saidi followed a similar trajectory into his teaching career. After sitting his ‘O’ levels in 1990, he trained to be a Grade A primary school teacher, the most basic grade available. Teachers are asked to give at least three to five years of service in a rural school before they request a transfer to where they want to work. Saidi was posted to a school in a rural area between Tanga and the coastal town of Pangani, some 25km away on an unpaved road, all but impassable in the rainy season. The district councils put in an ‘order’ each year for the number of teachers they require, and usually receive less than they request leaving a shortfall in provision. Tanzania faces many problems in its delivery of education but the number of people entering, and remaining in, the teaching profession is one of the key issues. The number of new teachers brought in under the PEDP I was significantly lower than the proposed figures and the issue continues to feature high on the government’s agenda (Davidson, 2004). George Agango (British Council) stated in an interview

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66 This was disputed by Mlenduka at the Tanga City Education Office, who claimed that schools were receiving 80% of the full Capitation Grant. The 2010 figure was lower due to diverting funds for an industrial incident in Dar-es-Salaam, but he assured me they were ‘serious to send the money’. The headteachers to whom I spoke in Tanga told a different story of late, or non-existing payments, and critically low budgets.
that the government was hoping to drastically curtail the shortage in teachers through the recent introduction of a five year programme at Dodoma University that would train 40,000 new teachers. Mlenduka believed that the increase in private schools, with their higher pay and smaller class sizes, had lured many teachers in recent years, but that teachers in the public sector continued to receive many benefits that their private counterparts did not, including state pensions, job security, health care, and access to Higher Education for professional development. The headteacher at Donge, Saidi Moshi, recognised that the quality of learning at his school needed improvement and believed one way this could be achieved was through the development of the teachers themselves. Ideas from beyond their ward education officer were rare commodities and were welcomed by the headteachers and, in Tanga, schools with partnerships in the UK became beacons in this formidable educational landscape.

3.5 Conclusions

The latter part of this chapter sought to describe the key locations involved in my research – the village of Copplestone, in mid-Devon, and the city of Tanga, in Tanzania. Within these settlements, the two schools of Copplestone Primary School and Donge Primary School have been introduced. It is through this process of ‘placing’ the two schools involved in a global partnership that we witness geographies of education at work: partnerships take place between schools in specific localities, and these school spaces are constituted through the materialization of national educational and social policies (Thiem, 2009). These geographies also serve to emphasise the material inequality that existed between the two schools in this research, engaged in the pursuit of an ‘equitable’ partnership, as encouraged by DfID and the British Council, and expounded earlier in this chapter. Whether teachers were aware of it or not, the school spaces in which they operated, and their actions therein, were contingent upon a macro-assemblage of political, economic, and historical processes to which I return in Chapter Six. The following chapter introduces the wider network of school partnerships within which the Copplestone-Donge partnership was positioned, and further addresses the range of material practices in which the schools engaged in the pursuit of their ‘global school partnership’.
Chapter Four

Networks, Practices, and Encounters of Global School Partnerships

Unlike schools embedded within the British educational context, in which government policies and funded programmes such as the Global School Partnerships readily encouraged schools to seek out and establish partnerships, the Tanzanian schools received no such support or persuasion from the Tanzanian government. Limited support came from the British Council office in Dar-es-Salaam, but this tended to be forwarded to partnerships that were already established, rather than proactively attempting to steer schools towards seeking out partnerships overseas. The early partnerships in Tanga began with British schools actively locating primary schools in the city with which to partner, but over time this picture began to shift as other Tanga schools came to realise the benefits of forging links in Britain. However, as the practices and encounters explored in this chapter aptly demonstrate, the global school partnerships were very much centred in Britain, radiating out to schools in eligible countries overseas, but with the power of funding, mobility, and decision-making retained firmly in British hands. This chapter introduces the wider school partnership ‘network’ of which Copplestone and Donge Primary Schools were part. It also demonstrates how this network developed from, and extended into, other locations and other primary schools in both England and Tanzania, which have featured to a greater or lesser extent in my research. Following this consideration of partnership networks, I present a detailed consideration of the key practices and encounters that took place at various stages in the partnerships.

4.1 Wider networks

In 2007, four years after the launch of DfID’s Global School Partnership programme, there were just seventeen school partnerships in Tanzania. In the same year, George Agango was appointed Project Delivery Manager for the British Council in Dar-es-Salaam to oversee this small, but steadily increasing, number. By the time I interviewed him in October 2010, this number had grown to 97 partnerships between schools in the UK and Tanzania, and as he remarked, they
were ‘springing up all over’. However, the locations of these partnerships in Tanzania were, in reality, more or less contained within three distinct geographical ‘clusters’– in and around the cities of Tanga, and Moshi (near Kilimanjaro), and on the island of Zanzibar – and each cluster had evolved in a distinct manner. In the Moshi area, the partnerships operated independently of each other, yet in Zanzibar the schools functioned as one organisation with an overarching structure, with all activities planned by a single co-ordinator. George suspected that the rationale behind these two clusters could be traced back to the nature of the environment in which they were located – Moshi lies at the base of Mount Kilimanjaro and is situated close to Arusha, the safari ‘capital’ of Tanzania. Zanzibar is a tropical ‘spice’ island with beautiful beaches and ‘exotic’ towns. Whilst George believed the British schools remained true to the ‘principles’ of the partnership, he also thought that people ‘want to make the most out of it’, with the tentative implication that a teachers’ visit could be combined with a stimulating holiday, if the partnership was located in a suitable position.

The cluster of schools in Tanga was different. Tanga was not a centre for tourism, there were very few ‘sights’, and the beaches nearby were not particularly inviting, so another explanation for the accumulation of so many school partnerships in Tanga must be sought. Although the schools operated individually, they sat within a wider and informal network that had emanated from just one partnership - between Somers Park Primary School in Malvern, Worcestershire, and Chumbageni Primary School. School partnerships are motivated through multiple factors.67 The Somers Park/Chumbageni partnership emerged from an already existing community link between a church in Bromyard, Herefordshire, and the Livestock Training Institute in Buhuri, ten kilometres outside the city of Tanga. This ‘Bromyard-Buhuri’ link, set up by the Hereford Diocese, soon extended to school partnerships between Herefordshire County Council and the wider Tanga area in which Buhuri was located. The physical proximity and governance of the counties of Hereford and Worcester ensured that information about the potential for partnerships with Tanga schools was circulated beyond the county boundary. Under the headships of Stuart Sewell and Mighty Kilao, Somers Park and Chumbageni became ‘global school partners’ in November 2005. With an African

67 During the British Council training day, I encountered one partnership that had originated in Cape Town, as it was the seasonal home of the headteacher’s parents-in-law.
connection secured, Somers Park Primary was keen to extend its global links and took the opportunity to link up with a third school, the Key School, a large private school in Annapolis, on the eastern coast of the United States. The three, very different, schools developed a three-way partnership and adopted the name ‘Chums’. The naming of the partnership set a trend and subsequent partnerships between other clusters of schools sought equally amicable names.68

In the meantime, Mighty informed his friend, Saidi Moshi - a headteacher at Kiswasora Primary School at the time - that he had friends over from the UK and wondered if he would like to meet them. On his first trip to Tanga, Stuart Sewell met Saidi, and told him that he knew another Stuart (Busby), his Deputy Head at present, but soon to be taking up a headship in Devon, who he thought would be very interested in setting up a partnership and would make an ideal ‘match’ for Saidi. It was the summer of 2007 when Stuart Busby was established at Copplestone and ready to start communicating, by which time Saidi had been posted to Donge Primary School. The Copplestone partnership relocated with him and the Tanga network acquired another connection.

In the previous chapter, I introduced the concept of the ‘promise’ of partnership. The further expansion of the school partnership network within both Tanga, Malvern, and further afield in Devon and Herefordshire, could be understood not just through the friendship connections of the two partnerships I have mentioned, but in the circulation of hopeful and promising stories between the schools. The headteachers of the Somers Park/Chumbageni partnership, having first-hand experience of the affective power of a partnership, became inspired and committed advocates of the ‘global partnership’ within their local education networks. Stuart Sewell spoke at conferences and headteachers’ meetings, in Worcestershire and beyond, and inspired increasing numbers of local schools to establish their own partnership. Mighty Kilao was posted elsewhere and Halifa Bilali became the new headteacher of Chumbageni. In the headteachers’ meetings, held monthly for all schools in Tanga, Halifa spread the word of the ‘Chums’ partnership and other headteachers soon became aware of the possibilities associated with a partnership with a UK school. Halifa, in time, took on the role of unofficial ‘leader’ of the Tanga network of school partnerships.

68 Other partnerships became known as ’Rafiki’ (Swahili for friends) and ’Mates’.
It was not long before other schools joined the network (Figure 4.1). The Wyche Primary School in Malvern was next to partner with Gofu-juu Primary School in 2008. Geoff Rutherford, headteacher of The Wyche, knew of the success of the Somers Park/Chumbageni partnership through his regular Malvern headteachers’ meetings, and Esther, the headteacher of Gofu-juu had witnessed the changes at Chumbageni. The Wyche operated within a small clutch of schools in Malvern and as the funding for the GSP allowed clusters of schools to bid for combined grants, so the subsequent links in the network were two schools closely connected to The Wyche. Malvern Parish and St. Matthias Primary Schools in Malvern linked with Mabawa and Nguvumali Primary Schools in Tanga respectively. They chose the convivial title of ‘Mates’, and grant applications for the six schools were made collectively. A successive wave of partnerships followed, as other Malvern and nearby schools heard about the successes of the Somers Park experience, and the Tanga headteachers witnessed the positive changes happening within Chumbageni. Curiosity was sparked and enquiries made; everyone, it seemed, wanted a school partnership. Northleigh Primary School in Malvern teamed up with Darajani Primary School, and Holmer Primary School in Hereford with Mzingani Primary School, in 2009. The most recent partnerships were between St. James’ Primary in West Malvern and Majana Mapana School, Great Malvern with Maweni outside Tanga (under the headship of Mighty Kilao), and Leigh and Bransford Primary School with Majengo School, in 2010. Meanwhile, down in Devon, Copplestone had been busy developing its link with Donge, and stories of its success had similarly started to spread amongst the schools in the Crediton Learning Community. In 2009, Cheriton Bishop Primary School, about six miles away from Copplestone, established a link with Donge’s ‘mother’ school, Kwakaheza Primary, and in 2010 a further two schools – Newton St. Cyres and Thorverton - took the initial steps to form partnerships with two schools in the same ward as Donge, Ukombosi, and Magaoni Primary Schools respectively. The partnership between Copplestone and Donge Primary Schools not only owes its origins to the Somers Park/Chumbageni partnership, but the ongoing motivation for the development and the organisation of the teachers’ visits that I focus on later in this chapter. Indeed, the ‘Chums’ link is still regarded as the benchmark for a successful partnership within the network and one to be emulated if at all possible.
Figure 4.1 Timeline of partnerships established between England and Tanzania, 2005-2010, with photographs showing the headteachers involved in the research.
4.2 The practices of partnership

So far I have described the partnerships as taking place between ‘schools’ within a network. It was the ‘school’ that partnered another ‘school’, and the description of the partnerships carried the name of the schools combined. School websites in the UK depicted the partnerships as beneficial to the entire school, and the use of ‘school’ as a collective noun suggested that all were equally involved. Schools, in this sense, were portrayed as homogenous entities, operating as one ‘body’. Yet, schools are a heterogeneous collection of teachers, children and teaching assistants that extends beyond the school gate to include parents, governors, and members of the local community. Once established, the partnership was co-constructed by only some of these various actors, through a number of practices and activities that were both spatially and temporally configured.

Firstly, the individual schools conducted certain activities in spatial isolation from their partner school, in the name of the partnership. In the British schools, this could include awareness-raising activities through assemblies and class displays, or projects undertaken by the children concerning the geography or animal life of Tanzania, led by the headteacher or another interested member of staff. Primary school children were considered too young to make the journeys to their partner schools, so there was no opportunity for such educational activities to take place with both Tanzanian and British children in the same space, so for most children, these activities offered the only exposure to the partnership throughout the year. The presence of ‘Donge Garden’ in Copplestone, and Tanzanian artwork and artefacts displayed in the ICT suite, offered a tangible connection to their partners in Tanzania, and prompted frequent comments from the children (see Plate 4.1, p.122). Secondly, there were collective partnership activities that took place in a more temporal manner – these were the embodied ‘reciprocal visits’ of the schoolteachers and the execution of joint curricular projects, at similar times in the schools’ calendars. These practices conferred a perennial rhythm to a partnership, the school year being punctuated and energised by the teacher visits, and supplemented by the joint curricular work that enhanced the visits. School partnerships evolved over time, as more people became involved and practices were extended and embedded into the regular life of the school. Drawing upon my

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This is, however, an option for secondary school children who take place in the GSP programme.
ethnographic fieldwork within the school partnership network, the following sections introduce the various practices that constituted this evolution of partnership.

4.3 Early days: communicating with the other

Once two schools had made the decision to link up in a formal fashion, the first activity was usually to conduct some degree of communication. Initially, it was often just the British headteacher who might be in email or written contact with the headteacher of the Tanzanian school. The schools in the Tanga network differed in the extent of their early communication – Stuart and Saidi exchanged a few emails before they first met, Cheriton Bishop only communicated with Kwakaheza via a third-party, Saidi, until they first met on a Reciprocal Visit in 2010, and Karen at St. James’ Primary School communicated with Juliet in Majana Mapana school extensively in the year before they finally met in 2010. Children form the backbone of any primary school community and, once the idea of a school partnership with another country was mooted in the UK school, or perhaps once a teacher returned from a visit, it was the children that generated the infectious enthusiasm for communicating with their counterparts in Tanzania, confirming the notion that the partnership was a ‘good thing’ to have. In the early stages of the Copplestone/ Donge partnership, the Copplestone children wrote letters to their ‘friends’ in Donge, telling the children about their homes, families and hobbies. The Donge children wrote back, short letters in simple English, offering warm greetings from their country, and saying what they liked to do. Similarities between their lives, as well as the obvious differences, were acknowledged and playing football cropped up frequently. The exchange of letters was not without problems and criticism, however. The British Council, the organisation that manages the funding and training of the programme, for example, discouraged one-to-one communication through pen pal schemes, suggesting they could lead to the accentuation of gender, ethnic, or national stereotypes, perhaps because it would not be conducted in a more formal environment facilitated by teachers. In practice, though, the schools found that getting the children involved in two-way communication was a necessary first-step. Saidi offered the following advice to the teachers in Magaoni and Ukombosi Primary Schools in their earliest stage of setting up a partnership – that it was preferable to exchange drawings, of
Plate 4.1 Art, displays, and artefacts about Tanzania displayed in Copplestone School
themselves, their homes and locality, rather than send written letters. He explained that the Tanzanian children found it difficult to understand the detailed letters from their UK friends, written in English; implicit in this statement was the notion that writing letters back demanded an inordinate amount of teachers’ time and effort to translate each letter back to the UK. The number of Tanzanian teachers with competent levels of written English was limited, and the burden of ensuring the English letters were reciprocated fell to just one or two teachers. In the case of Donge, these were Saidi, an already over-stretched headteacher, and his busy deputy, Cecilia Hiza.

The language of communication between schools was just one issue that had to be negotiated. The medium of communication brought another host of issues into the partnership. Exchanging letters, even drawings, entailed posting large envelopes back and forth that became a costly exercise, for the Tanzanian school in particular. Initial communication could be justified to get the partnership established, but maintaining a level of contact via this method became prohibitively expensive for the Tanzanians. The length of time taken for parcels to be received by each school was also an inhibiting factor. The Copplestone children received letters from Donge School with great excitement at the time, but they were few and far between and initial excitement was short-lived. Schools in both the UK and Tanzania adapted as a result, and children’s work and drawings tended to be parcelled up and sent to the partner school with the visiting teacher. In the flow of the partnership year, the biannual teacher visits functioned as a temporal moment around which children’s communication activities accumulated.

For the reasons stated above, many British schools preferred to communicate via electronic means, particularly as the partnership began to develop. Of course, electronic forms of communication carried their own issues, not least the limited access amongst Tanzanian primary schools to either a computer or electricity supply. The few schools with a computer had the potential to communicate via email or Skype web-conferencing, and if the school had electricity then this could be done at school during school-hours, with the potential of involving children. The commitment of the headteacher to make regular attempts at communication was particularly valued within a partnership. Geoff, headteacher of The Wyche, spoke of his appreciation of Esther’s persistence:
I’ll be honest, I think it’s a strong link because of Esther – [...] she’s fantastic, absolutely fantastic [...] has got her finger on the pulse and is totally on the ball - I mean she’s emailing me regularly and some of the other schools, the emails are not coming through, the communication’s got to be in place, you know we’re Skyping regularly, or she is trying to – I mean, she’s better at keeping the communication going than I am, and I’ve got all the laptops! (Geoff, 30/03/2010)

The teachers at Somers Park appreciated the power of Skype in providing face-to-face encounters with those in Chumbageni, but had recurrent problems in getting the connection to work on a regular basis. They explored the possibility of the problem being caused by a county blocking device to limit ‘personal’ communication, and the school had only just managed to establish a Skype call when we visited the Tanga schools in October 2010, five years after the partnership was established. During an evaluation meeting held during Saidi and Cecilia’s second visit to Copplestone in 2010, the teachers all identified communication as one of their partnership’s principle weaknesses and agreed that children from both schools were eager for more contact with each other. The teachers believed the future success of their partnership rested in enabling the children to communicate via email and Skype, but acknowledged that this was likely to be part of a longer-term plan.

For the majority of schools without a computer, communication remained a problem. For the partnerships to have any chance of working, the Tanga headteachers knew that it was their responsibility to set up a personal email account, and visit Internet cafes in the city centre regularly to check their email accounts, paying the fees out of their own money. For one headteacher in particular, this became an expensive process as repeated trips to the café yielded scant communication from their partner school in the UK, leading to disappointment and frustration. For most Tanzanian headteachers, the trip to the Internet café became a mark of their personal commitment to the partnership. Karen, the headteacher of St. James’ Primary School in Malvern, one of the most recent recruits to the network, explored the possibility of ‘skipping’ technologies and using the mobile telephone as a tool of communication, not only by text messages but also through emails via a roaming Internet connection. For other UK headteachers, it was recognised that sending a text message to alert the Tanga headteacher of an incoming email curtailed much effort and expense on their behalf. Most headteachers recognised the need to overcome the communication
obstacles with their partner schools as soon as possible; The Wyche supported their partner school, Gofu-juu, to connect to the electricity supply and obtain a Broadband internet connection early into their partnership, and the Chumbageni staff room had a new computer station with fast internet access and Skype facilities, taking their communicative capabilities to exciting new levels. There were many conversations during the second visit to Tanga (2010) around Donge’s need for electricity. The costs of connection and the potential for electricity to transform the ways in which the school partners communicated were topics to which their conversation returned throughout the week. Saidi agreed that electricity was the next priority and that he would look into the costs involved. Stuart was thinking ahead strategically and hoping to get some other local schools from the Crediton Learning Community linked with other schools in the Mabawa ward; his idea was that they could cover the cost of putting electricity into Donge collectively. When he discovered the cost would only be about £250, he realised Copplestone would be able to cover it alone. He envisaged Donge becoming a communications ‘hub’ like Chumbageni, with electricity supply, computers, and Internet access, so that the other headteachers from the neighbouring schools could use Donge’s facilities, a project that appealed to Saidi’s growing interest in Information Technology.

Regular, sustained, and quality communication was the hallmark of a thriving partnership, yet for even the longest-standing partnerships, communication between the teachers and children of both schools was rarely a smooth process. All schools recognised the vitally important role that communication played within their partnerships. The UK schools negotiated the challenges of the Tanzanian schools’ access to technology in broadly similar charitable ways, which raised a host of questions about appropriate practices within an equal partnership. For those Tanzanian schools that received computing facilities, the sustainability of maintenance and renewal was an ongoing matter of concern. Moreover, this inevitable trend towards technology revealed certain assumptions underpinning the emergence of a global knowledge economy that require further unpacking (see Chapter Six).
4.4 Securing funding for the next stage

One of the important practices within a partnership was the application for funding.70 The funding of the Global School Partnership programme was the source of subdued but persistent consternation, for both the British and the Tanzanian schools. The UK schools (and only the UK schools), on behalf of the partnership, could access a staggered process of grants that were available for the programme, with each ‘stage’ of funding requiring successful passage through a complex application process. The chief method in which the school partnerships were materialised was through the visits the teachers made to their partner schools. Initially, then, the Reciprocal Visits grant could be sought to enable one teacher to visit from each partner school. The grant, a total of £2100, was procured by schools in the early stages of partnership where they were ‘laying the foundations for long term collaborative work’ (DfID, n.d.b), often following a period of communication as I have indicated above. A number of requirements for the grant were stipulated – a minimum of five days should be spent in school, the funding must be shared between the two partner schools and an equal number of teachers must visit from each school. The funds could of course be supplemented with other money, and most UK schools sent more than one teacher on the first visit to Tanzania.71 The Reciprocal Visit Grant required the completion of a twenty-page application form. An assortment of information was sought regarding the quality and quantity of communication, the levels of support for the partnership that existed within the school and the types of curricular activities already undertaken. In regards to the length and gravity of the forms, there was considerable discussion amongst the headteachers about the pressure of completing the grant applications. The procedure demanded considerable amounts of headteachers’ time and energy and more than one partnership had to be deferred for a year as deadlines were missed.

The strict and complex requirements of the application process necessitated a commensurate level of support and the British Council offered a generous number

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70 These funding opportunities were correct for the duration of my research. Partner schools were debating the future of GSP as early as May 2010, but it was not until January 2011, several months after the completion of my fieldwork, that the review of the programme was announced. The DfID website states that these grants are currently suspended pending review. I discuss the range of grants available for the schools at the time of my involvement with them.

71 Although the main source of funding was through the GSP programme, some schools were able to supplement this through either their own budget or through county contributions. This apparent disparity in funding was noted by one Tanzanian headteacher, following conversations with her fellow teachers in Tanga, and caused a certain degree of discontent.
of avenues for British teachers completing the grant applications. Detailed guidance notes accompanied the application form. There were options to contact the regional co-ordinator, to attend one of the regular grant application seminars or twilight sessions, to follow an online seminar, or even submit a draft application for detailed feedback. However, amongst the network of schools involved in my research, the extent to which this support was utilised was surprisingly limited. As far as I was aware, not one teacher within the network had attended a seminar, with many expressing interest but having no time or supply cover to attend. To gain more insight into the grant application process, I attended a British Council ‘Grant Preparation Seminar’ in Exeter in March 2010, which was free for teachers involved in or thinking about getting involved in GSP. The well-attended full day’s training involved exploring the ‘Building Blocks at Reciprocal Visit level’, an overview of the GSP grants available, a discussion on the nature of Global Education, and notification of support available from the local Development Education Centre (DEC). A number of curriculum projects were critically analysed, and the collective generation of curricular ideas was enthusiastic and bountiful. Finally, around ninety minutes of the workshop was devoted to a step-by-step guide to completing the Curriculum Project Grant application form. The process was welcomed by the group, many of whom claimed a fair degree of ‘overwhelm’ when they had investigated the programme - ‘so many pots of gold to go for’, as one participant phrased it. The facilitators were at pains to assure people that if they followed the guidelines carefully, they were more than likely to be successful in securing the funding. Most schools involved in my research were indeed successful in their applications. Only one failed to get the grant but was then entered into a second round, in which they were subsequently successful. In addition, comprehensive reports had to be written following the visits, cataloguing the learning and professional outcomes of the partnership.

A full-day amended training programme was also available to the Tanzanian teachers and was organised by the British Council office in Dar-es-Salaam. Periodic training sessions were convened in the locations of the three partnership clusters, and many teachers in Tanga attended. Although it did not focus on the funding procedure, the responsibility for which lay solely with the British schools, the session included information about the aims and objectives of school partnerships, suggestions for curricular projects, and guidance on the ‘mutuality’
of the programme. The Tanga teachers spoke animatedly about the opportunity to attend the workshop, and welcomed the information they gleaned.

Back in the UK, once the grant application form was completed and submitted for the March 31st deadline, there followed a period of uncertainty regarding the outcome, during which expectations in both partner schools were high. A panel appointed by the British Council appraised the application, and if it was considered to meet the necessary criteria, the grant was awarded and the UK school was free to organise the reciprocal teacher visits to, and from, Tanzania. Decisions were not made until late April of each year, meaning that schools were unable to plan visits until the Summer Term. The teacher visits from Tanzania to the UK tended to be in these summer months, affording a very brief window for their organisation. Taking advantage of cheaper airfares by planning months ahead, for example, was rarely possible, ensuring that the bulk of the grants were taken up with airfares.72

The reciprocal visits required a considerable degree of organisation in the schools in both the UK and Tanzania. The funding, for example, stipulated that visits took place during the partner school’s term-time – and this was different for the Tanzanian schools, with their long end-of-year holidays at Christmas and January. The UK teachers tended to visit Tanzania in the coolest season in late October, before the heavy rains began. This coincided with the October half-term break, requiring little, or no, supply cover. Many of the schools within the network visited Tanga at similar times and Geoff, headteacher of The Wyche, described the organisation of these visits, with sometimes over twenty teachers taking part, as a ‘well-oiled machine’. These teachers’ visits punctuated the partnership calendar, in June/July and October, and provided the crucial motivation and energy that underpinned the partnerships.

The second source of funding available through the GSP programme was called the Curriculum Projects Grant and led to another important practice within the partnerships, that of educational projects on global issues. Providing up to a total of £6200 for a period of three years, it was open to UK schools with well-established partnerships that were ‘developing joint curricular activities based on

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72 Recent global events also had an impact on the ‘value’ of the grant. Following the Icelandic ash cloud in April 2010, which severely curtailed global flights from Europe, the average price of an airfare to Tanzania rose from £475 to £750.
global education’ (DfID, n.d.b).73 The funding was granted on successful completion of a thirty-four-page form, detailing the joint curriculum project that the two schools would develop between them. Costs for further teacher visits and curricular materials could be included. Some schools included the development of communication, knowing it to be integral to the success of the joint curricular projects. The grant also stipulated that both schools shared the development of the project, and the application required a signed declaration from the Tanzanian school, as well as evidence throughout the application of shared endeavour. Guidance notes state that ‘failure to provide such a letter will render the application ineligible’ (DfID, n.d.b). This was a shared activity that was supposed to take place on the reciprocal visit to the partner school, but in practice this was rarely straightforward. The St. James’/ Majana Mapana partnership was one of the few that I encountered that managed to share the development of the project as it was intended. Karen, the headteacher of the British school, sent the paperwork over to Tanzania, and Juliet, head of Majana Mapana, contributed her ideas for the curricular projects and returned the form. According to George Agango, there were, however, more frequent occurrences of Tanzanian schools signing agreements or agreeing to applications that they had no part in completing, and in some cases, might not even have seen.

This point spoke to one of the central tenets of the entire Global School Partnership programme - the intention to conduct the partnerships in a spirit and practice of mutuality and equality. The requirements for both the Reciprocal Visit and the Curriculum Project Grants clearly stated that the school partnerships must be ‘founded on equity-based relationships’ (DfID, n.d.b). I reflected with Saidi on the potential for equality in the partnerships, and although he believed that inequality could not be avoided due to the nature of relationship between the North and South, he felt the governance structure put in place by DfID and the British Council ensured it was as equal as it could be, through the partnership agreement and equal funding for an equal number of teachers. The numbers of Tanzanian teachers visiting England were decided by the British schools, a fact accepted by the Tanzanian headteachers. Aware that five Copplestone teachers visited Donge in 2010, compared to two from Donge, Saidi reassured me he was ‘proud’ that so

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73 There was some confusion over this figure. I believed it was the total grant received for three years’ curriculum work in the partnership, but Stuart Bushy informed me recently that he had just received his second lot of £6200, and that he believed it was £6200 per year for three years.
many had come as it increased the learning potential. This key concept of mutuality was recurrently contested through the practice and materiality of the partnerships (see Chapter Five).

4.5 Curriculum projects

Various curriculum projects were conducted within the partnerships, forming the focus of the Curriculum Projects Grants and a point of interest around which communication took place. Schools approached the matter of curricular projects in different ways. Stuart Sewell spoke of the unique route that the partnerships took through the choice of project, but recognised that only certain types of project could be functionally pursued by both schools:

You will hopefully have seen lots of gardening, sustainability work because you can physically talk about that between the schools. You can do artwork between the schools, show each other dance and drama – so you are bound by the language barrier and the resources barrier and the cultural barrier, but what crosses that is sustainability, water, the grounds, growing things… (Stuart Sewell, 30/09/2009)

One of the key obstacles to designing shared curricular activities was the pressured nature of the school week. The British teachers admitted they had far greater flexibility in their timetable, like the ‘Fantastic Fridays’ in Copplestone, in which they could incorporate partnership work, but for the Tanzanian teachers, the constraints of timetable, curriculum and examinations ensured that there was scant opportunity for any extra-curricular projects. As a result, curricular projects were often conducted during the teachers’ visits to Tanzania, when the ‘special’ occasion of the visits allowed space and time to be made within the tight timetable. Stuart Busby had a familiar refrain that the partnership work should not to be seen as a ‘bolt-on’ to the Copplestone curriculum, but should aim to be ‘embedded’ and ‘enrich’ the existing curriculum. The extent to which this was achieved was ambiguous. Some teachers recognised that those teachers who had not participated in a visit to Tanzania had difficulties in embedding the global dimension into the curriculum. For another school, the curriculum projects that had been meticulously planned before their visit to Tanzania had to be altered, and in some cases, abandoned once they were in school. The plan for getting the Tanzanian children to take home the ‘class toy’ brought from the British school was deemed inappropriate by the headteacher who stated that it would not be
returned, and the water diaries that were to be filled in at home were deemed unsuitable for the children’s domestic circumstances.\textsuperscript{74} Other projects started enthusiastically with gardening, initiated by the Tanzanian headteacher, and went on to exchanging playground games and recipes, and creating a book following the seasons.

The most tangible element of the partnerships’ curricular projects was witnessed through the material transformation of the school spaces, such as through gardening projects (see Plate 4.2, p.132).\textsuperscript{75} School gardens were initiated by many of the schools involved in the partnership network, with the Tanzanian schools generally leading the way in the creation and integration of garden projects into their pupils’ learning. The British teachers were inspired by their Tanzanian partners’ endeavours in the gardens. When Karen visited Majana Mapana, it was the care of the school manifested in the beautiful and productive gardens that stayed with her. Geoff believed the extraordinary garden development at Gofu-juu put his school’s meagre attempts to shame. Copplestone developed a garden in the early stages of the partnership but the ‘Copplestone Garden’, created in Donge, was used on a regular basis for work-experience and enterprise skills. Cecilia proudly informed me that, inspired by his experience in Donge, one child had started a lucrative business selling vegetables he had grown in his own garden, even back to the teachers in Donge. Despite this evident productivity, comparisons were made with the Copplestone garden by the Donge teacher charged with running of the garden, Joachim, who stated that he had seen photographs of the garden at Copplestone and that Donge’s garden was ‘\textit{not as good}’ as theirs.

\textsuperscript{74} British teachers took their classes’ ‘pet toys’ to Tanzania so that photographs could be taken with the partner pupils, showing the toy in a different context, and literacy activities could be conducted around the toy’s ‘experience’. The water diaries were designed to ask Tanzanian families about their domestic water usage to feed into the joint science project about water.

\textsuperscript{75} The other way in which school spaces were transformed was through mural painting projects on the external school walls. There was a whole other story about the process of choosing and executing the murals that, unfortunately, I have no space to describe in detail here.
Plate 4.2 Gardens in Cheriton Bishop (top left), Gofu-juu, Copplestone, Donge)
So far in this chapter, I have introduced the wider network of partnerships within which the Copplestone/Donge partnership was situated, and described the range of practices that were undertaken within the partnerships. It is important to state, however, that these practices occupied relatively little time in the school year. I heard how weeks or months could pass, certainly in the early stages, where the partnerships received little formal attention in each partner school. It was the ‘teacher visit’ that became the fundamental practice in the construction of a school partnership, the key moment within the partnership year when decisions were made, relationships were forged, and plans for the future were imagined. If the partnership felt somewhat tenuous and neglected during much of the school year, then these visits served to invigorate the partnership and fuel a sense of its ongoing creation and affective value. Multiple stories arose from these visits, both to and from Tanzania, and the remainder of this chapter is devoted to the ‘encounters’ that took place between the Northern and Southern partners, in these visits.

In the following section, I present a descriptive overview of the four teacher visits that took place over a period of eighteen months between Copplestone and Donge Primary Schools, charting the chronology and main activities of the visits. Although each reciprocal visit was a discrete and chronological event, it is important to view the visits as part of the progression of the partnership, as events that were always in the process of accumulating stories, reflections, and affective currency. The visits represented moments and spaces in which emotions, personal biographies, and wider socio-cultural narratives converged. In their entirety, these teacher visits constituted a complex emotional topography over which the teachers traversed.

4.6 A cultural geography of ‘encounters’

The reciprocal visits between teachers in the North and South had their own geography, in which historical, cultural, and social discourses collided. Encounters between the two communities occurred in specific places of Copplestone and Tanga, which could ‘never [be] free from history, material conditions, and power’ (Valentine, 2008: 333). The teachers that encountered their ‘partners’ overseas followed in a long line of historic convergence of different bodies in such locales.
This complex socio-cultural genealogy was rarely experienced by the participants in a conscious manner, although subtle references to cultural narratives were touched upon, hinting at their underlying affective power in the teachers’ experiences.

The ‘cross-cultural’ or intercultural encounter, between the Global North and South, has a long cultural history, and it is important to contextualise the reciprocal teacher visits within this temporal framework. Travellers and armies have encountered distant ‘others’ for millennia and writers have captured those encounters in stories for almost as long. European world exploration began in the Middle Ages, leading to the triangle of the slave trade between Europe, West Africa, and the Americas, and later to an era of economic and cultural imperialism, in which Europeans encountered, captured, dominated, and exploited indigenous people from Africa, Latin America, and Asia. The occurrence of cross-cultural encounters increased rapidly in the early years of the twentieth century, as the world witnessed periods of mass migration to the industrialising nations. A rapidly globalised world in the twenty-first century now entails greater mobility of people for employment, leisure, education, and asylum, leading to an exponential increase in encounters between people from different cultures, ethnicity, and heritage. As Stuart Hall claimed, the key challenge for this century is surely how we will learn to live with difference, brought about in the material moment of the ‘encounter’ (in Valentine, 2008).

The cross-cultural encounter has been considered from a multiplicity of perspectives. The range of academic disciplines taking an interest in the phenomenon comprises social and cultural anthropology, social psychology, communication studies, linguistics, intercultural business relations, tourism studies, sociology, area, race and migration studies, and human geography. Research has considered not only how cross-cultural encounters play out in a performative sense, but also how relations between different people may be instrumentally improved through this knowledge. Such work includes enhancing the intercultural encounter from a linguistic and pedagogic viewpoint (see Dasli, 2011), promoting business acumen through understanding diverse cultural interpretations, working towards awareness of dominant cultural interpretations.

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76 The writings of Herodotus, for example, which have been eloquently explored by Kapuscinski, 2008.
of encounters, and reworking these to facilitate ethical encounters with ‘others’ in tourist contexts (Gibson, 2010). Work within urban geography has raised questions of how to represent affective encounters (Laurier & Philo, 2006) and how encounters amongst different people in our urban centres can become ‘meaningful contact’ and markers of citizenship (Valentine, 2008: 325). Notably, most work has been conducted within the areas of urban geography, new urban citizenship, and cosmopolitanism, in which the key question is how different ‘others’ can reside in proximity in a productive and ethical spirit of diversity and acceptance (see for example, Popke, 2007; Yeoh, 2004; Mohan, 2004; Amin, 2002; 2004). Finally, there is also a movement within education and community development towards the promotion of positive encounters with difference, with a view to enhancing intercultural relations.

Following Zelinsky’s work on the sister-city movement in the United States, Clarke (2011) argues that the town-twinning movement that originated in Western Europe after the Second World War offered an intercultural device that extends care across distance. In a similar manner, DfID’s GSP programme can be considered as one of the latest additions to the ‘many related forms of transnational activity that are profoundly restructuring the ways whereby the peoples of the world deal with each other’ (Zelinsky, 1991: 28). The school partnership is a device that brings formerly distant strangers closer, in both spatial and relational terms. In the case of town-twinning, there is an assumption that it is the contact between distant people that generates understanding, leading to friendship, reciprocity, and care for the other. Following a similar model, the school partnerships offered opportunities for contact, and the teacher visits indeed led to enduring friendships, marked by discourses of commonality and care.

The teacher visits of the global school partnership could be interpreted through a variety of these perspectives, but what was perhaps most notable to an onlooker is that the encounter took place between people of different cultures, and perhaps most visible to the local communities, different colours. Although ‘race’ has been recognised as an ‘outmoded’ concept (Fryer, 1993: 26) and has been cast aside by geneticists and social anthropologists alike, its construction through geographical, cultural, and psychological processes cannot be neglected. From a phenomenological perspective, the arrival of black bodies in white, rural spaces
and white bodies in black, urban spaces, called forth hidden histories and geographies. Such cross-cultural encounters have their precedents in long histories of bodily presence in the ‘other’ land. In these school partnerships, the visits of black Africans to a small, rural Devon village highlighted the absence of colour in the white rural spaces of England. The two consecutive visits of the Tanzanian teachers, to the rural village of Copplestone in the heart of the ‘white highlands’ of Devon (Bonnett, 2003), provided its villagers rare exposure to people of colour. Although seemingly ‘racially unmarked’, rural English areas are in fact extremely white spaces, as geographers and others have highlighted in the past twenty years (Cloke & Little, 1997; Agyeman & Spooner, 1997; Kinsman, 1995; Jay, 1992; Agyeman, 1989). It is unlikely that either Saidi and Cecilia, or the local residents of Copplestone, were aware of these past and present undercurrents of racial spatiality in England, but shadows of ‘race’ certainly lingered in the wings of these village encounters.\textsuperscript{77}

In contrast, the white British teachers of the Global School Partnership programme followed in a long history of the \textit{mzungu} in Africa.\textsuperscript{78} In the case of the partnerships in this thesis, the encounters occurred in two countries connected historically through colonial protectorship. Simpson (2005) charts the genealogy of the gap year, from missionaries, explorers, and imperialists, through to current-day development practitioners, volunteers, and tourists and, through this historical trajectory, she demonstrates how the discourse of the ‘colonial gaze’ lingers on in the modern discourse of development and tourism. The Global South is constructed as the ‘developing’ world, in opposition to the ‘developed’ world, and it is this continued binary that provides the context for, and legitimates, North-South encounters, like the gap year volunteering projects and school partnerships. Indeed, through its North-South orientation and tendency to enter into charitable relationships, the school partnership programme has been criticised for coming ‘dangerously near to epitomising a new form of colonialism which endorses the traditional stereotypes of the dependency of people in the South’ (Disney, 2004: n.p.). In addition, it is important to remember the place of the Global School Partnership programme in the British government’s ‘new’ development policy,

\textsuperscript{77}This is a topic that Stuart Busby and I discussed on a number of occasions. The insipient racism within white rural villages such as Copplestone was one of the chief motivations for Stuart setting up a partnership.

\textsuperscript{78}‘Mzungu’ is a Swahili descriptor that refers generally to a white European. It is a term that white travellers in Africa are unable to avoid, and causes much debate. It is not a derogatory or rude term, merely a description.
whose promotional literature and policy directives have been critiqued for echoing ‘the apologetic literature of the new imperialism’ that writes out Britain’s history of colonialism (Biccum, 2005: 1018). The trope of the ‘innocent traveller abroad’, usually applied to tourist encounters, can also be invoked in the context of the school partnerships (Simpson, 2005: 29). Due to severe constraints on their professional time before the visits, the British teachers were rarely able to prepare in any depth for their travels and encounters. Without the pedagogic intervention of a ‘study visit’, like the TiDE visit to The Gambia in which I participated, they had little opportunity for reflecting upon their own positionality within a former colonial context. Simpson argues that by not accepting responsibility for reflecting upon their own and others’ subjectivities, they ‘sentence themselves to producing knowledges that can only ever be, at best, ahistorical and, at worst, exploitive; knowledges inevitably based on superficial appearances’ (Simpson, 2005: 29). The knowledges produced in the visits, perhaps ‘superficial’, underpinned the two narratives that I found emerging from the reciprocal visits (see Chapters Five and Six).

Simpson’s critique of the gap year as a continuation of colonial discourse presents a powerful argument, and the encounters between teachers in the school partnerships must certainly be considered within this frame. However, despite sharing a number of characteristics with the gap year, or international voluntourism projects, the global school partnership possessed subtleties that set it apart from these familiar tropes of North-South encounter. Although the concept remains highly contested, the emphasis on partnership between schools offered at the very least the potential for lingering colonial remnants of inequality and power, still present in economic globalisation, to be appeased over time, through human encounters and the development of relationships. The British Council was clear that the partnership’s aims should be focused on shared learning, rather than charitable action, and on building mutuality, reciprocity, and equity between the partners. Despite these aims, they acknowledged the British schools’ disposition to ‘help’, and hoped to mitigate this through training and resources designed to encourage schools adopt a more progressive approach. The partnerships were also located within schools which were, by default, learning contexts. Rather than ‘gap year’ or international volunteering projects, which place an emphasis on ‘teaching’ the locals rather than learning from them, the school partnerships
featured teachers who were familiar with professional reflection on their practice through ongoing school development processes, opening the possibility for some degree of learning through involvement in a partnership over a period of time. The nature of that learning could not be predetermined, and this process is troubled further in Chapter Six. Critically, the partnerships entailed the Southern teachers’ visit to Britain as invited guests in their partners’ schools, an encounter far less familiar than the travels of the *mzungu* in Africa in recent history and which, in itself, began to unsettle the historical relationship between the two countries.

The reciprocal teacher visits of the GSP offered opportunities for encounters between those in the Global North and South, which brought together complex cultural and historical trajectories, imbued with inequality and power. If I was to adopt the approach that Simpson (2005) has taken with the similar cultural practice of the gap year, it would be tempting to condemn the practice of school partnerships out of hand, but I argue that this interpretation leaves little room for the multiple tales that constitute the story of the partnerships. Conducting an ethnography, I sought to delve deeper into these critiques and to tell a richer story. In the remainder of this chapter, then, I begin to tell the stories that complicate this reading, and which privilege more material and emotional geographies of the North-South encounter.

### 4.7 The Reciprocal Visits

The British Council supplied funding for ‘reciprocal visits’ between the teaching staff of the partner schools, and for Copplestone and Donge, this has so far entailed seven visits. For both British and Tanzanian teachers, these visits comprised activity beyond their normal teaching workload. There was substantial practical organisation that took place prior to the visits, as the participating teachers made both professional and personal preparations. The visits themselves entailed travelling long distances to the partner school’s country, in the personal time of the teachers, being accommodated in local homes or hotels, meeting the local teachers in both social and school locations, and spending time in their partner schools. Essentially, the visits offered scope for two significant experiences - an intense period of opportunity for cross-cultural encounters, both in and outside school

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79 This includes one before I began my research, in 2008, and two since I completed it, in June 2011, and October 2011.
spaces, and between members of the school community and beyond, and secondly, the sharing of educational experiences in school that provided the official hallmark of global school partnerships. An overview of the four visits, between July 2009 and October 2010, can be found in Appendix I, including the people involved, key events and schedules, and organisational details.

Figure 4.2 The reciprocal visits of the Copplestone-Donge partnership 2008-2010

4.7.1 The nature of encounters

Ethnography opens up space for critical readings of social phenomenon to occur. As a participant in the visits, I was able to stand back and observe the encounters between the teachers and other members of the school community, as well as being intimately involved in my own encounters with others. Bearing in mind that the British Council advocates partnership rooted in mutuality and equity, it was important to interrogate the teachers’ experiences during the visits, and to problematise their ‘nature’ by asking a series of questions that afforded opportunities for critical reflection. To what extent did the encounters with ‘different’ others, in a distant land, serve to lay the foundation of the partnerships? How did they do this? How far were teachers able to forge mutual relationships, founded in equality and respect? To answer these questions, I address a number of elements that characterised the reciprocal visits, in no particular chronological order. At each step, I seek to highlight the meanings the participating teachers attached to the encounters, whilst at the same time casting a critical eye over the performance of their encounters.

Firstly, the ‘mutuality’ of the partnership may be unsettled from the very outset, as one considers the differential acts that each school underwent in preparation for
its visit, and the physical travel to the distant country. These acts of preparation and travel were more straightforward for some teachers than for others; differential mobilities worked within these encounters, which were often simply overlooked or accepted in visit preparations as just the ‘way things were’. Critiquing such ‘inevitable’ matters hinted at the hidden historical, cultural and political processes at work in the constitution of (im)mobile bodies in a globalised world.

The process of applying for permission to enter their partner’s country, even as part of a government funded programme, presented a striking example. For the British teachers, acquiring a visa to visit Tanzania was a relatively simple matter. The application form could be downloaded quickly through a Broadband connection to the website of the Tanzanian High Commission. A few details were required – names and addresses of contacts in Tanzania, purpose of visit – and then the form was completed and posted back to the commission in London, together with a postal order for the sum of some forty pounds, readily available from a national network of Post Offices. Alternatively, a three-month tourist visa could be attained at the port of entry, in this case Dar-es-Salaam airport, for fifty US dollars. This process reportedly involved some queuing, never fun after a long journey and as such, all of the British teachers applied for their tourist visas online, in the weeks preceding the visit. Their visas were all approved and returned promptly.

In stark contrast, the Tanzanian teachers faced a number of obstacles in acquiring visas for entry into the United Kingdom. Like Tanzania, the United Kingdom required ‘visa nationals’ from a host of countries to obtain a visa for entry into the UK. Strict immigration regulations stated that a number of criteria must be met by visitors to the UK, including having sufficient funds to travel, having no intention to remain for longer than six months, and having no intention to take up employment, paid or otherwise (Home Office, n.d.). The average salary of a Tanzanian teacher was around ninety pounds a month and, consequently, there was significant difficulty in providing evidence of sufficient funds for their stay in the UK. Fortunately, the teachers taking part in the Global School Partnership programme were able to draw on guidance from the British Council in Dar-es-Salaam in completing visa applications, and in securing letters of recommendation. This had
to be dealt with in person, and required the headteachers to make a ten-hour round trip from Tanga, costing around six pounds on the bus and usually necessitating an overnight stay in the city. A short-term visitor visa to the UK costs £76 (Home Office, n.d.). Costs were, of course, reimbursable from the partnership funds (held by the British schools) but recurring problems with the transference of money into Tanzanian bank accounts meant that the visa fees for the visit to the UK in June 2010 had not reached the teachers in Tanga by the time of writing. Halifa, from Chumbageni, found the process of applying for a visa to visit the ‘Chums’ partner The Key School, in the United States, to be even more challenging.

The British and Tanzanian teachers were subjected to differential border regulations, and consequently state power affected their spatial mobility in different ways. Power resounded in individual, embodied space, as the Tanzanian teachers faced personal inconvenience, frustration, and disproportionate cost in their applications to visit the United Kingdom. This stratification of mobility struck at the heart of the British Council’s desire for the school partnerships to be models of equality and mutuality, and began to speak to the wider political and historical processes of power, capital, and mobility at play in these partnerships.

The visits of the teachers to their partner schools accounted for a fraction of the school year – just five days in Copplestone, and barely three days in Donge, in 2009 - and yet they extended a powerful affective reach beyond this brief spell. In each school, in the weeks preceding their partners’ visit, preparations were made to facilitate the movement of the group of teachers from one school, in one continent, to the other. Plans were made, timetables deliberated over, meetings scheduled, and conversations amongst children and adults took place within, and beyond, the school walls. For the teachers taking part in the visit to Tanzania for the first time in October 2009, this period of preparation conjured imagined geographies of Tanzania, and evoked feelings of hope and expectation, as well as fear and anxiety.

The reflection group that I organised a few weeks prior to this visit afforded a space in which the teachers were able to express and share these multiple feelings. These included hopes that they would be ‘welcomed’, that it ‘would promote the link further’, that they would ‘see some similarities between the cultures as well as differences’, and that somehow they could ‘get beyond that language barrier’ and be
able to communicate. Their fears chiefly centred on the unpredictability of the visit, particularly in material terms - illness, insect bites, fatigue, unfamiliar heat and humidity, strange beds, and unpredictable food. There was a sense for all of the teachers that they were embarking on an adventure, with many unknowns ahead, for which they would need to be prepared through taking personal equipment (mosquito nets, medicines, secure luggage, hand gel, ‘wet-wipes’, insecticides), having vaccinations, and taking out travel insurance. On their second visit in October 2010, the returning teachers noticed that they approached their preparations with far less trepidation, and were able to share their ‘top tips’ with their fellow teachers who were going for the first time. It was not only the teachers themselves that were involved in preparations; to a limited extent, the school children were also enrolled in the teachers’ imagined geographies of the visits to Tanzania. On the day before the 2009 visit, I observed a lesson in Naomi’s class in which she skilfully facilitated a question-and-answer session with the six-year old children, asking them to analyse photographs, and a video of Donge School, that Stuart had taken the previous year. The children discussed the similarities they could see (grass, windows, garden, bicycles, noises of the school), and the differences they observed. Naomi made it clear that their knowledge had originated from their headteacher’s visit the previous year, and that her visit would give them the opportunity to find the answers to further questions they had about the country and people’s lifestyles.

On arrival in their partners’ country, the business of ‘encounter’ began in earnest, starting from the earliest moments off the plane. These encounters, between the British teachers and the material, cultural, and economic components of Tanzania, were both embodied and emotional, and created the emotional ‘flavour’ of the entire visit. It was also these encounters, in the spaces in and out of school, which produced and reinforced the cultural ‘meanings’ and relations that constituted the partnership itself. As a participant in the visits, I wondered what effect the practical organisation of the visits - including matters of timing, accommodation, size of group, and choice of transport – had upon the teachers’ experiences. Firstly, the timing of the British teachers’ visits to Tanzania during the ten-day break in the Autumn Term had significant implications. The Autumn Term in England is notorious amongst teachers for its longevity. Following an industrious half-term in which primary teachers get to know entirely new classes, the late October break
offers a welcome respite. However, the Tanzanian climate and school year (which runs January to December) called for the visits to take place during this holiday. The teachers on the 2009 visit were clear that spending time within their partner schools was the most important element of their visit, meaning that the time spent beforehand - travelling to Tanga, and engaging in other cultural activities, such as visiting the slave port of Bagamoyo, or even walking round Tanga town - were perceived as side-lines to the main event of the school visit (Plate 4.3, p.144).

There was an emphasis on action; doing activities within the schools, teaching and observing lessons, helping the Tanzanian staff with the children. In later interviews, several teachers commented ruefully on the exhausting half-term leading up to Christmas that was exacerbated by their visit to Tanzania. On the second visit, the Copplestone teachers were acutely aware that the visit would take up every last moment of their time-off, requiring any preparation for the following half-term to be carried out before they left for Tanzania, and that they anticipated exhaustion on their return to school, often only a day or two after they flew home. The anticipation of this exhaustion, particularly for the returning teachers, ensured that they arrived in Tanzania with a clear mind that, for at least a small percentage of the time, they were indeed on ‘holiday’. On the second visit, as the group arrived on the Friday afternoon and were not expected in school until the Monday morning, the weekend was viewed as a time of recreation and fun, rather than a time for cultural learning, or ‘school business’. On Sunday, a visit to the beautiful beach of Pangani allowed time for relaxation, as well as for getting acquainted with the Donge teachers, Saidi, Joaquim, Zaineb, and Shedrack from Kwakaheza. The 2010 group held a rather different perspective on the ‘other’ cultural experiences that the visit afforded. For them, wandering around the market, or through the industrial area of Tanga, gave them unique insights into the economic and cultural life of the city, enriching their experience of the visit, but also producing knowledge of the cultural context of their partners that fed unseen into their subsequent relations.

80 In fact, the first four days of their visit to Tanzania were taken up with these activities. It was not until the fifth day that the teachers finally got to see their partner schools.
Plate 4.3 Visiting other sites of interest in Tanzania: Bagamoyo, Peponi, Pangani
The choice of accommodation for the British teachers shaped their experience of being in Tanzania. On the first visit, the entire group of twenty-four Malvern and Copplestone teachers stayed at the Panori Hotel, three miles out of town in Raz Kazone, the ‘European’ district of Tanga (Plate 4.4, p.144). Western visitors to Africa are often perceived as failing to experience the ‘real’ Africa, by choosing to stay in luxurious hotels away from the centres of local population. Although not ‘luxurious’ by Western classification, a room at the Panori Hotel cost £25 a night, almost one third of a Tanzanian teacher’s average monthly salary.81 For many of the teachers, the Panori Hotel offered a peaceful place to return to in the evening after long, busy days at their partner schools. By contrast, the Tanzanian teachers, on visiting England, stayed in local bed and breakfast accommodation in Malvern (at the humorously named ‘Cow Shed’), or with local families, as was the case in Copplestone. Both Saidi and Cecilia agreed that staying with families had been a unique opportunity to get to know how English families live on a daily basis. On the other hand, one participant admitted that staying with a local family in Tanga would ‘phase’ her, and that her ‘saving grace was after everything was done, I could have a couple of hours chilling’ in the hotel. At the time, I was equally grateful for my air-conditioned room in the Panori, with clean, white linen sheets and hot showers. In retrospect, staying at the hotel distanced the group from the local life in the Tanga, and heightened the cultural and economic separation between the British and the Tanzanian teachers.

The hotel’s distance out of town, in the quiet suburbs, had another consequence on the teachers’ experience. It was some distance to walk into town, and so the group of Tanzanian headteachers organised a private bus, complete with full-time driver, to transport the large group of teachers around en masse for the duration of the visit. Mobilities are produced by, and the products of, social relations imbued with power (Cresswell, 2010). The location of Tanga, five hours’ driving distance to the north of Dar-es-Salaam, demanded a certain mobility strategy for the British teachers. The choices for making this journey from A to B were threefold – taking one of the many public coaches that ply back and forth along the highway between the cities, taking the small aeroplane from the capital to Tanga, or hiring a private bus to transport the teachers. A combination of financial constraints, the careful

81 I was informed of one headteacher (not part of my research) who wanted to stay in even greater luxury, in the only 4* international hotel in Tanga, the Mkonge.
consideration of relative safety of each option, and the numbers of teachers involved, led to the decision to travel by private bus.\textsuperscript{82} The embodied practices of moving around are an important, but overlooked, factor in the politics of mobility (Cresswell, 2010). The journey to Tanga was a bumpy, hot and uncomfortable one, which took over ten hours including a detour to Bagamoyo on the coast, and an overly long lunch break in a resort hotel. The embodied experiences of the travellers on that journey led to the bus being nicknamed the ‘fun bus’, a name that persisted over two visits to Tanzania (Plate 4.4, p.147). For the rest of the week, the bus ferried us between the hotel and the Tanga schools. The journey in the morning, around all of the backstreets of Tanga, mostly unpaved, and potholed after the heavy rains, could take anything up to two hours. The reverse journey was conducted in the afternoon. We were one of the first to be dropped off at Donge School in the mornings, and also the first to be collected in the afternoon, which sometimes resulted in a ninety minute wait on a hot bus whilst the rest of the teachers were collected. For the Copplestone teachers, this began to wear thin by the end of the week and assisted their decision to go as a separate group the following year and organise their own transport with Saidi.

The bus acquired a multiplicity of meanings for the British teachers in Tanzania but, for many teachers, the memories of the embodied practice prevailed. Reflecting on the visit some months later, many teachers groaned when they saw the photograph of the ‘fun bus’; all had something to say about the uncomfortable experience of being on the bus for long periods of time during the week; some, but very few, noted that the Tanzanians teachers never appeared to complain, quietly bearing the discomfort and the crowding. For other teachers, the bus represented a loss of personal power. It was a particularly revealing moment when I showed Sheila the map of Tanga, and the proximity of her partner school, Darajani, to the Panori Hotel. She considered herself to be a ‘really good traveller’, who was perfectly happy to go for walks alone in the neighbourhood, something other members of the group were anxious to do, choosing to remain within the security of the hotel, and projecting their fears onto Sheila who was deemed to be ‘wandering off’.

\textsuperscript{82} The public coaches have poor safety records in Tanzania. Just weeks after we left Tanzania in October 2009, there was a major coach collision with a lorry on the same road we had travelled, and over thirty people were killed, and many more badly injured.
Plate 4.4 Accommodation and transport in Tanga: Panori Hotel, the 'fun bus', Mbuyu Kenda, and 'fun bus II'
The unspoken meaning projected onto Sheila’s choice (had she had one) to walk, was a rather protective one, implying that the space beyond the hotel, or even the bus, was filled with unspoken dangers. The experience of not having a map of the city, and not having the freedom to roam at will, as she could at home, or anywhere else if she had been travelling alone, was extremely disempowering for Sheila, and had a profound effect on her opportunity to be ‘out there’ experiencing Tanzanian life in its fullest. On her last night in Tanga, Sheila wanted to visit Elinipa at her house, but again, the prevailing opinion amongst the teachers was for the need to stick together. In contrast, when the Tanzanian teachers visited England, they often visited people alone, on invitation to their houses.

This small scenario spoke to larger concerns about travelling en masse around Tanga, often in a private bus. A politics of mobility was inscribed on the streets of Tanga, as people’s socio-economic status was identified through the various personal mobility options available. The poorest people in Tanga walked everywhere, limited to the distance their bodies could take them in the heat. The next cheapest option was to take public transport or daladala, which headteachers like Mama Mushi and Elinipa used, costing a flat rate of thirty pence to reach anywhere in the city.83 The next step up the socio-economic ladder was to acquire a bicycle, which at around forty pounds for a second-hand Japanese ex-hire bike, required considerable economic means. The next tier was the piki-pikis, an expensive, but favoured, transport choice of young professional men, like Saidi and Halifa.84 For the wealthier amongst the population, an increasing number of small cars could be seen on the roads; just one teacher, Nipa, owned her own car. The large sports-utility-vehicles (SUV) were the preserve of wealthy businessmen in the local cement or sisal industries, or European ex-patriots or NGO workers. For the group of visiting British teachers, then, being transported in a private bus, incongruous anywhere but on the largest roads in Tanga, was a conspicuous act that set the group of wazungu apart in a specific social, cultural, and economic context.85 Some teachers recalled feeling conspicuous on the bus. Others considered the bus to be ‘a little bubble’, the glass windows shielding them from experiencing the materiality of the world outside. The reliance on a bus to

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83 The daladala is the local transport in Tanzania, usually a small 13-seater Hiace minibus, with seats in the back.
84 A piki-piki is the Tanzanian term for a motorbike, usually 50 or 150cc.
85 Wazungu is the plural of mzungu.
transport the group around Tanga meant that any opportunities for serendipitous encounters on the street were minimised.

As I mentioned earlier, the ‘fun bus’ experience prompted Stuart Busby to consider alternative transport arrangements for their second visit in October 2010. During the Tanzanians’ visit to Copplestone in June 2010, Stuart and I began to discuss the possibility of staying in Mbuyu Kenda, a Lutheran hostel located very close to the centre of town (Plate 4.4, p.147). After the group had left Tanga the previous October, I remained in Tanga to continue my fieldwork, moving to the cheaper hostel. It was one of the local hostels in which Tanzanians stayed if they were on church business and came recommended by Saidi and Halifa. I found the staff friendly and helpful, and the rooms comfortable, but most importantly, it was just a five minute walk into the city centre. Staying there enabled me to get to know Tanga for the first time, as I explored the area firstly by foot, and later by bicycle, and I believed fervently that the British teachers had missed out on many encounters by staying in the Panori Hotel and travelling by bus. Following much discussion between Stuart and his staff, the decision was finally taken to ask Saidi to book Mbuyu Kenda for all seven teachers from Copplestone and Cheriton Bishop travelling in October, and for an extra week for me beforehand. The teachers were supportive of the change in accommodation, and the anticipatory narrative of the second trip differed significantly from that of the first; Michael spoke of his desire to ‘keep widening the scope of the link, in terms of experiences’, and Naomi thought that staying closer to town would facilitate their ‘taking a walk into Tanga, going to the market, sitting and having a Safari at the end of the day’, for her all part of the cultural experience of being in Tanzania. During the visit later that year, on several occasions, a group of us walked the forty minutes back to the hostel from Donge School, calling into local shops along the way. ‘This is Tanzania!’ they exclaimed.

Being in a large group on the first visit had other complicated impacts on the teachers’ encounters. Stuart Sewell, the overall group ‘leader’, already had

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86 This was an example of how an embodied reflexivity was nurtured with the teachers, firstly in their post-visit interviews as they recognised how their embodied experiences had impacted on their experience of the encounters, and then followed by a material change in the circumstances of their second visit.

87 A local beer favoured by the locals, and available on many street cafes and bars.
concerns about the larger group back in the summer holidays, when we met with Stuart Busby in Exeter:

[... ] there will be a big group, too many actually, to be truthful – [...] it’s grown – I’m just a bit anxious that the group doesn’t get to be inward looking because I think there’s a safety in numbers. [...] you know, in some ways, thinking about it, we might have been better if we were all in different accommodation and independent schools were looking after their independent visitors. (Stuart Sewell, 26/07/2009)

One teaching assistant found it reassuring to be staying in close contact with other British people whilst in a foreign country, but also found that with twenty-four fellow travellers, there was a limit to how many people with whom she could genuinely converse. Others corroborated this, saying they found they expended enough energy getting to know each other, leaving very little left for talking to the Tanzanians. Most agreed, however, that the opportunities to share experiences with other British teachers were invaluable. The evenings out were relished by all as an opportunity to reflect on the days’ events, share any concerns, seek advice from those with more experienced partnerships, and glean ideas for activities to share with their partners. The large group also had very material consequences on the teachers’ embodied experiences in Tanzania. Ordering food in a restaurant or bar, in such large numbers, caused significant problems for the Tanzanian staff, who were often cooking on charcoal, or used to catering for much smaller groups. On one occasion, there was a three-hour delay between ordering food and finally being served. Several instances of delayed meals were attributed to the Tanzanians’ ‘laid-back’ culture and reluctance (or inability) to work to deadlines, which overlooked how such a large group might have overwhelmed their catering capacity. Despite the associated problems of being in a large group, when I asked the teachers how they would have fared had they been alone, most admitted they would not have liked it all, and considered me ‘brave’ and ‘resilient’ for travelling, and staying in the hostel on my own. Most teachers came in pairs or larger school groups, but Karen found it liberating to visit the school alone, albeit within a larger Malvern party; she had no-one to worry about, and no-one to ‘have a natter with’ over tea, and it forced her to communicate all the time with the teachers from Majana-Mapana, in ways perhaps no other teachers had been required to do.  

Stuart described himself as a reluctant leader, but was the person who took responsibility for the organisation of the Somers Park visit, and any new schools wanting to visit Tanzania for the first time
sense of unspoken fear imbued many of the British teachers’ experiences in Tanzania and, generally, encounters were mediated through the large group, where the comfort and familiarity shielded British teachers from reaching out.

4.7.2 Encountering children (Plate 4.5, p.153)

It was during the time spent in their individual partner schools that the British teachers had most opportunity for more engaged contact with Tanzanians. However, despite being the rationale behind the partnerships, encounters with children proved far more elusive as I mentioned in the Preface. Mary Louise Pratt describes how arrival scenes serve as ‘particularly potent sites for framing relations of contact and setting the terms of its representation’ (1992: 77). For some teachers, their arrival at the schools for the first time heralded overt welcome displays with the children waving palm fronds and flags, and performing traditional songs and dances. In Donge, the Copplestone teachers were met with a more measured welcome, but on the tour of the school, they caught glimpses of the pupils in the classrooms, excited at the arrival of the wazungu:

Children were waving their arms out of the windows, some children were lingering around the buildings, watching us, giggling and sometimes brave enough to say hello. [...] The children appeared to be on a break, as we were aware that more had surrounded us, and were watching us closely. When Stuart turned with his large SLR camera, they all giggled and jostled each other on the stone pile to form a photographic collection for him to take. (Fieldnotes, 26/10/2009)

The wazungu provided a spectacle in which the children clamoured to participate:

The children’s voices got louder as they were gathering for the welcome performance, getting excited. They started to come up to us, shake our hands, the noise of excited voices ringing in our ears, we tried to shake hands with them, but so many were coming up clamouring to touch us, Shedrack shouted out to them to get back, and the crowd shrunk back. We made our way over the courtyard back to the staff room, aware of our conspicuousness in their school. (Fieldnotes, 26/10/2009)

Great trouble had been taken with our official welcome ceremony. The entire school gathered in the courtyard, hundreds of children closely packed into a small space. The children sang songs, read poetry, performed tribal dances and a gymnastic display, and it was a sight to behold. I took many photographs of the
children gathered behind the performers, and was startled to see later that their faces showed elements of boredom, annoyance, bewilderment, and flickering interest. The excerpt from my fieldnotes below illustrates one of the most enchanting encounters we had during the ceremony:

A pause, then straight into a speedy song, then the music changed, the drums sounding. The lead girl came up to the terrace and motioned she wanted us to join her. We stepped down off the terrace, and hovered feeling awkward but enchanted by the music. As soon as we were down, the girl took our hands in turn and as the drums beat out a rhythm, and the voices go ‘oh, oh, oh’, her hips cracked around three-quarters of the compass. They wanted us to join them. After each pause, we cracked our hips with them, and the watching children howled with laughter. Each time, and we must have done it some fifteen times or so, the howls got louder, Cecilia shrieked with laughter, Saidi was invited too and we all danced together. The noise built around us and we knew we were being laughed at, but it felt inclusive. The children were in charge, no question about it. (Fieldnotes, 26/10/2009)

After the welcome ceremony finished, the spectacle continued as the Copplestone teachers wandered around the courtyard, drawing the curiosity of groups of children lingering after the performance. In doing so, their actions followed closely in the footsteps of the explorers that Pratt (1992) describes. Plate 4.5 shows Stuart engaged in a reciprocal engagement with the gathering children, in which he was ‘required to play a role to satisfy people’s curiosity, in exchange for satisfying his own’ (Pratt, 1992: 78). Moments later, obviously uncomfortable with the way in which the children were crowding the visitors, Saidi took Nicky to one side, where she was encouraged to sit down with a child and hear her read English. Nicky sat with her head bowed next to the child, encouraging her and smiling when she got it right. ‘It would have been nice to do a bit more of this, one to one with them’, she reflected later. Aside from this moment, it appeared to me that the partnerships were primarily about the teachers’ experiences, despite their clear desires to interact with the children and work with them in a meaningful manner. Encounters with the Tanzanian children were limited to ‘crowding’ at breaktime, watching them in performances, or moving amongst them in the disciplined spaces of the classroom lessons.
Plate 4.5 Encountering children
In both Copplestone and Donge schools, in the lessons I observed, there was a lack of opportunity for children to ask their visitors questions. In other schools, the British teachers’ desires to meet the children were mediated by the Tanzanian teachers (Plate 4.5):

We did ask to see the little children and they had to make a big effort because it was flooded on the ground they have in between the little ones’ classroom and the office, it was quite deeply flooded [...] – so all fifty-eight of them had to take their shoes and socks off and wade through this raging flood and come to a classroom near us ‘cause they didn’t want us wading through the flood... (Sheila, 27/10/2009)

When Saidi and Cecilia visited Copplestone School, the potential for interacting with children was greater, due to their familiarity with English, but was still largely confined to formal lessons. Informal interactions took place occasionally out in the playground at breaktime, when the children plucked up the courage to go and speak to the visitors, or during outdoor activities like sports day, the field trip to Escot, and the football matches to celebrate World Cup Day.

4.7.3 The embodied encounter

From a personal perspective, looking back, I would describe my weeks in Tanzania as a period of displacement from the comfort of my ordinary daily life, when my body became alive to the world, and my skin sensitised to every last sensation. It was a wonderful, expansive experience but, importantly, I found it completely exhausting, as did many of the British and Tanzanian teachers. I wondered how these embodied and emotional experiences enhanced or inhibited the teachers’ capacity to remain open to new encounters. What was the emotional contribution of the British teachers’ physical experience of being in a strange space? In an attempt to identify the ‘stumbling blocks’ of intercultural communication, Barna (1994) identifies the high anxiety and stress that is incurred through such encounters as the chief underlying force that inhibits our openness to meaningful and successful encounter. He proposes that without access to the familiar ‘props’ of our own culture around us, we feel strong uncertainty within a different cultural space, with subsequent feelings of the loss of personal power, and threats to our sense of self-identity. These constitute what he terms ‘culture shock’, and he shows how it can manifest in physiological, psychological, and emotional affects.
Our ability to deal productively with the unpredictability of our new environment is seriously curtailed when we are subject to such physiological and psychological stress. In such circumstances, we resort to acting defensively, and retreating to the comfort of the familiar, if accessible. Taking a phenomenological reading of these intercultural encounters helps to explain why groups of people in unfamiliar circumstances, be they tourists or migrants, find it more comfortable to stick to more familiar realms. Fresh (or not so fresh) from a strenuous term’s teaching, the teachers found themselves facing a difficult couple of days on arrival in Tanzania. They spoke of their sunburn, problems with the heat, frustrations of being in such a large group, exhaustion after the overnight flight, struggles with long waits between meals, the agony of travelling on a bone-rattling bus on a gravel road, with broken ribs from a car crash two days before. Observing, and talking with, the British teachers on the visit, it was evident that their bodies were often anything but open to meaningful encounters; prolonged exposure to unfamiliar heat and humidity, inconsistent access to satisfying food, sleep disturbed by Malarone, all took their toll on their bodies. After long days in unfamiliar heat, encountering difference at every turn, by the evenings their capacity to remain open to further encounters was dramatically curtailed. It could be conceived, then, that there was a narrow phenomenological window for meaningful encounters to occur between the British and Tanzanian teachers, which expanded with repeated visits.

Few of the teachers recognised the significant embodied affect that the encounters had on them. Endeavouring to prompt collective embodied reflexivity, whenever I asked the teachers to reflect on the visits, I pointed out the unfamiliar concept that their bodily experience of the visit had to a large extent determined the quality of their encounters. Geoff came to this understanding sometime after his first Tanzanian visit:

[...] actually it’s very intense, working in that environment – I remember the first time I went I was absolutely shattered, absolutely – and I didn’t understand why. But my wife, we took them ten-pin bowling, three hours I think, and she was shattered by the end of it, and she knew why it was – it was because you’re constantly, you know, you don’t want to say the wrong thing, you want to say the

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89 Malarone is a malarial prophylactic tablet, taken once a day. It is renowned for its side-effect of causing disturbing dreams. For the entire time I stayed in Tanzania, my dreams felt like they belonged to someone else, having disorientating effects on my sense of self.

90 Due to the limited funding of the GSP, it was only really the headteachers who were able to return to Tanzania on more than two occasions.
right thing, Esther speaking in English, not quite sure what she’s saying, you know, she makes a joke but you don’t actually get it, you ask her to repeat it, then you’ve got that embarrassment of ‘do I ask her again’ ‘cause I still don’t understand it! Or do I just laugh, because it might be rude, and oh, those things are huge emotional strains. It was then that I reflected back on when we went to Africa and thought, crumbs, I had three days of that nearly -!’ (Geoff, 30/03/2010)

For the British teachers in Tanzania, the overwhelming embodied experience of participating in local school life, and engaging in the practicalities of communicating with people whose first language was not English, led many to want to retreat in their ‘down’ time to the hotel bar, or a familiar European-style restaurant. Even at lunchtime in the school, they found it hard after the exertions of the morning’s activities to muster the energy to talk to the Donge teachers. On the occasions when they were joined by the Tanzanian teachers in the evening, energy was at its lowest ebb, and everyone, British and Tanzanians alike, found it easier to lapse into the familiar. Not every teacher found this voluntary segregation comfortable. On the first visit, on our final evening in Tanga, the local City Education Office organised a barbeque, to which all the Tanzanian headteachers and teachers were invited. Stuart Sewell shared his concerns that the groups were segregated into discrete groups. Again, through an emotional and embodied reading of the intercultural encounter, it was clear to me that everyone had simply found the week exhausting; there was an unspoken recognition that communication with people not altogether familiar to them was just too consuming and their bodies cried out for relaxation.

The Tanzanians spoke very little about the strain they felt during the visit, but my observations of the teachers, particularly after the British teachers left Tanzania on the first occasion, inferred that it had been an energy-intensive experience for all. The Tanzanian teachers were visibly exhausted by the process of being attentive ‘hosts’. Sarah and Sheila noted how the headteacher of their partner school, Elinipa, looked ‘strained’ during the day, not entirely certain what she should do with the two visitors. By the end of an interview I conducted with Elinipa after the teachers had returned to England, the flat tone of her voice and her facial expression betrayed the concentration she had been required to use speaking to me for an extended time in English. The extent to which Saidi and Halifa were occupied for much of the week organising the visit through their mobile phones suggested the energy it had required. Speaking to Halifa after the visit confirmed
these observations when he told me how responsible he had felt for the visiting teachers. They also worked hard to protect their visitors, perhaps attempting to shield them from the more uncomfortable sides of local life. On the initial journey from Dar-es-Salaam to Tanga (2009), I sensed that Saidi, Halifa, and Mighty managed our early experiences of the country; when we said we were hungry, instead of finding a local café, or a market stall, to buy food from, as many would have been happy to do, they took us to a resort hotel where we waited for several hours for an extremely expensive lunch. In a plea that spoke of the potential for intercultural misunderstandings, Cecilia shared her feelings at the final Donge staff meeting in October 2009:

The last thing I want to say is that – for the four days you are staying here if there is somehow we have made a mistake for you, please forgive us – please, please forgive us. (Cecilia, 28/10/2009)

In line with the turn towards embodiment in the social sciences, it has been recently recognised in the interculturalism field that for effective intercultural communication to take place, credence must be given to the material, embodied reproduction of culture, as well as to its cognitive construction (Castiglioni & Bennett, 2004). Coming from this perspective, one might then become aware of how our bodies’ inhabit our own familiar culture, and be able to develop an empathic approach that would enable the ‘shift [of] body boundaries into the forms that elicit the feeling of the other culture’ (ibid: 260). In other words, we could begin to understand how others would like to be treated from their own different, embodied stances in the world, a crucial component of intercultural sensitivity. I made the connection that good ‘caring’ about the other was contingent on being able to develop this degree of empathy, by remaining open enough to acknowledge that our own culture is socially constructed and to seek out the other’s perspective. Plate 4.6 (p.158) shows photographs taken of the various encounters between the British and Tanzanian teachers during the reciprocal visits to both Tanzania and England.
Plate 4.6 Encountering others
How far, then, did the embodied encounters between the British and Tanzanian teachers affect their ability to foster this empathy with each other? Before I consider the teachers’ actual embodied experiences in Tanzania, it is important to state that, in most schools, a self-selection process had occurred prior to the visits. For the majority of the teachers travelling to Tanga, this was their first encounter with an African country and its people, their overseas travel experience limited perhaps to North Africa, Europe, and North America. Despite this, most shared an open disposition towards overseas travel, or an interest in topics of social justice, and so the visit was embarked upon with a general underlying orientation towards openness. Despite this openness, there was still an acknowledgement that the visit would offer something different. When the teachers were preparing for departure, their language was peppered with notions of ‘adventure’, describing their opportunities to go to Tanzania as ‘once in a lifetime’, and reminding themselves to expect the visit to be an ‘eye-opener’. The arrival in Dar-es-Salaam had marked the start of the adventure, as one teacher recalled ‘yeah, OK, now I am somewhere different, I’m not just on a touristry holiday now’, but the discourse of ‘opening’ one’s eyes to the reality of life in Tanzania continued throughout the visit.

The headteachers agreed that a particular kind of personality was required for the visit: Stuart Sewell commented, ‘you’ve got to send out people that are resilient, and resourceful and independent, and very, very open-minded. If they haven’t got those skills, they can flounder.’ Some teachers spoke of their colleagues back at home that had not been interested in coming to Tanzania, and who would have been unable to deal with the unpredictability or ‘deprivation’ of the experience, like no hot water to shower in, or finding cockroaches in the toilet. My observations corroborated with the teachers’ own narratives; most people remained open to the encounter for the duration of the trip, despite the usual minor incidents of sunburn, exhaustion, sickness, and diarrhoea, and even two more serious skin allergies that took one woman to the local hospital. Humour was a useful distraction, and I was not aware of any serious complaints being made about the conditions. I heard only one story wryly recounted by one of the headteachers, of someone saying she was going to be brave at breakfast and ‘try the jam’.

The importance of relational communication between the British and Tanzanian teachers was fundamental to this research. My decision to undertake a sensuous
ethnography emphasises the importance of close observation of the material encounters and the later reflection with the participants on any particularly puzzling, or inexplicable, or awkward encounters. Barna pertinently asks why ‘contact with persons from other cultures is often frustrating and fraught with misunderstanding?’ (1994: 337). On arrival in Tanzania, despite ‘good intentions’ and a general predisposition to be open to encounters, the teachers faced some of the fundamental stumbling blocks of successful intercultural interaction. Barna suggests that intercultural communication, comprising both linguistic and non-verbal elements, is subject to a number of assumptions that can endanger the quality of the encounters. Firstly, he argues, an assumption of similarity between those communicating is not helpful in such cases. Although emotional outputs are considered universal amongst human beings around the world, the outward expression of these emotions is culturally controlled. The very first meeting with the Donge teachers was a productive example of how this outward expression of emotion can so easily be misunderstood:

The staff of Donge was brought into the small room, crowding around the door, some smiling but some looking quite sullen and reluctant to be there. They introduced themselves – some spoke in English, giving their name, which Standard they taught, and which subjects. One or two of the teachers spoke in Swahili, quickly and quietly, my ears straining to recognise some words to get a gist of what they were saying. Then it was our turn to introduce ourselves – by this time, we had all learned basic greetings – hello, my name is (Jambo, gina langu ni...) so we tried our best. As Naomi spoke, one female teacher laughed, not in embarrassment I don't think, but in mocking at Naomi’s attempt to speak Swahili. Naomi felt it, I could tell, and sort of laughed at herself, but the woman hid her face in the curtain and there was an awkward moment, where I felt quite annoyed at the teacher. It was rude I thought, and not necessary – reflecting later, I wondered if she was just shy or embarrassed, and what manifested as rudeness was simply acute discomfort, and she responded in the only way she could. Certainly, meeting other teachers in the following weeks, their initial disinterest or aloofness often transformed into interest and engagement. Time was needed, time and energy to transcend those cultural barriers. Because one incident like that, when you’re feeling vulnerable and below par already, can be bruising. (Fieldnotes, 26/10/2009)

Barna suggests visitors to another culture should expect encounters to be different, with no universal ‘cultural’ marker. Meaningful encounters between the British and Tanzanian teachers during the week of the first visit certainly occurred, but they were also challenging, and it is germane to consider how much attentiveness in these circumstances was realistically possible. On the 2009 visit,
after an early morning arrival, the first full day in Tanzania was taken up with long periods spent on the bus, in long traffic queues into Dar-es-Salaam to change money, and later to go out for a meal at the ‘Slipway’ on the other side of the city to the accommodation. The long period of travel had taken its toll on most of the British teachers:

No-one else seemed to talk to [the Tanzanians] – is it a confidence issue? Do they accept their presence but can’t think how to talk to them? I asked Saidi many questions, which he was happy to answer, but he looked away a lot, which I found unnerving. Indifference is crucifying in the communicative act. He taught me some Swahili, and some of the differences between the tribes, but looking around, I saw little other communication between the groups. Stuart relied on familiar ‘male-bonding’ , teaching Halifa a football song, and mimicking his favourite phrases ‘wicked!’ and ‘marvellous’. But mostly, the conversation was directed further down the table, the Tanzanians isolated from the socialising. (Fieldnotes, 24/10/2009)

Talking to some of the teachers after the visit, there were various perceptions of the evening. Naomi recalled how she found the gender division difficult to handle, finding it hard to talk with the Tanzanian male headteachers. She admitted she just needed some ‘light-heartedness’ after the long journey, finding it easier to talk to other teachers from England. The following day was interminably long, and featured an early morning start in the Dar rush hour to reach the coastal town of Bagamoyo, a protracted lunch in an hotel, a three hour drive on un-metalled roads, tortuously potholed after heavy rains, followed by a further six hours on the tarmacked road to Tanga, interrupted by a puncture on the dangerously busy, main road. We arrived in Tanga at 8pm, where we had twenty minutes to unload our luggage at the hotel and freshen up, before we set off to a welcoming party at Victoria and Godfrey’s house. Most of the teachers had no energy to communicate with the Tanzanian teachers that had joined us. With the characteristics of the ’ordinal logic’ of encounters (Laurier & Philo, 2004: 5), it was only the people that had visited before, like the two Stuarts, who summoned inner resources to talk with their hosts.

Learning from the unsatisfactory schedule of the previous year, on the second visit, the Copplestone and Cheriton Bishop groups embarked upon the long journey to Tanga immediately after their arrival in Dar-es-Salaam. This time, however, the

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91 Victoria was a teacher at Chumbageni. Her husband, Godfrey, acted as a local ‘fixer’ for the Somers Park group, organising their safari in the following week, and sorting out any problems as they arose.
transport arranged for the smaller group was a daladala (see Plate 4.4). There was just enough room for the seven teachers, and the driver, his friend, Saidi, and Shedrack, but the inclusion of luggage and two large bags of school resources brought from Copplestone and Cheriton Bishop meant that the journey was extremely cramped and uncomfortable. I had already been in Tanga for a week, so I did not personally experience the journey, but for that first day in Tanga, the prevailing topic of conversation was the terrible journey from Dar-es-Salaam, and the question of whether they should fly back or go back in the daladala. They recounted the journey, how they had no room to move their limbs, and how the driver had fallen asleep at the wheel, and overtaken vehicles on blind bends. Michael stayed awake for the whole journey, his eyes glued to the drivers’ in the rear mirror, and Alison told me she had never felt in such danger in all her life. For the travellers, the journey had been such an overwhelmingly embodied experience that it had a serious impact on the first few days of the visit. No-one wanted to offend Saidi, and so conversations about taking the plane back at the end of the visit were held in whispered corners until a decision was made.

Although both the British and Tanzanian teachers worked hard at communicating with each other on both visits, the British teachers admitted their uncertainty over their partners’ feelings about the partnerships. After the flamboyant welcome ceremonies, the encounters between the visiting teachers and the other staff in the partner school were frequently stilted, uncomfortable affairs. Reflecting on the day’s events back at the hotel (Reflective group, 27/10/2009), Stuart asked the gathered teachers if they felt the other schoolteachers had been as welcoming as the headteacher had been. He was aware that around half of the Donge staff had not yet spoken to him, and he was wondering if this was due to the language barrier, or shyness, or indicative of a more general disengagement with the partnerships, perhaps by it being perceived as Saidi and Cecilia’s project. Although she acknowledged that it was ‘hard to tell’, Sheila agreed that the teachers in Darajani had also seemed ‘unsure’ about their visit, and that one teacher in the staff meeting had asked rather bluntly, ‘what is the point of your visit?’

To encourage meaningful encounters between people from different cultures during overseas travel, it is necessary to engage in some form of preparation beforehand. Again, Barna (1994) suggests that preparation for many travellers
would mean learning the basics of the language, and gaining a brief overview of local customs. By their own admission, there had been very little preparation for the encounters by the British teachers, beyond one reflective meeting organised by myself in the first year, and a staff meeting in the second. Time is an extremely limited resource for primary teachers, and rather than engage in their own research about Tanzania, many of them sought the next best thing, which was advice from someone who had already ‘been there’. In Copplestone’s case, this was Stuart Busby, and for everyone else in Malvern, this tended to be Stuart Sewell. Second-hand information is rarely sufficient preparation, however, and can lead to certain expectations of ‘typical’ cultural behaviour, where ‘contradictory evidence that does filter through the screens of preconception is likely to be treated as an exception and thus discounted’ (ibid: 340). There were occasions in the visits where such preconceived cultural information proved to be detrimental to the facilitation of positive encounters. For example, there had been considerable mention beforehand of the provision of copious amounts of food at the schools especially for the visiting teachers, to which it was polite to accept. Sarah recalled her attempts to adapt to such cultural expectations that had detrimental effects on her body’s ability to cope with the encounters:

 [...] the constant food, I felt so full to the point that I felt sick and ill, ‘cause I don’t eat much during the day, I’m more of a big eater at night-time for my dinner. [...] just all of this rice - and it was lovely and I appreciated it, but an hour later it was like biscuits and cake. I felt so rude and I was just eating out of sheer politeness because Elinipa was like ‘no, no you must eat it. (Sarah, 03/03/2010)

Some of the other British teachers highlighted their wariness of causing offence to the Tanzanians. Sue, headteacher of Cheriton Bishop, was aware that there was a fine line between making persistent jokes about the ‘fun bus’ that everyone found funny, and causing serious offence to Saidi who had done his best to arrange suitable transport from the limited options available to him. Her intuition that Saidi had a good sense of humour was confirmed at the end of the trip, however, when Saidi himself adopted the phrase. Finding something to talk about with people from unfamiliar cultures was a problem that emerged for some of the teachers, particularly the younger ones. Sarah spoke about how she would mentally sift through possible conversation topics before speaking, until settling on one that would be in no danger of offending her hosts. She recognised that
people in her school liked football, but didn’t want to share the knowledge of her possession of a season ticket for Manchester United, in case she would be perceived as ‘showing off’ her privilege. Other teachers found effective communication strategies. The group had commented that Sheila appeared at ease talking with Elinipa and the other Tanzanians and when I asked her what she found to talk about, she said she just focused on getting to know the person by asking questions about their lives, their childhoods, school experiences, and family background. Observing the teachers from the Wyche, I was struck by their approach to the encounters; they were respectful and polite, remaining open and committed to each encounter. One teacher noticed how the Gofu-juu teachers did not seem to mind silence; she surmised that they did not feel the need to fill in the gaps, or feel the need to make polite conversation in broken English all the time, and this understanding of the cultural approach to communication worked to ease their encounters. Some encounters demanded a different, more proactive, approach, even if it entailed being more passive that one would normally be in an interaction. Recalling some of the difficult encounters with forthright Mama Mushi, Angela recalled that when they visited Mzingani School, ‘we just went with the flow and could fit in, and you’ve got to have a sense of humour otherwise you’d have cracked up!’ (29/03/2010)

The impact of language difficulties on meaningful intercultural encounters should surprise no-one, yet it was interesting to witness how far the linguistic medium of communication, always English - was overlooked in the early days of the partnership visits. There was an unspoken admission by many British teachers that the Tanzanians spoke good enough English to carry the partnerships, indeed many expressed their gratitude that language was not a problem due to this factor. Most of the teachers had not made any effort to learn any key phrases beyond the familiar, and grammatically incorrect, ‘jambo’. Indeed, only Sheila and I had attempted to learn some basic Swahili before arriving in Tanzania. For the other teachers, when they realised that not every Tanzanian teacher had as good spoken English as Saidi, there was a reliance on body language to a certain extent. Assumptions about the characters of the Tanzanian teachers, as ‘sweet’, ‘lovely’, ‘welcoming’, and ‘friendly’, were readily made, despite an inability to converse fluently in English with them. The British teachers also assumed their partners’ linguistic ability to be a fixed entity, unaware that on his initial visit to
Copplestone, Saidi found it very difficult to grasp everything that was said to him, and that only on his second visit had his English improved. The importance of communication and language in the partnerships gained in currency during the second visit. The problem of communication between the teachers was raised in the final staff meeting at Donge by the Standard One teacher, Rose, who told the assembled group in Swahili that the ‘foundation of our link is communication, and communication is built on language’. Alison spoke up and admitted that she ‘was quite cross’ with herself, and wished she had spent more time learning Swahili, and Michelle volunteered:

> I almost feel embarrassed that I don’t have the vocabulary to be able to talk to you in your language. I feel ashamed that I can’t and I hope we can still communicate but based on English - and that isn’t right, because this is your country, you live here, we should be learning your language and I feel that I’m going to make more of an effort to learn Swahili. (Michelle, 28/10/2010)

From my personal experience of attempting to learn Swahili for my fieldwork, I know that learning a new language can prove immensely time-consuming and challenging. Any promises or commitments to learn Swahili on behalf of the British teachers, however well-meant, were likely to be reneged. Even if the basics of a language were mastered, beyond demonstrating a respect for the other, the contribution to meaningful communication is ambiguous.

There were several other factors that troubled the meaningful encounters between the British and Tanzanian teachers. Considering the particular challenges of language, culture, and emotions that I have explored above, having sufficient time to engage fully with another person must be an integral element of successful intercultural communication. The time I spent ‘in the field’ had certainly aided my communication and language skills. Many teachers spoke about how limited time was for them during the visits. The schedule was incredibly busy in all of the visits, both to the UK and to Tanzania, with the hosts eager to offer the visitors as many opportunities to get to know their way of life as possible. Stuart admitted that he had very little time on his second visit to Tanzania to simply sit down with Saidi and really talk with him; instead, they snatched conversations in the minibus, on the way to the bank, or to another school, when decisions regarding the future of the partnership were decided swiftly and without deliberation. On the occasions
Saidi and Cecilia visited Copplestone, Stuart found that his role as overall organiser afforded him little time to converse with his guests.

Thus far, I have charted some of the challenges of intercultural encounters, yet I do not wish to leave the reader with a sense that encounters were universally difficult, for my lasting impression of both visits was one of different people meeting, sometimes only momentarily, in joint endeavours, moving encounters, and emotional conjunction. Meaningful encounters (and who is really able to judge) were limited in number, and brief in duration, but they were often profound and affective. So affective that I began to question early into my research to what extent these global school partnerships endured purely through the emotional reverberation of the visits. During my final interview with Stuart Sewell in October 2010, he spoke of the visit being an 'absolute delight' as he watched partnerships 'thriving', and we agreed that the visits were full of wonderful moments and encounters, where people opened themselves up to new experiences, growing in confidence as a result, making new connections, and coming back together to share ideas. I shared my experience at Majana Mapana the previous day, when Juliet gathered all the teachers together in honour of it being Karen's last day in school. The teachers took turns around the room to say something to Karen; some spoke of mutual learning, others just thanked her and told her she was 'welcome'. Even the trainee teachers, who had been working at the school all week, spoke. One young woman shared the Tanzanian proverb 'mountains cannot meet, but people can' and another told us how the partnership had inspired him to seek a similar friendship when he became headteacher of a secondary school. I found it a profoundly moving encounter, although I had only spent barely one day at the school.

At times, then, I participated in such moments of connection, and at other times I observed them as they occurred around me. I watched Elly talking with William on his visit to the Wyche School, as he ate his 'school lunch' and tried to describe the tastes of the food. She turned to us and explained 'he is listening to the taste', a wonderful instance of embodied empathy. The welcome ceremonies were always spectacular moments, but even watching an assembly in Majana Mapana, Karen had 'goose bumps down to her feet', as the children marched and sang 'Sikele Africa'. Once the teachers moulded themselves to the different shape of
communicating with different others, the sense of working ‘in partnership’ became a powerful affective force that echoed beyond the days of the visit. Perhaps the final words about the encounters need to rest with Stuart Sewell who said:

I still think these relationships are very real. I think people touch base with each other and I think they found they started with some differences, but they found a lot of commonality. And I think that’s what really excited people, is we start thinking there’s big cultural differences, that first 24 hours of being apprehensive, then eventually thinking well, actually, I’ve got an awful lot in common here to share. (Stuart Sewell, 21/10/2010)

Referring to my research into school partnerships, he asked me ‘do you still see it as a powerful thing, with all the honesty that you’ve had?’ I replied truthfully, ‘it has the power to move me in the moment and I can’t ignore that.’

4.8 Conclusions

This chapter has covered considerable ground. I introduced the wider network that spanned school partnerships between Tanga, in Tanzania and Copplestone, Malvern and Hereford in England, the extent of which Halifa described as an ‘achievement’ in itself. In addition, I offered a flavour of what the various actors within the schools actually did within their ‘partnership’, raising themes that are extended in subsequent chapters. This chapter also began to ponder the ways in which the various partnership practices of seeking funding, communication, and developing curriculum projects served to produce certain knowledges about each ‘other’. The latter part of this chapter was my attempt to acknowledge, and make visible, the affective power of the embodied encounters during the teachers’ visits between England and Tanzania. Following Valentine (2008), I was concerned with the ways in which an initial reading of the cultural history of overseas encounters was subsumed beneath the materiality of the teachers’ visits, producing complex layers of power that infused the encounters between the British and Tanzanian teachers. The material visits, through their crossing into ‘other’ places soaked in historical and cultural relations, created an emotional and embodied topography over which the teachers traversed. This topography produced knowledges, which were represented back to the school community, and internalised in the teachers’ personal and professional identities. I presented a map of this uneven topography
in this chapter, which provides the context for two key narratives that are explored in *Part Three*.

The first narrative (Chapter Five) concerns the way in which the emotional topography of the visits exerted an influence on the British teachers’ moral comportment. The emotional encounters filled the British teachers with compassion for the ‘other’ in Tanzania, which combined with their exposure to historical, cultural narratives of humanitarian concern, became re-presented to the children and parents back home, resulting in charitable endeavours. This had the material consequence of ‘developing’ the school in Tanzania, contradictory to what the British Council envisaged in their mission of reciprocity, mutuality, and equity, and producing and reinforcing the narrative of a ‘caring’ global citizenship.
Part III

Narrating partnership
Chapter 5

Narratives of charity, care, and contribution

Emerging from the emotional topography of the encounters experienced during the teachers’ visits to Tanzania, this chapter positions the contested practice of fundraising within the partnership programme and considers how global school partnerships became sites of moral negotiation. Emotional encounters generated caring, charitable responses, thus facilitating, and reproducing, a global citizenship that was imbued with narratives of care and responsibility.

5.1 The contested practice of fundraising

Charitable practices were highly contested within the GSP programme. The chief criticism of the charitable nature of school partnerships emanated from DfID’s original aims for the programme - that a school partnership should not be ‘a charity partnership’, but rather a ‘learning’ partnership, a reciprocal relationship founded on mutual understanding and learning:

> Partnerships need to be a two way relationship; not just one school using the other as a resource. Mutual relationships are where both schools share ideas and expertise, not where one school is seen as the ‘expert’. (DfID, n.d.d)

The GSP promotional literature was unequivocal, stating that ‘UK schools fundraising for Southern partner schools can distort relationships and the power balance, and can negatively affect the learning that is the key objective’ (DfID, n.d.d).92 Partnerships were to strive for equality and mutuality, and avoid setting up a donor-recipient relationship between the schools, which brought attention to the inequality between schools without addressing the underlying reasons. This was not to say, however, that schools were entirely precluded from undertaking fundraising activities. Indeed, DfID claimed that fundraising was not to be considered ‘taboo’, but suggested a few qualifications - that it should not form the primary focus of the partnership, that if fundraising was to occur, it should be introduced gradually and not in the early stages of the partnership; and finally, that

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92 A question arises of whether, and how, DfID could have further supported the individual schools, thus reducing the inequalities between the partner schools, perhaps through the supply of small development grants through the GSP scheme.
if fundraising did take place, then both schools should agree on a ‘planning strategy’ and decide jointly where the money was to be spent. I had many informal conversations with development education practitioners, trainers, and researchers, who told me in resigned and critical tones, that in their experience all British schools veered towards a charitable focus if left to their own devices. This was implicitly acknowledged in the field, leading to a proliferation of training, guidance, and online support from various organisations, including the British Council, designed to facilitate the teachers’ adoption of a critical perspective to their partnership activities, and to fend off the charitable impulse. In addition, the British Council incorporated discussion around this issue into the training programme that was offered to all schools involved in partnerships, both in the UK and overseas. The complexity of the issue was presented as a simple, ethical choice for schools – they should follow a mutual learning route, and engage in joint curricular activities as the programme decrees, or else be susceptible to falling into a donor-recipient relationship through their fundraising endeavours. The fact that most of the schools with which I worked pursued a fundraising trajectory at one stage or other in their partnerships’ evolution, alerted me to the need for a deeper exploration of the processes, subjectivities, and motivations involved in the constitution of these charitable partnerships.

The criticisms facing global school partnerships predominantly focused on schools’ charitable responses to the needs they encountered on their visits, and the inequality of power that these engendered. This is not to say, however, that the British teachers involved in my research were unaware of the objectives underlying the GSP programme. Raising money for the Tanzanian schools provoked feelings of ambiguity and dissonance amongst the British teachers. Through pursuing a charitable partnership, albeit short-lived at times, the British teachers were aware that they had broken the implicit partnership ‘rules’. There was general understanding of the British Council’s desire to steer schools away from fundraising activities, and this discourse infiltrated teachers’ own narratives about appropriate responses to their partner schools and mediated their actions. For those teachers not party to the application process, or who had not attended a

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93 Organisations such as Oxfam and One World Linking Association (UKOWLA) produced various handbooks or ‘toolkits’ offering guidance in how to build a successful partnership (Baker, 2007; UKOWLA, 2007) and reiterating that fundraising should not form the focus of a partnership. This literature presented practical suggestions on dealing with controversial or difficult issues as they arose in the partnerships, although the extent to which these resources were utilised by teachers remains undocumented.
British Council training event, the reference to the GSP objectives took on the mantle of a 'story' that circulated amongst the participating teachers. As the British teachers encountered the material conditions in the Tanzanian partner schools, and responded in a charitable fashion, the British Council ‘story’ made frequent appearances, and on occasions served as a cautionary brake on their enthusiasm for fundraising ideas.

The tension between the charity and mutual learning paths formed an underlying narrative in the partnerships, complex and ambiguous in nature; the British teachers negotiated this antagonism, and employed strategies to justify their own and their partners’ actions. They were faced with a moral conundrum, knowingly contravening the objectives of the partnership programme, yet holding convincing ethical arguments to justify the charitable trajectory. Ethical scenarios are often framed as ‘outwardly universalistic’, which mask an underlying multiplicity of dispositions, subjectivities, and knowledges (Barnett, et al, 2005). DfID, British Council, and educational researchers presented a straightforward account of what was deemed ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ behaviour in the partnerships, masking the multiple factors that were contingent to the British schools’ charitable actions. For the teachers visiting Tanzania, then, this overtly moralised terrain formed the backdrop to their experiences, and stood in sharp contrast to the face-to-face, embodied encounters with the Tanzanian teachers and children that remodulated their own moral codes. In the following section, I show just some of the many ways in which emotional encounters in the partnership activities foregrounded a caring, ethical disposition.

### 5.2 Sponsoring orphaned children

One of the defining ‘caring’ stories in the early days of the Copplestone-Donge school partnership featured the sponsorship of orphaned children in Donge.94 Stuart Busby encountered the ‘orphan’ situation for the first time on his visit to Donge in 2008. On his final day in Tanga, he visited Chumbageni Primary School to see the food programme instigated by the newly formed ‘Chums for Watoto’

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94 The term ‘orphan’ holds a different meaning in Africa, where it is also given to children who have only one surviving parent, as well as no parents at all. The number of vulnerable children, including orphans, has been rising rapidly across the African continent. In 2009, it was estimated that there were 40 million orphans throughout the continent, with some 14.8 million of these being attributed to AIDS (UNAIDS, 2010). Although it has not been as catastrophically affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic as some African countries, Tanzania recognises its own growing orphan ‘problem’. In 2009, the number of orphans in Tanzania was estimated to be 3 million, with 1.3 million of those being attributed to AIDS (UNICEF, 2009).
charity, and was invited to serve a group of orphaned children at their morning break, with the maize porridge uji, whilst the Chumbageni teachers told him a little more about the lives of the children. Losing one or both parents, they told him, had rendered the children more vulnerable to the hardships of poverty and ill health. He wrote in his diary at the time:

My last full day in Tanzania is my most harrowing [...] the day begins with me feeding more than 50 orphaned pupils. These youngsters rely on school to provide their only meal of the day. A young, bright girl called Violet tells me that she spends her evenings living in a shed that is used as storage for bicycles. I later find out that she is not expected to survive the winter. (Busby, 2008)

The experience affected him profoundly. Saidi Moshi told him that Donge School had nearly thirty orphans in a similar predicament, who were in desperate need for additional support to ensure their attendance at school. Many were being looked after by their surviving parent, or their grandparents, or older siblings. Money was scarce - an orphaned child would be unlikely to be able to afford their school uniform, bag, and books. Stuart knew that the parents and children back at Copplestone had the capacity to help, to affect some hint of change, as his friend, Stuart Sewell, and colleagues had achieved with the Chums for Watoto charity at Chumbageni. The emotional impact of the encounter remained with Stuart for some time.

The history of the charitable trajectories of other primary schools in the Tanga/Malvern/Devon network could be traced back to similar embodied, emotional encounters. Geoff, headteacher of The Wyche, visited their partner school Gofu-juu Primary also for the first time in October 2008. He had always had a ‘heart for Africa’, and setting out on his visit, he kept his personal goals of helping in some capacity in mind. What transpired from his first visit was two profoundly emotional experiences that set in train the creation of a school-based charity, Wychumvi, whose mission was to ‘relieve the poverty among the children in Africa’ (Wychumvi, 2011). He recalled the encounters:

I had two experiences over there, one the first time, one the second time. Um, you know, one - I’ve got a photograph of it, rarely speak about it without being moved to tears, one of the parents cooking what I call gruel, but they call it uji, don’t they?

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95 Watoto is Swahili for children
96 The diary was published on Stuart’s return by Copplestone’s local paper The Crediton Gazette (Figure 5.1)
It was in a pathetic little bowl (Plate 5.1), and you think it’s feeding fifty kids - and then another one, when we went to an orphan’s grandmother’s house who was supporting these eight kids, she looked like she was on death’s door. They were two life-defining moments for me, times when - um, it’s going to get personal now! But – you know, where literally what I wished I could have done is just found somewhere on my own, and just howled and howled and howled for hours and hours, ‘cause something truly deep - you know what I mean? Just frustration of - you know, the whole Third World system. It wasn’t just the orphans of Gofu-juu, you know, the whole frustration of the Western world. (Geoff, 30/03/2010)

A Foundation teacher at The Wyche, Elly, accompanied Geoff in 2008, and wrote about her experiences for the school’s recent (and excellent) website section about their link with Gofu-juu:

To say the trip had a profound effect on me is an understatement. The fact that I have finally sat down to write this, more than 2 years later, and have not had to refer to a diary or photographic evidence to trigger my memories says it all. It is as fresh and poignant in my mind today as it was then. (The Wyche, 2010)

Others had similar stories of encounters that had touched them in a very personal way. In Somers Park Primary School, the emotional experiences of the teachers and administrative staff were channelled into the supportive activities of their charity Chums for Watoto, set up soon after the school partnership with Chumbageni began. Glynnis, the school administrator and committee member of the charity, shared her feelings about the ongoing support for a group of orphaned teenage children that had moved on from Chumbageni Primary to the local secondary school. For her, the charitable work offered a productive channel for the sometimes overwhelming emotions she had experienced on her two visits, and provided a sense of purpose and reassurance that she had ‘done something’. Similarly, for Sarah, another teacher at Somers Park, the emotional impact of seeing the living conditions of the orphaned children was made all the more poignant when juxtaposed with her awareness that she possessed the capacity to care for her own teenage daughter, who accompanied her in 2009. She acknowledged that, in a way, her emotions were appeased by being part of the practical help that the Chums for Watoto charity offered:

[T]he frustration that you just want to get in there and help and it can be very distressing if you see – just children or the houses or the way they’re living or you know that they’re not being fed before they come to school, and […] almost having
my daughter there and just looking at her thinking, you know, she's got so much, I can personally give her so much and then there's all these children with – nothing really, or very, very little. [...] but the good thing and the positive thing about being out there was things like the uji, opening the kitchen that day at Chumbageni, seeing the children actually getting the hot meal, and you thought, yeah, money is going from here directly where it needs to go’ (Sarah, 30/03/2010)

For Sarah, the ethical act could be condensed into a simple moral question: ‘once you’ve seen it, how can you not? How could you ignore it? When you’ve met those children, you’ve seen the situation, yeah, how can you do nothing’.

Not all teachers’ responses followed this normative pattern, however. In October 2010, Karen, headteacher of St. James’ Primary School in West Malvern made her first visit to their partner school, Majana Mapana. As part of her welcome, there had been a small presentation about the school - when it was founded, the percentage of pupils moving onto secondary school, and the problems it faced, including the need for education about HIV/AIDS, and the ongoing challenge of keeping roaming livestock away from the school’s garden produce. Tengini, one of the older male members of the school committee, told Karen that it would be good if her school could buy a fence for Majana Mapana, to secure the boundary. When he asked her a second time later in the week, Karen pointed out that the purpose of a school partnership was to learn with each other through joint curriculum projects. She acknowledged that, in his eyes, this maybe sounded a bit ‘airy-fairy’, but clearly questioned the worth of the fencing project. She had adopted a resolute stance towards the request for financial support, certainly more aligned with DfID and the British Council’s views on how Northern schools should on building equitable relationships with their Southern partners. It was the first time I had heard a view expressed that so closely matched that of the original aims of the programme and yet, I was struck by the feelings her detached stance had roused in me. Had she not been moved by the school’s material need that she witnessed on her visit? On the Friday evening, after their final day in their partner schools, I met Karen again at the Panori. She had asked Juliet to take her to a pupil’s home that day, in which the blind grandmother cared for five siblings. She was told earlier in the week that the girl was only able to come to school sporadically, due to her caring role in the family. Karen told me about the ‘squalor’ of the hut, built of sticks

97 This comment was reminiscent of Peter Singer’s argument for moral motivation, in which he posed the moral scenario: if one walked past a child drowning in a pool, if assisting would not be detrimental to one’s own life, then the right and moral act would be to intervene (in Corbridge, 1993).
and mud, vulnerable to the rain, and her emotion was tangible. Indeed, it had been so emotional for her that it had provoked an immense shift in her opinions about charity. ‘I wanted to go straight to the cashpoint,’ she told me, ‘and sort it out there and then. I know it’s an emotional response, but…’ She decided that she would sponsor the girl personally to ensure that her education would be unhindered in the future.

The support for the orphans in the Tanga schools was well-received, generating outpourings of gratitude. On the first visit to Tanga, a welcome ceremony had been arranged for us at Donge, in which a poem composed by the children was presented in Swahili (Plate 5.1, p.178). After the ceremony, when the children had dispersed, Saidi translated the poem for us:

Welcome to Donge, let us unite. Copplestone is a good school, we Donge we praise. We do a lot of things and you overcome weaknesses. (Here they are talking about orphans...) You care about orphans – now we are parted. Copplestone we praise. You will remain ours – friends and lovers.

He went on to the next verse:

I cannot tell its history – the joy here in Donge, I cannot tell it. The joy they have they can’t speak or they don’t have the words to say it. They have cure of malaria (~ this is why I say it’s a picture language, malaria is a terrifying disease in Africa, but so they compare where they were as they are having malaria.) But in Copplestone now, it’s a tablet.

This raised some laughter, but Saidi explained:

So this is symbolic language – and so they compare where they were, where they were having malaria, and now they have Copplestone – is their tablets, so when they have it now they are cured of malaria, that’s the picture. (Saidi, 26/10/2009)
Plate 5.1 Charity and care (the fire at Gofu-juu, Crediton Gazette articles, the sponsored orphans, 1Goal at Copplestone, and the ‘malaria’ poem at Donge)
I have selected just some of the cases that I witnessed over eighteen months of ethnographic research, to illustrate the strong emotional nature of the teachers’ visits to Tanga, and the affective power the support generated in the Tanzanian schools. I could have chosen many more - all of the teachers with whom I spoke and observed, over the two successive visits, would testify to the emotional potency of the Tanga encounters. Lawson tells us how such emotions are ‘nearly impossible to ignore’ (2007: 4), and describes how the ‘epistemological power’ of these strong emotions alerts the individual to contradictory or unsatisfactory explanations of the way things come to be. During my first visit to Tanga, I experienced an encounter that had a powerful influence on my epistemology, and the course that my research took:

I was sitting outside a restaurant with my plate of food, when an older man stopped on the street by the balustrade and asked me for some money for food. His eyes implored me for help, and I sat there with no clue of what I should do. My work was all about the implication of charitable responses in the continuation of the neocolonial project. And here I was, faced with a very human dilemma, of a hungry man encountering a wealthy white woman. Guilt got the better of me. I looked in my purse, found a coin that looked like a fifty pence piece and handed it over. He took it, turned it over slowly in his fingers, and then handed it back to me. ‘Not enough – buys nothing,’ he said disdainfully. He walked away, shaking his head, disappointed with my penurious offering, leaving me to my food and my piercing shame. (Fieldnotes, 08/11/2009)

It struck me that no amount of political ideals would make one jot of difference to that man’s life, in that moment. Postcolonial theory would say that our differential power was inscribed in our bodies (indeed it was), and that the just political act was to direct my attention towards exposing these asymmetrical relations. But this was a very human, truly embodied experience. The shame haunted me for some time and catapulted my research towards finding a way of understanding that made more emotional sense to me. I began to think again about the teachers’ similar emotional experiences, in which their bodies confronted other bodies in need. Reading Lawson’s paper on the geographies of care and responsibility, in which she argued that it was possible to combine an ethics of care with a politics of responsibility, was pivotal in my search for a better understanding of such encounters, and I began to consider how thinking through the ethics of care might enable these encounters to be more equitable.
5.3 The role of care in global school partnerships

Expanding the notion of care beyond the familiar, to include the inclusive definition of the ‘proactive interest of one person in the well-being of another’ (after Silk, in Conradson, 2003: 451), enables us to perceive encounters between different people as ethical spaces, in which individuals may exhibit caring dispositions. Through such encounters, new ‘caringscapes’ are formed that lie beyond the traditional spaces associated with care (Conradson, 2003). The British teachers’ visits to Tanzania presented stimulating examples of such spaces of ethical encounter, rearticulating teachers’ moral subjectivities, and sparking the formation of new caringscapes within the partnerships. These caringscapes extended beyond the embodied encounters in the Tanzania schools, to the school communities back in England, as the teachers returned to their classes.

5.3.1 Care at a distance

Many understandings of care have been attached to everyday, local practices that have proved resistant to transferring to more distant others (Lawson, 2007; Dyck, 2005). In these, care is predicated on personal relations with proximate, often familiar, others. Traditionally, those deemed to be the recipients of care have been vulnerable, needy individuals, in need of sustained caring practices in traditional sites of care. The assignation of care as an embodied practice, carried out mostly by women, has steered the debate towards the essentialising of gender roles, in which it is argued care should be kept out of the public domain, being more suited to the private, domestic realm of home and relationships (Sevenhuijsen, 1998). Hence, many scholars have acknowledged the tendency for care to relate well to the personal, parochial level, but highlight the problem of widening the scope of care (Robinson, 1999; Smith, 1998). The stretching or extension of care beyond the local, variously termed ‘caring at a distance’ (Korf, 2006; Silk, 2004, 2000) or the ‘spatial scope of beneficence’ (Smith, 2000; 1998; 1997; Corbridge, 1993), remains one of the key dilemmas presented by an ethics of care.

Let us return to the story of Stuart, headteacher at Copplestone, as he returned to school after his very first visit to Tanga. The new term at Copplestone commenced the day after he flew home, with the images of the orphans he had encountered still strong in his mind. Sensitivity towards another’s suffering creates a
psychological burden for the beholder that can only be relieved by action (Tessman, in Calhoun, 2008). Stuart knew that he bore the burden of carrying the message back to the Copplestone school community, in order to realise the caring potential through raising funds to support the orphans in a material sense. This would require stretching the sensitivity towards suffering across space, that most difficult of caring acts. How would it fare being taken from Tanga, all the way back to the small, rural Devon village of Copplestone? As it turned out, Stuart’s sheer energy and commitment to the care of the orphans ensured that the necessary translation was made, in the short term at least. He was determined to share the personal effect of witnessing suffering, unknowingly honouring the commitment to describe another’s suffering, and commit to action thereafter (Boltanski, 1999). Thus, he set about sharing his knowledge of the orphaned children’s predicament, hoping to spark an interest in establishing a support programme similar to that at Chumbageni. Inevitably, as the Copplestone community had not shared his emotional, bodily face-to-face encounter with the orphaned children, he was required to enrol the representational power available to him. In his first assembly back at Copplestone, he recounted vivid stories of his Tanzanian experience – the millipede in the shower, the heat, the snake that Saidi picked up, the friendliness, the orphaned girl with a limited life expectancy. As a keen amateur photographer, Stuart supplemented his stories with the many images he had captured of Donge and its pupils. The powerful combination of story and image (and music, one pupil told me - *Over the Rainbow*, it had made her cry) affected some pupils in the audience enough to carry the message home to their families and request (demand?) that they should ‘sponsor an orphan’ for Christmas. Within a few weeks of his visit, Stuart had further crystallised his raw emotions into a manageable, portable package of just £42 – representing the costs of supporting an individual orphan through their school year (see Table 5.1). He took the message out into the Copplestone community, via PowerPoint presentation, and persuaded a number of people, unconnected to the primary school, that this was a worthy cause in which to participate.
Table 5.1 Breakdown of Donge School requirements (Source: Copplestone Primary School)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost (TSh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two complete school uniforms</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under wear</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two pairs of shoes</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two pairs of socks</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Exercise books</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pens</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other school contribution</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School bag</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>89,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The modern headteacher knows the value of utilising the local press to ‘market’ their school in the competitive world of parental choice. No stranger to issuing press releases, Stuart enlisted the support of the local newspaper, the Crediton Gazette, to spread his message to the wider Copplestone community. His diary from Tanga was published, and an article written detailing the support required for the orphan sponsorship, asking members of the local community to offer their support (Plate 5.1). The stories circulating about the Donge orphans had a substantial impact on the local Copplestone community. The representational accounts of Stuart’s initial encounter had effectively translated his personal caring response to a more collective caring endeavour, shared by members of this distant (to Donge) community. By the time my research began in May 2009, the orphan sponsorship programme was in full swing, sponsors for all twenty-seven children having been found before Christmas. The money had already been collected within school, transferred to Saidi at Donge School, and distributed to the orphans’ guardians and families. A photograph of the orphans in their new uniforms, clutching their new school bags, was taken in Donge on June 5th 2009 to mark the occasion, and duly emailed to Copplestone (Plate 5.1, p.178).
5.3.2 The mediation of suffering

As I mentioned in Chapter One, little is understood about how concepts like development, global citizenship, and charity are produced and mediated in wider British society (Smith, 2004). The global school partnerships were already embedded in cultural discourses of care and responsibility, which could be traced back to the humanitarian struggle during colonial times (Lester, 2002). Specifically, the use of emotive language, images, and sound as a means to spread the message in Copplestone spoke to a wider debate around the increasing mediation of public discourse on distant suffering (Chouliaraki, 2008). Silk (2000) notes how images of distant suffering are delivered direct to our living rooms by the media and how they urge us to take some form of caring action. Chouliaraki (2008) considers how far televised media can be considered a ‘global agent of responsibility and care’ (2008: 373), the spatial metaphor of the ‘global village’ often being employed to bring the spectator closer to distant others. Hannerz (2004) portrays a striking picture of the ambiguous role of the global correspondent in the creation of this sense of cosmopolitan compassion or ‘electronic empathy’ (Hannerz, 2004: 27). The viewers’ responses to these global images are multiple, however, ranging from generative feelings of care, empathy, and pity, to more stagnating effects of frustration, apathy, and overwhelm. Hannerz shows how some believe ‘suffering, broadcast on a daily basis as ‘infotainment’, is distorted and thinned out, turned into another commodity’ (ibid: 28). In a similar stance, feminist scholar Margaret Urban Walker terms such images ‘moral graphics’ that limit our recognition of the individual’s moral agency, and ‘foreclose morally appropriate reactions to victims’ fate’ (Brender, 2001: 208). In a further complication of the exposure to distant suffering, Moeller (1999) believes the American media’s sensationalised evocation of global ills is leading to ‘compassion fatigue’.

The connection ‘between immediate personal experiences and general enduring orientations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the knowledge and sensibility built up by the news flow’ (Hannerz, 2004: 37), has important implications for global school partnerships. The emotional charge attached to the orphan situation, experienced by Stuart directly, was subsequently reinforced, and remodulated through his representation of Donge School. For the pupils and adults in the
Copplestone school community, the headlines of newspaper articles, such as ‘reaching out to African children’ and ‘school link provides vital aid to African youngsters’ (Crediton Gazette, 2009), as well as their headteacher’s representations, served to create a ‘news flow’ that constituted certain knowledges about the orphans and their lives in Tanzania (Hannerz, 2004: 37). When I asked some of the pupils at Copplestone about their school’s partnership with Donge, the orphan sponsorship project understandably featured significantly in their thoughts about the partnership:

I think we’ve just like got friends, and we’ve helped some people who were desperate for things, things they need – because an orphan needs at least £40 to spend on a year’s worth of school stuff like shoes, and we’ve all sponsored an orphan – well, all the classes have. (Year 5 pupil, 26/06/2009)

Yet, signs of compassion fatigue began to appear - one girl told me that she was getting tired of hearing about Tanzania all the time, and wanted to know about other countries, like India, or Russia. In addition, media representation of national political and cultural concerns has been shown to distort public discourse of overseas suffering (Silk, 2000). In the case of Copplestone, the cultural influence of the underlying ‘white’ spatiality, as I expounded in an earlier chapter, combined powerfully with wider national alarm regarding migration, asylum seekers, and cuts to public spending. One child, who had thoroughly enjoyed meeting Saidi and Cecilia when they visited, told me fervently afterwards:

I think we need to get on with our own lives a bit more, ‘cause we’re always thinking about that school, and we’re not kind of focusing on our school and the changes we need to make to it. ‘Cause some of it is getting a bit dated now, some of the walls and stuff, and we need – ‘cause we’re sending all our money over to them, they’re getting all our money, and we won’t have much to like redecorate and stuff, and we need that money too. ‘Cause [...] they might need to take us out on a school trip and they realise they’ve got to pay an extra fiver, where’s the actual fiver gone? It’s gone all the way round to Africa – which is quite annoying, yeah. (Year 5 pupil, 26/06/2009)

Add to the mix concerns over the increasing bureaucracy of charities, doubt over the destinations of donations, and pressures on household income through the recession, and it is perhaps not surprising that reluctance to give money to
overseas charities has been on the increase (Tran, 2011). Recent news reports and commentaries reveal a flavour of the complex topography of the contemporary humanitarian landscape, and its entanglements with the British government’s overseas aid budget and domestic spending review. During the time of my research, a Daily Mail campaign was launched to highlight what they perceived to be an excessive overseas aid budget at a time when the UK was facing public sector cuts of 25% (Daily Mail, 2011), which revealed the paper’s ‘hostility’ to the commitment of the government to spend 0.7% of its GDP on overseas aid and international development (Harman, 2011). As the paper commented ‘[t]here is a time for generosity overseas. But - with Britain £1trillion in debt - now isn’t it’ (Daily Mail, 2011). Bringing these public debates back into the context of global school partnerships, and building support for development, the important role of global learning in such a political climate has been claimed. In 2010, the Development Education Association (DEA) launched its Global Learning Charter, supported by a coalition of 230 organisations, advocating for global learning and the key role it plays in the public’s understanding of increased global interdependence and government’s responsibility for tackling poverty through international aid. Their research suggests that 50% of respondents who had received some form of ‘global learning’ said they supported the need for international aid (Hogg & Shah, 2010: 3). With growing public disaccord around the increasing of national spending on overseas aid whilst all other aspects of social life are facing cuts in public expenditure, global learning is deemed more apposite than ever before.

It is within this broader social and political context that the school partnership at Copplestone must be contextualised; these emotive issues make an indefinable contribution to the production of knowledge about distant others. Moreover, they strike at the very heart of care ethics, and raise such questions as how far should we care, particularly when we’re facing hard times ourselves? Should charity begin at home, as half of the British public believes it does (Jones, 2011)? Should charity involve sacrifice? As the community began to raise money for Donge, questions arose from these situated knowledges about distant others. The first

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98 Recent research into charitable giving to international development by the British public reveals distinct periods of charitable spending, showing how donations to overseas charities increased seven-fold between 1978 and 2004, contrasting to a stagnation of government international aid during the 1980s and 1990s (Micklewright & Schnepf, 2009). The period 1983-85 represented ‘the surge’ of donations, during the time of the African famines and subsequent BandAid and LiveAid campaigns, and the period 1997-2004 featured a time of ‘renewed growth’.
inkling I had of any form of disagreement with the charitable actions that the school had embarked upon, was during a conversation I had with the local builder, Nick, also a parent, who was contracted to create the ‘Donge Garden’, in early 2009. Some parents had not been happy about raising money for people in Africa, he recalled, but Stuart had managed to ‘persuade’ them how much difference they could make. A few weeks later, during the first visit of Saidi and Cecilia to Copplestone in July 2009, I was watching the children making cob handprints, when one of the parents I recognised, Bev, joined me. She spoke of the ‘Copplestone effect’ and recounted her experience at the local stores at the weekend, when she had got into an argument with another parent about the school partnership. ‘Why do we need to raise money for Africans? They’re too far away – why should we care?’ the other parent wanted to know. Swiftly, and with passion, she retorted ‘because children are dying!’ This frank exchange of views spoke directly to the manifest tension between an emotional caring response and the distancing effect of care, but also to the potential for emotional justification for care to veer towards sensational representation. This was the first moment that I sensed a discord beneath the convincing, emotive exterior of the ‘global’ school that Stuart had originally painted for me. Stuart joined us and we discussed this dissent, but Stuart was reluctant to admit it was any more than ‘five per-cent of parents’ who disagreed with the partnership. Bev was adamant that it was more of a ‘silent majority’. The true figures of those for and against the partnership, with its early emphasis on fundraising for the orphans and toilets, was almost impossible to gauge, but as my ethnography progressed, I gained a deeper insight into how the Copplestone teachers had intercepted much of the dissent at the school gate, where parents vocalised that enough was enough, and wasn’t it time the school raised money for other, more worthy, local causes?

In June 2010, during the second visit of Saidi and Cecilia to Copplestone, a staff meeting was held to discuss the progress of the partnership. Stuart openly identified one of the weaknesses as the ‘intergenerational threat’ between enthusiastic children and their less than enthusiastic parents:

You’ve got people in Copplestone, less so now than before – and this is a reason for doing [the partnership] – but I think there’s one or two people, who wouldn’t openly say, but actually ‘why are you doing this for Africa? (Stuart, 08/06/2010)
Michael, the Year 5/6 teacher going on the Tanzanian visit in October, concurred ‘that kind of attitude does exist’. Stuart quickly adopted a more positive tone: ‘we’ve had one or two people like that, but it’s much less than I thought it would be, but that doesn’t mean it doesn’t exist, but people aren’t as vocal as they might be’. I sensed that Michael disagreed, but Stuart moved on to clarify that the school’s ‘new’ fundraising agenda would see every twenty pence in the pound going to Donge. After the meeting, I spoke to Michael alone, and he confirmed his belief that there had been more dissent around the fundraising in the early stages of the partnership than Stuart had perhaps realised. Later in the week, I joined Saidi and Cecilia, and Alison and Elaine (another teacher and teaching assistant joining the Tanzanian visit in October) on a visit to neighbouring school Cheriton Bishop, in the very early stages of partnership with Donge’s adjoining school, Kwakakeza. Chatting in the office whilst Saidi and Cecilia talked with the headteacher, Alison and Elaine confirmed that there had been considerable dissent from the parents in the early stages. There had been too much talk of Donge, in their view, and parents had grown tired of the recurrent demands on their time and pockets for a school thousands of miles away. Far from it being something in the past that the school had moved on from, there had been renewed complaints about the fundraising, perhaps prompted by concerns surrounding the impending spending review. His position as headteacher had kept Stuart isolated from general parental opinion and only a very confident (or truly incensed) few took their ‘vocal’ concerns direct to his office. The question of ‘whose suffering matters most to whom around the globe’ (Chouliaraki, 2008: 386) was most poignantly addressed by the Copplestone parent of a deaf child, who argued that more school fundraising could be done for local facilities for deaf people, endorsing the powerful spatial and relational discourse of caring for those most proximate and intimate.

In the first few months of my research, I sensed that Stuart was already trying to distance himself from the prevailing ‘orphan’ and ‘toilet’ narratives that had built up around the school partnership. He openly admitted that he had placed too great an emphasis on fundraising in the early days. He was acutely aware that he needed to steer the imaginary of the partnership towards more curricular and knowledge-based work, in line with the British Council’s guidelines. Some weeks

99 The ‘toilets’ formed another significant charitable feature of the very earliest days of the Copplestone-Donge partnership. Later projects included the provision of a kitchen, electricity, and Broadband connection. Unfortunately, space does not allow the full story of these projects here.
after the first summer visit, we met one evening in an Exeter pub, joined by his friend Stuart Sewell, from Somers Park in Malvern. Here, Stuart B. shared his thoughts on the partnership and the recent visit, and mentioned that the local newspaper had expressed a wish to run a double-page spread on the visit. This time, he decided to leave it up to the children to represent the link as they saw fit, but memories of the way in which he had been portrayed ‘reaching out’ to the orphans (see Plate 5.1) led him to doubt the ‘angle’ the journalist would adopt in this instance:

The thing is they’ll put a really stupid spin on it – the article which was in the Crediton Courier, was like Copplestone Primary have ‘saved’ 27 children – it’s like no, they haven’t, they’ve kind of done some support for orphans, but that’s not what it’s about, that’s what they picked up on, so I’ll be interested to see what comes out of that’ (Stuart, 26/07/2009)

When I spoke to Stuart some months later in early October, just prior to the return visit to Tanzania, the orphan issue was no longer the dominant theme of the partnership. In a meeting with Stuart, Naomi, and Nicky just before their visit to Tanzania in October 2009, I asked them to reflect on the purpose of the partnership, and how it had evolved so far. Acknowledging that support for distant orphans had been refracted through a mediatised lens, Stuart commented:

Some of the parents, they may view our link as very much a LiveAid sort of link, about raising money, which is why this year you won’t find us raising money or doing anything for Tanzania in that respect, it’ll be about sharing work and information. (Stuart, 06/10/2009)

By the visit in October 2010, Stuart had reflected on his school’s partnership sufficiently to be in a position to offer guidance to Sue, the headteacher of Cheriton Bishop, newly arrived on the partnership scene. In one of their many conversations about the establishment and development of school partnerships, he suggested that she needed to be ‘careful’ about too much fundraising. He expanded on the subject when I brought it up later, saying:

I think with the global link, my lesson that I learned from it, is it’s got to be embedded, curriculum-wise – and you can’t do it as a charity, because if anybody is racist, or anti-global links, they’ll jump on the bandwagon, ‘we need to do this for our own children’, gives them an easy way in. (Stuart, 25/10/2010)
The connection between racism and disagreement about global partnerships, particularly ones based on charitable actions, was revealing. As I mentioned in Chapter Four, Copplestone is located within the rural ‘white highlands’, in which incipient racism has proceeded unhindered (Bonnett, 1992). The instigation of a global partnership into this white world was unsettling and the aggregate dissent from some quarters was entirely aligned with recent research into rural whiteness and racism (Vanderbeck, 2006; Cloke, 2006; Bonnett & Nayak, 2003; Agyeman & Spooner, 1997). To name such dissent ‘racism’ was a bold step towards recognising the potential impact of taken-for-granted attitudes within rural communities towards difference, and making the complicated connection to understanding our relationship with, and responsibilities to, distant others.

5.3.3 Stereotypes of care

The limited literature critiquing school partnerships argues that charitable activity within intercultural partnerships only serves to reinforce stereotypical images of Southern partners, and to reinvigorate former colonial relationships (Martin, 2007; Disney, 2004). DFID and the British Council were reluctant to engage with the colonial issue directly, certainly within any stated objectives, or information or guidance made available to participating teachers. Indeed, any murmur of ‘neocolonial’ ramifications was strongly contested by those involved in school partnerships (see Maddern, 2010). Yet, as partnerships are encouraged between schools in Britain, a former imperial power, and those in predominantly former colonial states in the Global South, academics and practitioners alike have called for thinking about partnerships to engage more critically with postcolonial theory.100 Andreotti (2006) notes the relative lack of critical, theoretical engagement with current thinking about globalisation, identity, and development in development education, and argues that postcolonial theory can invigorate the field, through the stimulation of critical engagement with concepts such as identity construction and alterity, which assist understandings of how cultural knowledges of the global ‘other’ are constructed. With their constitution of new North-South relations, global school partnerships demand similar critical attention. Specifically, it is important to understand the ways in which ‘global citizenship’ through such

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100 Although partnerships are allowed in many different countries, the most popular countries are India, and various East African states.
partnerships becomes conflated with ideas of ‘making a difference’ in poorer countries, where common understandings of people living in the Global South lead to paternalistic relations rooted in care and charity. Ironically, it is precisely this compassion-driven approach to development and international aid that the GSP programme was designed to unsettle.

Aware of the GSP objectives, Stuart had particular concerns about the influence of the charitable actions on his pupils’ knowledges about the Tanzanian people. He was sensitive to the danger of stereotypical views, which highlighted how ‘lucky’ his pupils were, being perpetuated through the partnership’s emphasis on fundraising. This concern with the ethical and political ramifications of our representations of the ‘Other’ speaks to the heart of postcolonial theory. Kapoor (2008) argues that in the West, our encounters with, and representations of, the Third World ‘Other’, are coded into the binary relationship between ‘us’ and ‘them’. My conversations with groups of pupils revealed that the children had gained a rather skewed interpretation of the orphan situation, prior to the visit of Saidi and Cecilia in July 2009. One girl told me authoritatively that not many children attended school in Tanzania ‘cause most of them are orphans and stuff’ and another child in Year Two recalled that her family’s sponsorship money had been used to purchase all the orphaned girl’s school needs and to ‘get her new parents’. Although this amusing exchange betrays their enthusiasm, the underlying lack of agency ascribed to the orphaned children in Donge was disturbing. Rather than considering them to be children just like themselves, who had tragically lost their parents, they were viewed as beings with the title of ‘orphan’ as sole marker of their identity. Their position as ‘orphan’ constructed them as poor, helpless victims, and grateful recipients of Western generosity. The mediation of suffering ascribes varying degrees of agency to those suffering (Chouliaraki, 2008). In the case of the orphaned children at Donge, their agency had been disavowed through the heartfelt, well-meaning, and caring endeavours of the Copplestone community.

It was not only the children that gained partial knowledge of the orphaned children. The teachers, too, listened carefully to the descriptions that Stuart brought back with him, and these formed an emotional backdrop to the partnership, shaping their understanding of the lived experiences of the orphans. One teacher described her relief when she finally visited Tanga and found the
orphans being cared for in their extended family homes, and not living on the streets, as she had understood from earlier reports. When teachers spoke of their feelings before their inaugural visits, it was the emotive trope of the ‘orphan’, and her attendant poverty, that shaped the anticipation of the emotional encounters to come, and led to the conception of the teacher’s visit as an opportunity to ‘help’ in some fashion:

I know it’s going to be extremely emotional, I mean I cry at the drop of a hat, but I just think I’ll get so much out of it too – I think I’ll probably be kind of more proactive and do something, I always sit there, I always think oh you watch Comic Relief or something like that on telly and go oh, and you know I might make a small donation, but that’s it, you know, I don’t do anything else, and I’m thinking – well, maybe then this time, and bringing that into the school, or working on a project with them, you know’. (Naomi, 26/06/2009)

Furthermore, it was not simply the orphaned children in Tanzania who were subject to stereotyping. The Copplestone pupils also held conventional views of African children, unconsciously gleaned from media representations of rural African life. One girl described how the children had to walk ‘miles and miles just to get to their school’, conjuring a stereotypical image of rural life, and being unaware of Donge’s location on the outskirts of a city, where pupils attend from the nearby district, and walk possibly no further than three hundred metres to school. Their knowledge of Tanzania was also partial. For one particularly loquacious, but not unintelligent ten-year old girl, it was a country where children ‘kept getting malaria and dying’, had wild animals on their doorsteps every day, and where the people were so hungry they would consider eating food off the floor. When they listened to these views, however, her peers were quick to challenge and counter her more stereotypical opinions, offering a more balanced view of the Tanzanian people in their absence.

5.4 A postcolonial reading of care in global school partnerships

Raghuram, Madge, and Noxolo propose the use of a postcolonial framework to present ‘an insistent challenge’ to the geographies of care and responsibility (2009: 6). They reiterate the key question that has engaged geographers for several decades – how should we act towards unknown and distant ‘others’? Essentially, how far should we care? A postcolonial understanding of care and responsibility
would pay close attention to the temporality and historicity of contemporary global relations, and how this serves to construct responsibilities for distant others. In addition, by raising the question of the location of the ‘centre’ from which distance is calculated, a postcolonial reading of geographies of care and responsibility might witness a shift towards ‘other’ interpretations of care. These principles provide a valuable theoretical position from which to conceptualise the global school partnership and its ambiguous relationship with care and responsibility.

As I described in the previous chapter, the teachers’ visits proffered spaces of encounter, in which cultures, identities, knowledges, and subjectivities were unsettled and negotiated. Clarke (2011) shows how similar spaces are provided through town-twinning ventures, in a manner that ‘cannot be achieved by the ordinary holiday visit’ (Bristol-Hannover Council, in Clarke, 2011: 121). Likewise, the teachers recognised that the partnership encounters provided a deeper experience than they would otherwise have had as a tourist, and that the encounters were in some way more meaningful and ‘real’. The teachers themselves describe how the reciprocal visits fuelled their personal knowledge banks, enabling them to return to their classes and share what they had learned about their partners in the Global South; as Geoff commented, other teachers in his school were able to utilise his own photographs and stories of Tanga, surely more informative for the pupils than the limited ‘Chembakoli Pack’.101 The embodied encounters between teachers from Britain and Tanzania, experienced in the school and community spaces of their partner school, had the potential to counter the ‘spectacle’ of Southern poverty, as it is often experienced through the mediatised images of Africa I have described earlier. By finding themselves in spaces inscribed with poverty, the British teachers were exposed to the complexity of the situation, exhibited in the diverse manifestations of poverty in Tanga, and the multiple ways in which the Tanzanian teachers framed themselves outside of such ‘poor’ realms. The experience went both ways, and the visit of Saidi and Cecilia to Copplestone offered a host of encounters that held the potential to recalibrate engrained imaginaries of both children and teachers. Following their first visit to

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101 The Chembakoli Pack is a set of teaching resources about a village in India, and is used by many primary schools as their chief source of teaching about a ‘developing country’, as they are required to do by the National Curriculum. As a primary teacher, I personally found the Chembakoli pack to be extremely limiting, and reproduced stereotypical knowledges about ‘poor Indians’.
Copplestone, many children expressed surprise at Cecilia's beautiful clothes, hairstyle, and nail-varnish, and Saidi's smart trousers and shoes, betraying their unspoken but underlying assumption that such cosmetic adornment was beyond the means of poor people. In an act that veered towards a parody of insular rural behaviour, a young child approached Cecilia on her first visit to Copplestone and scratched her arm to see if the colour would come off. As Cecilia recounted the tale, Saidi laughed and told us that their 'strangeness' had caused children to stare and point on the visit last year, but that one year on, perceptions had shifted and 'they ask you questions instead'.

I had conversations with a range of children in Copplestone before and after the visit in June 2009, which revealed the ways in which the children's imaginaries were both confirmed and unsettled by their encounters with Saidi and Cecilia. When I talked with the two boys whose families hosted the guests on the first visit, it was apparent that they had gained first-hand accounts that confirmed their beliefs about the hardship of life in Tanzania, and how lucky they were to live in Britain. However, as the boys recounted what they had learned from the two Tanzanians in general conversation, such as their notable lack of machinery compared to Britain, or having to walk everywhere, compared to all children being taken to school by car, there was no hint that either of them considered themselves to be better, or even more advanced, than the Tanzanians - simply different. There was also a sense in which the embodied encounter had been essential to galvanise children’s thoughts and imaginations about Tanzania. After the visit again, I spoke with the two confident girls in Year Six that I had spent time with before the visit, gauging their ideas and beliefs about Tanzania. They spoke articulately, and at length, about the visit: where they would have taken them had they been given the opportunity, what the Tanzanians must have felt during their visit, and how they might have found the many differences in the cultural and material life in Britain. I was struck by the girls’ empathy that emerged from the face-to-face encounter, which no amount of hearing stories from their headteacher could have elicited. They watched Saidi and Cecilia closely over the week, and when I asked them how they thought the Tanzanians found their visit, one girl said:

I think they found that, like, they were excited - but you could tell they were nervous so they were all like, they were smiling at us and stuff but they were just sort of keeping themselves to themselves - and not really talking to people unless
they spoke first or – but like, on the second day, they started coming out of their shell more and started talking to us, and then in the end, you could just go up and shake their hand freely, they would come up to you and start talking to you, asking questions and telling you like, asking you how you feel and you would ask them, and they’d talk about Tanzania a lot, if we asked them. (Year 6 pupil, 17/07/2009)

Indeed, by the end of the week, she acknowledged that, although the visit had been brief, she indicated the ease with which she regarded Saidi and Cecilia in her familiar school context:

[L]ike a week seems quite long but it’s not too long because considering how long we’ve been like planning for it, and then it’s just over and it’s quite weird, because it just doesn’t seem like they’ve gone. It still seems like they’re still here, but you just don’t see them around school and stuff. (Year 6 pupil, 17/09/2009)

It was not only the children who encountered difference, and had their opinions and beliefs challenged. For the young teacher that heralded Cecilia as an ‘expert’ in drumming in a music class, bearing witness to Cecilia picking up the drum and laughingly tapping out an out-of-time beat must surely have forced her to reassess her image of the innately rhythmical African. The final school day of their visit coincided with the start of the World Cup and the launch of the ‘1Goal’ campaign to send all children around the world to school, reminiscent of the ‘Send My Friend to School’ campaign in the ‘Make Poverty History’ summer of 2005 (Plate 5.1). Such campaigns have been criticised for their reification of stereotypical images of poor (usually) African children, needing Northern children’s help to go to school, their agency once again negated. This campaign was no different, and had a video embedded on the website, presented by two trendy British teenagers, guiding the viewer through the usual rural scenes of poor African children working in fields rather than going to school. Michael had shown it to the children in his class, but had been reluctant to show Saidi, concerned that it would offend him. Saidi came into the classroom halfway through the video, however, and after lunch he asked Michael if he could see the whole clip. One of the countries highlighted was Tanzania, and Saidi recognised the place as a Maasai area. Cecilia joined us, and looking over his shoulder, saw the young girl in the Maasai talking about going to school, and sighed ‘oh! It is a hard life!’ In that moment, any thought that the African continent was a homogenous entity, in which the same problems were
experienced by all people, was at once dispelled. Cecilia was ‘othering’ those in need, and feeling empathy for them, as much as we were.

5.4.1 Forms of caring

A critical ethics of care is founded on a ‘social ontology of connection’, in which caring relationships are constructed between people, proximate and distant (Lawson, 2007: 3). The school partnerships are constitutive of such caring relationships. But what forms of care were being enacted in this context? In her critique of humanitarian responses, Brender draws upon the work of political care theorist, Joan Tronto, who makes the clear distinction between two categories of care. Caring for someone implies that there is an individual or object of care, and involves a caring response to the ‘concrete, physical, spiritual, intellectual, psychic, and emotional needs of others’ (cited in Brender, 2001: 210). In the context of the school partnership, the orphaned children were, in most cases, being cared for by their extended family, or guardians, who met their immediate physical needs as best they could. The other mode of care is where the ‘carer’ cares about another, involving a more generalised concern for less tangible others, like those in distant lands, perhaps known only through mediated representations. Again, in the context of the school partnership, it was clear that those in the Copplestone community, who committed to sponsorship of an orphaned child, or even donated money towards Donge School, exhibited this indirect form of care, that is to say they cared about others, through sending money, letters, and gifts. It is this form of caring about others that is most susceptible to the misrepresentation of the sufferers (Brender, 2001).

A relational ethics of care raises a further question; how far should emotions, such as compassion, love, and empathy, be the foundation of the caring response? I have already demonstrated how care becomes problematic when it is founded on the emotions provoked by the shocking images and tales of suffering. Feminist scholar Spelman believes that emotionally-charged actions can serve to ‘reinforce the very patterns of economic and political subordination responsible for such suffering’ (in Brender, 2001: 214). Ahmed contends that feeling is ‘crucial to the struggle against injustice, but in a way that does not take feeling as the ground for action’ (2004: 196). Thus, there is a strong argument that care must be critical,
and re-politicised, through a closer attention to the historical, cultural, and political context. Critical care requires the potential ‘carer’ to be attentive to the needs of the ‘cared about’ (after Tronto, in Evans & Thomas, 2009). The school partnership offered a unique opportunity for British teachers to mediate the knowledges of the ‘caring’ people back in Copplestone. In the following section, I present two ethnographic portraits from the teachers’ visits that illustrate some of the multiple contexts in which the caring responses were produced and negotiated between Copplestone and Donge.

(i) ‘Carer’: the story of the ‘orphan sponsors’

The creation of Copplestone’s orphan sponsorship scheme, and the one-off payment of £42 by many members of the community, led many to deduce that the orphan ‘problem’ had in some fashion been resolved by their intervention. However, by the time Saidi and Cecilia visited Copplestone in July 2009, the ‘orphan’ story still prevailed in the village’s imaginary of the partnership, with some sponsors from Copplestone expressing an interest in meeting the Tanzanian visitors and thinking about the next steps for the project. On the final day of their visit, then, Stuart decided to hold an open meeting about the orphan project, inviting all local sponsors to come into school and meet Saidi and Cecilia. For the sponsors and the Donge visitors, this meeting presented a space in which local knowledges of the orphan context, and the cultural meanings attached to them, were made apparent and negotiated:

‘We all sat around the low table in the classroom, our knees uncomfortably high on tiny chairs. Chairing the meeting, Stuart invited us to introduce ourselves – Grace, an older woman in her sixties, was smartly dressed and well-spoken, and told us she had taught in Tanzania for five years between 1966 and 1971. She had no children or grandchildren at the school but had read about it in the Parish magazine; both her and her daughter had sponsored one orphan each. Mr Jones introduced himself and his wife - again no connection to the school, just wanted to help. Peter was a younger man in his thirties, with a son at the school. Paula had a child in the school, her youngest child sat with her in the meeting. All listened attentively to what Saidi and Cecilia had to say about the orphans in Donge. A

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102 The sponsors names have all been changed
parent I recognised from earlier in the week came in later and sat on a table behind the group. Saidi told us about the ‘types of orphan’ they had at Donge, those that have two parents but live in a ‘critical condition’ and those with one or no parents. As he read out the names of the sponsored children, he tapped the sheet of paper he was holding and said, ‘sorry to say we have two pupils which HIV positive, sorry to say so’. Someone asked what the outlook was for children with HIV, and he replied that the children needed medication but did not have the money to pay for it. The children were dependent on their parents or guardians for support and the school was only able to play a very limited role in their care. The sponsors were curious about the lives of the school children – how many in the school? How large were the classes? Was primary education free? Did most of the parents work? When the questions had been answered, Saidi started to sift through the armful of correspondence that he had brought with him from Donge. As the letters were allocated to those present, or set aside for later delivery, he explained how the teachers at Donge had sat down with the children, asked them what they wanted to say, and translated their messages from Swahili into English, pointing out that some had not been translated due to their length. Several children had sent photographs and small gifts to their sponsors, and those in the meeting received these with obvious delight. Bev was eager to write back to her family’s sponsored child and asked if she could send it direct to their home in Tanzania. Sighing, Saidi pointed out that it would likely get lost if it was sent to their home, or even to the school’s address, so the best option was to direct it through Mr Busby so he could send it to Saidi’s home address. ‘So what else could we do to help? Should we send stuff or -?’ asked someone. Speaking hesitantly, Saidi reaffirmed that the support for the orphans had been for their schooling but if the families in the UK wanted to send things over to a specific child, then the teachers would need to call the guardians and give them ‘instruction’ on how to distribute the gifts.

As Saidi and Cecilia continued the task of sorting through the twenty-seven orphans’ names on their list and the corresponding messages, another conversation began amongst the sponsors. Shocked by the revelation that some of the orphaned children were HIV+, one asked ‘do you think it would be a thing if we all gave a bit of money for a medical fund [...]?’ The others agreed that would be a good idea, but it would need to function through the school. Stuart was asked to talk about the origins of the link and he reiterated his desire to follow the lead of
the Somers Park-Chumbageni partnership, creating a link that was not just one-way, but a focus for cultivating wider world awareness. He was clearly keen to relinquish the responsibility for the organisation of the project; he had a school to manage and found that the sponsorship project took up time and energy he required elsewhere. He saw two ways forward, to either operate on an individual basis, sponsor to sponsored child, or to keep together as a group. His role was initiating it but now he saw himself more in the role of an individual sponsor. There was an air of uncertainty in the room; no one seemed to know how to move forward, some ideas were considered out loud, but nothing was agreed. Turning to Saidi, Stuart asked him what the best thing was to do and his reply was unequivocal; ‘what we need is to make sure we don’t show the difference, OK?’ Everyone murmured in agreement and he continued:

for example, when somebody was sent maybe clothes, somebody book, or a pencil, it shows variations, yah, so the best of me to do is when I go back maybe I can see to the guardian and for those who have parent to ask them or to discuss with them what really they need to support their children [...] for letter writing or small supporting maybe it’s OK but for the big need, it’s better when we have to share with the parents, yah.

Peter nodded his head in agreement, but then Paula offered another idea – what about filling shoeboxes with small items, like pencils, or toys, or a hairbrush? Stuart thought ahead to the logistics of carrying twenty-seven shoeboxes on the ‘plane to Tanzania in October, and Mrs Wilkins, who had just joined us, reminded the group about the shoebox appeal that was already in place for the Romanian orphanage. Reluctant to let go of the shoebox idea, Paula added that perhaps, then, the items could be bought over there? Saidi thought the orphans had enough school items for now, but perhaps the sponsors could supply bags of rice to their homes, so they would think ‘ah, our parents care about us’. Stuart considered this a manageable idea that could contribute to the Tanzanian economy as well. A kilo of rice cost 2400 Tanzanian shillings (TSh), a small contribution that would make a big difference to the families they believed. They agreed letters could be sent alongside this food support, but from the other side of the table Mrs Jones queried the small amount of contributions – surely the families could make use of more money? Stuart mooted the idea of formalising the sponsorship into a charity (like

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103 2,400 TSh = £1.00 (approximately)
Chums) but this was met with slightly scornful laughter; he quickly acknowledged
‘I know this is hard work but by doing that would make sure there would then be a
pot of money to make sure [...] there would be funds to make sure it would carry
on’.104 The charitable idea was quickly ignored but Mrs Wilkins sat looking stern in
the corner, arms folded, and noted her surprise at the ‘minimal’ contribution
compared to ‘other organisations’, and described herself as ‘very uncomfortable’
with not having an annual fixed sponsorship arrangement. Two children came into
the classroom and announced that the rest of the school was waiting to start their
farewell assembly for Saidi and Cecilia. They left the room with Stuart and the
sponsors’ conversation continued. Mr Jones thought that one problem was their
lack of true understanding about the extent of poverty in Tanzania and the
inherent dangers of ‘throwing money’ at people, whose local economic situation
they could only begin to grasp. When Stuart, Cecilia, and Saidi returned, there was
some polite chitter about the last few days of their visit, before Mr Jones stood up
and announced they had to leave. The meeting came to a conclusion with no
further mention made of the arrangements for the sponsored children.’ (Fieldnotes,
14/07/2009)

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In the immediate aftermath of the visit from the Tanzanian teachers in July 2009, I
had a growing sense that the partnership was progressing beyond a fixed notion of
charitable endeavour. I heard no more news of the orphan sponsorship after the
meeting and when I saw Stuart again just before our visit to Tanzania in October
2009, he told me there had been a meeting the week before where the sponsors
had agreed to write letters to the orphans for them to take over on the visit, just as
a message of ‘hope’. Although he had indicated in the sponsor meeting that he
wished to step back from any direct leadership of the sponsorship scheme and had
opened up the opportunity for someone else to take it forward as they had in
Somers Park with the Chums for Watoto charity, it appeared that no one was
prepared to take it further. When Stuart returned from Tanzania after his first
visit, it was his emotional energy that drove the project forward; with this affective

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104 Somers Park Primary School set up a charity called ‘Chums for Watoto’ some years previously. The aim of the charity was
to support orphaned children who had been to Chumbageni Primary School, through into secondary school; providing fees,
school uniform and materials, food, and health care. Individuals or families from Somers Park sponsor a child for around
£15 a month. When the teachers visit Chumbageni, a trustee from the charity accompanies them and finds out from the
school what the orphans’ needs are for that year, which is then relayed back to the sponsors in the UK.
source no longer flowing, the project seemed destined to fade. What lingered, however, was the individual sponsors’ desire to connect in a more material sense with the children. They asked Stuart to exchange their letters for photographs and video footage of the orphans, their attempt to ‘identify’ and connect with the children they had sponsored, in lieu of an embodied, face-to-face encounter.

**(ii) ‘Cared-about’: the story of the orphan guardians**

In October 2009, I accompanied Stuart, Nicky, and Naomi, from Copplestone, on their first visit to Donge. It had been scheduled that Naomi and Stuart would teach English and Mathematics respectively to two separate classes on Tuesday morning, with Nicky and I assisting. The morning proved challenging for us all, but particularly for Naomi and Stuart who taught full classes of nearly eighty children, for over two hours. It had also rained steadily for most of the morning and the school grounds were flooded. A formal meeting between the orphans’ guardians, the school management team (Saidi and Cecilia), and the visitors from Copplestone was scheduled for after lunch. This meeting was effectively the equivalent to the sponsor meeting held in Copplestone back in July. Again, this meeting at Donge proved to be an illuminating moment in the partnership:

‘The meeting was held in one of the classrooms, dark in comparison with the harsh sunlight outside. A brisk wind swept through the open windows, yet still it was hot. About fifteen men and women participated in the meeting, the news of which had been sent home with the children over the previous few days. There were twenty-seven orphaned children in Donge being sponsored by people in Copplestone, so the group of fifteen assembled represented over half of those involved. The guardians sat down behind the school desks, facing the front. We took our seats facing them, behind two tables that had been pushed together at the front of the classroom. Saidi had been called away in the morning to a family emergency and so Cecilia, in her position as Deputy Head, chaired the meeting. Following brief introductions translated by Cecilia, Stuart stood up, thanked people for making it through the rain and said ‘OK I have been working with a group of parents from Copplestone, who are very passionate who want to support the orphan children in Tanzania.’ Cecilia translated and the group murmurs ‘sawa, sawa’.105

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105 ‘Sawa sawa’ translates as an agreement, like OK or right or ‘I see’ in English. It is an almost universal response in Swahili.
'They asked me to say thank you on their behalf,' Stuart went on slowly, 'for all of the support that you are doing with the children'. Cecilia translated in rapid Swahili and they listened attentively, saying 'sawa, sawa' again in agreement. The orphaned children were gathered for the meeting and Cecilia asked Stuart if we wanted to see them now. He said that would be good and Cecilia sent someone to bring the children into the classroom. Stuart went on, 'the children at the school have made the orphans some gifts – a name badge. [...] All of the people who have supported the orphans would like to know what you would like us to do, what we can do to provide more help. When Saidi Moshi came to England he suggested that you might like us to buy rice for you to feed the orphans [sawa] – but we would really like to know from you what you would like from us.'

The rain started again, hitting the tin roof of the classroom and dripping off the eaves, as the children entered the room quietly, squeezing themselves into the desks at the back. There was a long period of introductions of each guardian, naming the children they were supporting. While the rain poured down, Naomi and Nicky checked off the children's names, sifted through the pile of drawings, letters and gifts, and handed them to Stuart. He called each child's name out to the room, Cecilia helping when he hesitated with their names. One at a time, the children walked hesitatingly from the back of the room, took their letters, and stood holding their name badges to their chests while Stuart took their photograph. A call to prayer sounded in the distance. The guardians waited patiently. A mobile phone went off. The process took almost twenty minutes, and when they were finished Stuart turned to Cecilia to tell her it would be a good time for the group to talk again about what they wanted the sponsors to do next, and if they wanted rice to be bought for them. Invited to offer their suggestions, people began to speak animatedly, all at once; Cecilia laughed and shouted, 'moja, moja!'106

One woman stood up and spoke in measured tones, saying she was happy for their help, for giving her children bags, school uniform and shoes. An older woman stood up and said ‘I thank you for your help and God will help you when you are working, you will get more!’ A man stood up and faced us; Cecilia translated, ‘he said that – thanks for the help, and if you can take his children to study there, he will be happy there!’ She laughed as she was speaking and Stuart answered quickly, 'if you could say we will make sure that she has a good education at Donge, we will

106 Moja means one, in this case ‘one at a time!’
support her through secondary so she will have a good chance.’ The man continued to speak, saying that it was not his child, but his grandchild – her father had died in 2004, and now he had problems caring for her and needed more support. Stuart replied carefully, ‘what sort of support – with rice?’ More people stood and expressed their gratitude for the people of Copplestone. Then, the mood appeared to shift; more people wanted to speak, some speaking over each other. As she addressed the group before her, Cecilia’s speech became rapid and insistent. The rain had grown steadily heavier and as the others spoke, they raised their voices above the hammering on the tin roof. A man at the back of the room stood and spoke at length; I strained to catch the words, but his speech was diminished by the rain. Cecilia did not translate but instead spoke back to him, speaking fast. The rain grew deafening and the discussion amongst the guardians became more animated. Cecilia joined the discussion before finally she laughed and turned back to us; ‘it help him that you can say that you can help them to open an account for the orphan, now that account will help them when someone pass to secondary, now they use that account but not now.’ The request was for more structured support for paying secondary fees for the orphans when they leave, like the Chums for Watoto charity that supports orphans in Chumbageni to go on to attend secondary. Stuart stood up at this juncture and attempted to summarise what had been discussed. First, he said, there seemed to be a strong idea for Copplestone to provide rice for the families. Secondly, he restated that an account for paying secondary school fees had been suggested, before moving on to say that over the following months, letters and photographs would be sent over by the sponsors and that the important message was for them to know that ‘the children there at the back have touched all of our hearts’. A woman had a question – what about my son who is already at secondary school? Could they help? Cecilia answered that it was beyond the scope of Copplestone to help pupils that had already left Donge. Stuart added, ‘the problem here is there are so many children – we would like to help them all but we can’t, we would like to but we can’t, but it is important that the children that we have here, we do our best for.’ The rain eased off, and as another man asked a question, the metal bell sounded outside, marking the end of the school day. He wanted the visitors to come and see how they live at home – where they live, how they live, how they eat at home, Cecilia stressed each point as she spoke. The bell sounded again. There was another request – a woman said that the school needed
electricity. Stuart agreed, citing Chumbageni, and said they would work on it. Yet another request – ‘she said that you provide rice, now there is no somewhere to cook, a kitchen, there is no kitchen.’ Again, Stuart concurred that a kitchen was important and asked if that was something for which they would like Copplestone to raise money. Another woman added, who would cook the porridge? Is the rice for cooking porridge? There began to be some confusion over the details of the support between the families’ homes and the kitchen, so Stuart took care with his answer. There were no further questions from the group, and Cecilia turned to Stuart, ‘will you remember it?’ she laughed.’ (Fieldnotes, 27/10/2009)

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The inclusion of these two key events in the partnership seeks to enrich our understanding of the ways in which the ‘orphan situation’ and concepts of care at a distance were produced and negotiated in these encounters. Unlike other schools, the Donge-Copplestone partnership did not undertake the provision of a formal, regulated food programme for the orphans, doing no more than purchasing several large sacks of rice to support the orphans’ families in their home environment, as promised in the July 2009 meeting in Donge. In contrast, the Chums for Watoto charity at Somers Park Primary School started with the small-scale supply of regular uji for the orphans at their morning breaks, but expanded the provision to include a more nutritious food programme based on fruit and rice, prepared by a paid cook in a newly-built kitchen. This programme constituted a substantial commitment of £3600 per year by Somers Park, to be raised through fundraising efforts within the school community. Towards the end of my research, the ‘plight’ of the orphans that had once formed the cornerstone of the Copplestone-Donge partnership had retreated from view. In June 2010, when Saidi and Cecilia returned to visit Copplestone, the absence of any reference to the orphans’ situation or needs was notable. In the teachers’ visit back to Tanzania in October 2010, again, the orphan sponsorship received no formal attention, and no further contact with the orphans’ guardians was made.107

107 Since my research ended, the sponsorship programme for the orphans has been revisited, with the Copplestone staff mindful of their responsibility to see their support for the orphans through.
5.4.2 Reworking the caring relationship

The interrogation of ‘distance’, through the troubling of the traditional centre/periphery binary in postcolonial theory raises important questions around the boundaries of care and responsibility. Principally, who cares, for whom, and where? As the two vignettes described above attest, through pursuing a charitable, rather than a learning, partnership primarily, it appears that the British partners adopted the role of ‘carer’, and the Tanzanian orphans, their fellow school pupils, and guardians, became the ‘cared-about’. This final section considers this straightforward story of care and charity in different ways, unsettling and reworking the taken-for-granted binary between ‘carer’ and ‘cared-about’ in a charitable partnership. It explores four points of departure: the heterogeneous nature of caring, the co-production of care between the Northern and Southern partners, the hidden nature of Tanzanian care, and the reworking of the notion of care in the context of community participation.

(i) The heterogeneous nature of caring

Firstly, the ‘carer’ role that the British partners adopted was by no means a fixed and stable identity. As I mentioned in an earlier chapter, portraying a school as if it were a homogenous body, able to speak and act in a unified manner, is to neglect the heterogeneous nature of the school assemblage. Schools are comprised of many actors, from the children and the teachers, to the teaching assistants, administrative staff, headteacher, school governors, and parents. Within the emerging school partnerships, then, the caring and charitable actions taken on behalf of the Tanzanian schools presented opportunities for discussion, disagreement, and discomfort. As I described earlier in this chapter, opinions frequently diverged amongst the teaching staff in most of the researched schools, but in two particular schools, the most notable clash was between the headteacher, who remained in the UK, and the teachers participating in the visit to Tanzania. The vision for the school partnership with Darajani was contested; talking to the two teachers that visited Tanzania in 2009, it was clear they believed that witnessing the needs first hand trumped the British Council’s objectives that were being closely adhered to by their headteacher:
Our headteacher’s quite adamant that it’s curriculum-based, she wants a curriculum so that we’re learning about Africa, and they’re learning about us and there’s lots of sort of shared curriculum, and [we] just feel like you need to get electricity and make the school safe [...] and sort the food problems for the orphans out, and I’m sure that’ll happen but when we came out it was very much like push for the academic side of it. (Sarah, 27/10/2009)

In a similar context, the two teachers from Holmer Primary School, Asha and Angela, found that their own approach to the partnership had shifted considerably from that of their headteacher. In a reflective conversation on their return to Holmer, Asha told me about the discordance:

When we came back certainly we were quite keen if we could support Mzingani – um, certainly the orphans we felt that, you know, Mama Mushi wanted to provide them with better food, didn’t she? And water situation. And that was something we personally felt very keen to support – um, but our head’s decision was if you look into the global partnerships, particularly the funding from the British Council, you are not supposed to do anything like that. (Asha, 21/1/2010)

The adoption of the role of ‘carer’ also generated conflicting emotions for the British teachers. Some expressed their distinctly uncomfortable feelings around the way in which the Tanzanians regarded them as rich and bountiful, as a result of their fundraising activities and gifts early on in the partnerships. The lingering legacy of the ‘white benefactor’ haunted the partnerships. Stuart Sewell recounted an awkward moment when Halifa told him he was now the ‘father’ of Chumbageni School:

I sat down straight away and said it’s really, really important Halifa, I am not – first of all I don’t want to be, I don’t want you to see me in that way [...] fortunately they have a big thing of being sisters and brothers, so I said a much stronger relationship is to be your brother – now he’s thrilled with that, as a ‘caca’, and I’m thrilled with that. (Stuart Sewell, 30/09/2009)

In a post-visit interview, Stuart Busby shared memories of his extreme discomfort in the ‘horrible, horrible’ orphan guardian meeting in October 2009, which I described above:

That was giving stuff out and very much looking at, yeah, we’re the saviours – hated it, hated that meeting. (Stuart, 23/01/2010)
It was inevitable that the ‘carers’ and ‘cared-about’ would meet at some point and I suggested that it had been very difficult to get a sense of what was said from Cecilia’s translation of the guardians’ comments. Stuart recalled the man who had requested we take his child back to England, and I said:

Well, I thought at the time that that was a joke – and then […] I heard Cecilia afterwards saying the man’s ignorant, he should have not said that, and I thought actually she didn’t think it was a joke, she took it quite seriously. (Lynne, 23/01/2010)

Stuart replied that Saidi had apologised for the guardian’s comments the following day. Stuart traced his temporary apathy towards the partnership back to that moment, and Naomi recalled feeling the partnership’s role had become all about giving out money. The caring role, and its subsequent effect on the orphan guardians’ perceptions of the British teachers’ capacity to care, generated negative feelings amongst the Copplestone staff that temporarily placed the future of the partnership in jeopardy following that meeting.

(ii) The co-production of care

I have discussed the various ways in which the British teachers either adhered to, or diverged from, the original objectives of the GSP programme, and the consequences of adopting a caring role in the partnership, but the school partnerships comprised two partners, and must be understood as being co-constituted by both partners. The second way through which the caring relationship may be reworked, then, concerns how the Tanzanian partners were themselves complicit in, and co-producers of, the charitable directions the partnerships undertook. The Tanzanian headteachers were, in many cases, instrumental in generating the charitable impulse, through how they chose to represent their schools’ ‘problems’ or challenges to the visiting British teachers, and through discourses of comparison both with the British schools themselves, and with other successful partnerships in Tanga, namely Chumbageni. The Northleigh-Darajani partnership presented a persuasive example of this co-constitution. During the welcome ceremony that greeted the British teachers on their first day in Darajani in October 2009, a short ‘report’ was read aloud by one of the teachers, in which the various problems facing the school were numbered
and interspersed by gratitude expressed for the help and gifts they had received from the British teachers. I include an excerpt from the report below:

The school has no electric power and for that matter, the security of the school and the properties during the night are at stake. So the school cannot give any education on the use of computer and internet due to lack of electric power and facilities. Due to the electric problems we thank Northleigh Primary School very much, with all our hearts of giving the money which we use it for wire in three rooms, including the headteachers' office and staff room. Also for giving us a laptop, one CD player, alphabet frieze, number line, various CDs, templates material for displaying, pencils, sharpeners, rubbers, sellotapes, stickers, tissue papers, alphabet calendars and a cheque of 325 pounds. Number 5, we have the attention of the school buildings – we have the attention is required in the roofs of the buildings, floors, some plastic, toilet and water pipe system. Number 6 orphans – the school has a number of 87 orphans, 45 boys and 42 girls. The problems facing the orphans are living in a very hard situation that lead to not getting health services, nutrition services, and education facilities. Number 7 conclusion – if our school is assisted alleviate the above mentioned problems the academic achievements will improve in year to come. (Darajani, 29/10/2009)

This listing of the school’s problems became a formative memory of the first day in Darajani for both Northleigh teachers, yet even this presentation was understood in different ways. In a pragmatic interpretation, Sarah believed the Tanzanian teachers were not requesting help, but simply sharing the challenges facing the school:

[L]ike this is what we've got, this is how we're trying to move forward, however these are the problems stopping us moving forward and that's how I explained it at the staff meeting back at Northleigh – you know, it wasn't the case that they were asking for it. (Sarah, 03/03/2010)

She added:

I remember the staff meeting, one of our teachers said 'oh, but is this not us coming in and saying we'll do this for you?’ [...] I said no, not at all, we're not charging in and doing anything, it's things that they've told us that are a problem, you know? (Sarah, 03/03/2010)

Sheila remembered the experience in a very different way, describing their first day thus:

[W]hen we were at Darajani we were told very specifically, in no uncertain terms, that the kind of help they're looking for will involve helping the orphans and I know that the British Council don’t want to know about fundraising and stuff, but
the teachers at Darajani are very specific, you know, there’s no point sending over number squares and number lines and books to children who haven’t had enough to eat that morning, because they’re not going to do anything with them, because all their body will need is food [...] Yes, so we were told that very specifically. And it’s true, everybody knows that... (Sheila, 03/03/2010)

For Asha and Angela, the presentation of their partner school’s challenges was a shade less ambiguous. On her visit to England the previous summer (2009), Mama Mushi, headteacher of Mzingani, had been shown around the ICT suite in the school. During our conversation under the banda in the Panori, we talked about the giving of laptops as gifts, and the expectations that were generated by schools witnessing the items given to other schools in the district. Asha said at the time:

You can’t blame the Africans can you? Because they see, especially when they come over to our country and see everything we’ve got in our classroom, white boards and laptops and everything else, I mean, um, our head was going to donate our old desktops to Mzingani but Mushi said no, she didn’t want any of that rubbish, she wanted the laptop the head had – so it’s difficult isn’t it? (Asha, 27/10/2009)

For Mama Mushi, Chumbageni Primary School provided a powerful example of what a partnership with a British school could achieve, if only all parties were sufficiently proactive, and she often referred to the ‘success’ of the partnership. In an interview after the visit, Angela recalled how Mama Mushi was saying:

How come that Somers Park have managed to do all this for Chumbageni, but I think when Asha went to the British Council meeting, it was said that you’re not there to give over money to them, you’re there to work as a partnership and Mama Mushi couldn’t quite understand that, ‘cause she kept on asking us ‘when are you going to do this? When are you going to do that?’, we said well, that’s not the idea. ‘But Stuart [Somers Park] did it, Stuart did it.’ Mmm. (Angela, 29/03/2010)

The partnerships presented a complex moral terrain over which the British teachers had to traverse. Perhaps because of their role in processing the funding application, or the unlimited access to internet resources surrounding the programme, the British teachers were initially more conversant in the aims of the GSP programme and as a result, they were the ones who tended to find themselves in the position of negotiating the charitable issue with their partner schools. As a result of their personal biographies, experience, and knowledge, the teachers dealt with this negotiation in varying manners, drawing upon diverse narratives to
rationalise the position in which they found themselves. For some British teachers, the recurrent theme of money, fundraising, and charity within the encounters threatened to become an uncomfortable and problematic leitmotif of the partnership that required diversionary tactics if failure of the relationship was to be avoided. The partnership between Holmer and Mzingani, for example, was fraught with such difficulties, characterised by the two headteachers’ resolute positions. The Tanzanian headteacher, Mama Mushi, maintained very clear ideas about what a partnership could generate in terms of income for her school, and the British headteacher remained equally attached to the value of a learning partnership. For Angela and Asha, managing the expectations of their partner school on the ‘frontline’ produced a series of diversionary tactics in which the unsavoury theme of financial support was negated. Angela spoke about the difficulty they experienced whenever the Mama Mushi raised the persistent, and thorny, issue of money:

It’s difficult isn’t it? We just said well, that’s not the idea, as we understand, of this partnership and I think she was aware of it, because every time she’d talk about it, she would say ‘ah yes, but we haven’t got anything, but we’re happy, we are very happy and God loves us’. Um, so yeah it was difficult. And as soon as she started on that tack, we sort of tried to veer her away from talking about that, ‘cause she was always talking about money. ‘How come that Chumbageni has so much money? Stuart has done so much’. (Angela, 29/03/2010)

At times, the tactics found recourse in humourous exchanges. Laughing as she recounted the story, Angela told me how her headteacher gave Mama Mushi a handbag as a personal gift when she visited Holmer in 2009, and as she opened it, she looked inside and said ‘oh, no money in it!’. Mama Mushi was evidently referring to the gift-giving superstition of putting a silver coin inside a new purse or handbag to ensure the recipient has good luck, and its omission by the British teachers led to a confusing, and comedic interaction in which they believed she was revealing her true fixation upon money. The money theme continued into the British teachers’ visit to Mzingani in 2009, when they believed it necessary on several occasions to distract or ‘steer’ Mama Mushi away from the fundraising ideas she presented, towards more palatable projects for the partnership from their point of view. There was a sense during the visit that this overt inclination towards the financial support that she believed her school could leverage through the partnership was increasingly problematic and required certain responses from
Angela and Asha in order to ‘contain’ the situation, and by implication contain Mama Mushi.

The presence of Tanga schools with demonstrative, material benefits from their partnerships, and the visibility of such improvements to the other headteachers, ensured that the thorny issue of money was never far from the surface. I have mentioned some of the experiences of the two newest partnerships on the first visit in October 2009 (Holmer-Mzingani, and Northleigh-Darajani) for whom this nascent issue was being negotiated, but even for those partnerships that had been established for some years, discussions around this fiscal tension continued. On rare occasions, these discussions prompted the all-but taboo question of whether the Tanzanian teachers were taking advantage of the partnerships and the charitable nature of the British school communities. The ‘answer’ to this question was invariably complicated, being informed from various positions and emerging from a number of interested arenas. For example, there were moments where I wondered if Stuart Sewell questioned the behaviour of the Tanzanian headteachers that he encountered, when during a conversation on his final evening in Tanga (2010), he shared his belief that although everyone was ‘striving to be equitable’, there was still ‘an awful lot of game-playing by the Tanzanians’. I suggested that the visibility of Chumbageni’s ‘progress’ had introduced a competitive edge to the network, and Stuart concurred that Halifa had told him that other schools were indeed envious of his school’s position. Stuart’s supposition of the Tanzanians’ game-playing was quickly tempered, however, with the well-rehearsed theme of inequity between the Northern and Southern schools – ‘you can’t ignore the fact that we are financially very, very wealthy and Tanzania is extremely poor’. The possibility of the Tanzanian teachers in some way working the school partnership system was an unpalatable thought for the majority of the British teachers, and instead justification mechanisms were enacted to soothe the distasteful topic. The Tanzanian ‘game-playing’ was framed by Stuart, for instance, through a cultural lens. Crewe and Harrison (1999) note that, within the context of international development, culture is perceived by the Northern parties as something that the Southern people ‘have’ and that can be used to account for behaviours that might counter the hegemonic Northern ideas of how things should be done. The British teachers operated within the notion that the discreet category of ‘Tanzanian culture’ existed, despite the reality of the presence of over
one hundred different tribes within the nation state. The Tanga teachers also referred to their national identity rather than their tribal affiliations - Chagga or Sambaa, for instance - so it was not unreasonable for the visiting teachers to pursue this cultural line. On one of the first occasions I met Stuart Sewell, he explained to me how his school’s fundraising could be justified through a cultural lens:

The culture in Tanzania - because I think it’s the seventh poorest country in the world - is they are a very sharing people, their history is very egalitarian, and family strengths are everything in there, and if you’ve got something, it’s polite to go up and ask for something, so if I’m desperate for something I can ask you for it, but it’s equally polite for you to say very bluntly to me ‘I haven’t got that, I can’t give it to you’. So you’re working on the one hand with the British Council saying you shouldn’t do fundraising, but you mustn’t impose culture – but their culture is to ask, so they’re saying ‘we want computers, we want fresh water’ and if you can do it, why wouldn’t you do it?” (Stuart Sewell, 26/07/2009)

The Tanzanian culture was presented as immutable and non-negotiable, a fixed and static entity that Stuart thought I might ‘uncover’ in my role as researcher when I visited the country for the first time. In this interpretation, culture was possessed by the Tanzanian teachers he encountered, neglecting the premise that culture is produced and constructed relationally, that is to say, it is produced through the ongoing interactions between people. When people interact with people from other places, with other cultural norms, rules, and obligations, then culture becomes an always-in-the-making product of the relationships between people. In the case of the school partnerships, teachers from both Britain and Tanzania met and formed relationships – it was not unlikely, then, that cultural norms would change as a result. To consider the reasons behind the Tanzanians’ request for financial support from their Northern partners as purely cultural is to frame culture as a fixed category that lies beyond social life.

This cultural perspective lends a further ‘layer’ to our understandings of the charitable responses of the British teachers, and the ways in which they were elicited, or otherwise, by the Tanzanian teachers. There was a pervading curiosity around the motivations for the Tanzanian teachers’ requests for charitable support. When I presented the cultural perspective to Chambi Chachage, an independent researcher/ blogger in Dar-es-Salaam, he was quick to dismiss this interpretation of Tanzanian culture, and said it was more likely that the teachers
were making the most of the well-meaning *wazungu*. And so, at other times, this cultural interpretation mutated into a more personalised account of individual headteacher’s motives. The ‘motives’ or ‘agenda’ of Saidi Moshi in the school partnership, for example, was the topic of many conversations. Stuart Sewell considered Saidi ‘*the shrewdest of the lot in some ways*’, and on visiting his brother’s restaurant in town one afternoon, he found him to be a ‘shrewd business man’, concluding ‘*this is Saidi; Saidi knows exactly what he’s doing*’. The distinction between culture and individual agency was drawn; the notion of a fixed culture inhabited by all Tanzanians was troubled by Saidi’s shrewd and political actions on behalf of his school. As he qualified later, ‘*if Saidi is given the position that Donge is in, and is skilful enough to manipulate this situation to Donge’s end, that’s not bad going for the school is it?*’ Saidi’s role as a headteacher fighting for his school was certainly one with which Stuart could identify – ‘*you’ve got to fight your corner if you’re charged with a school [...] I’m employed by Somers Park and I fight my corner tooth and claw*’. His understanding of the culture of social support in Tanzania was modified through this shared identification of school leadership. During the 2010 visit, three headteachers approached him to register their interest in ‘acquiring’ a school partnership with a Malvern school. Reflecting on their careful responses to why they wanted a link – ‘*it’s the curriculum, so we can learn from each other*’ - he conceded that their requests could be viewed as pragmatic opportunities to improve their schools. He adds, ‘*I say pole pole, it’s slow [...] but actually, how can you blame them?*’ In these moments, it was apparent how the original aims of the global school partnership programme as stipulated by the British Council were subverted by the Tanzanian schools.

(iii) *Revealing the hidden and complex stories of care* ¹⁰⁹

The third potential for reframing the binary care relationship arose from a growing awareness that it was not only the British that exhibited a caring response towards the ‘needs’ of the Tanzanian children and schools, and that the context of caring responses was always more complex than it first appeared. My ethnographic approach afforded ample opportunity to delve beneath the Tanzanian perspectives of the caring actions within the partnerships, and understand these in a wider

¹⁰⁸ Pole pole means ‘slowly’
social context, although it should be noted that it was difficult to reach the emotions of the Tanzanian teachers, who were more reserved in their emotional expression by their own admission. Still, getting to know the teachers and headteachers over a period of time allowed sufficient trust to build up between us, and I was rewarded with some rich stories from their perspectives.

The care for the orphaned children was perceived very differently by the Tanzanian headteachers, and the partnerships sometimes afforded the space and opportunity for the British teachers to understand the Tanzanians own caring responses to the need visible before them. Stuart Sewell told me that the school governor who visited Chumbageni with him in 2010 recognised that the informal role that Halifa had taken on in his school community was equivalent to the role of social worker in a British community. As the numbers of orphans grew over recent years, the Tanzanian headteachers witnessed the correlation with lower school attendance, and came to recognise their own role in ensuring some measure of support was extended to those families most in need in the local community. In Majana Mapana, for example, this took the form of distributing the vegetables produced in the school garden:

Some we provide to the childrens, mostly to the victims, because we have some who are victims in our school [...] so we divide let’s say vegetables, or sometimes we give some money or sometimes we buy flour and oil in order to make their own food in their home. We try to make so in order to encourage them to come to school. (Juliet Magrita, 21/10/2010)

One of the teachers from Gofu-juu, William, had made his own personal commitment to two orphans in his school, whom he had brought home to live with his own family, and this was known by the teachers from The Wyche, assisting the equalisation of the caring relationship between the two schools. Talking with Elinipa, headteacher of Darajani, I gleaned a sense of her personal responsibility for the welfare of all the school pupils, witnessing her visible exhaustion when dealing with a matter of security of the water supply. Talking with Mama Mushi on several occasions allowed me a deeper insight into the emotional demands of being a headteacher, with responsibility for the achievement and welfare of hundreds of children. Here, we were introduced to the strident African woman who was not afraid to ask for what she needed, an uncomfortable experience for
some of the British teachers whose perceptions of Africans did not generally extend beyond gracious recipients of care and guidance.

A complex story of care and responsibility, on behalf of the school staff and headteacher of Donge, was to be found beyond the Copplestone story of orphan sponsorship. In a long conversation following the first visit in 2009, Saidi shared his thoughts about his school’s role in the welfare and education of such children. He reflected on the orphan guardians’ assumption that everything needed to be done by the parents from Copplestone and was very clear that support for the orphans should be mobilised through the partnership between Copplestone and Donge, and not from the Northern school alone. He described the food programme that was already provided by the government, and the comprehensive manner in which it had been incorporated into the school system. Very much aware of the need for the orphaned children to retain a commitment to their own learning, he outlined the importance of demonstrating the value of the aid from the Copplestone community, ‘because it is the personal money from somebody’. He had very clear ideas of how the sponsorship of the orphans needed to work, preferring to view the orphans as a group to be supported collectively. Yet, the sponsors in Copplestone were steeped in a cultural tradition of individual child sponsorship, and so the mechanism of ‘care’ did not translate so effectively into the Tanzanian context, and Saidi often remained quiet in the meetings regarding the orphan sponsorship. He shared a rich account of the detrimental psychological effect that being an orphan in Tanzania had on their ability to participate in school life. We discussed the caring role of the teacher in Tanzania: ‘here in Tanzania they say teacher is a teacher, is a professional, is a judge, take care, mummy...’ and ‘when a pupil get sick in the school, it’s your teacher that takes him to the hospital [...] – because they have a lot of care, sometimes they break their legs, sometimes they faint, anything can happen at the school but you take care of them’.

These stories and instances, which were normally subsumed beneath the charitable actions of the British partner schools and communities, enrich our picture of care and generosity within the partnerships, and challenge the prevailing division between carer and cared-about.
(iv) Reworking the notion of ‘care’

The final theme I wish to discuss in this section on reworking the caring relationship within the partnerships is the concept of ‘shifting the centre’ from which care and responsibility are conceived and narrated (Raghuram, et al, 2009: 10). The creation of the orphan sponsorship project and other ‘development’ projects, such as building toilets and kitchens, and linking schools to electricity and Broadband internet, were chiefly conceived and organised by the Northern schools, thus skewing wider discussions of care and responsibility away from the Southern schools. Postcolonial theory helps us to think through how the West can be re-balanced with the rest of the world, through a focus on ‘interdependence and coexistence’ (ibid: 10), and I present here some thoughts around how the focus could be shifted from the British schools, to an emphasis on true partnership framed through the notion of ‘contribution’. In the staff meeting that he convened during our 2009 visit, the day after the uncomfortable orphan guardian meeting, Saidi spoke about how Copplestone and Donge, in partnership, could support the orphans:

As a teacher here in Donge, we take welfare of that children, that orphans in their time in the school, so we plan for this welfare for the school, not in their homes – [...] we can’t afford support them in their homes, but what we can do – you and us, is to support teaching these orphans to start, to make them start happily as other pupils. (Saidi Moshi, 28/10/2009)

The extent to which this ‘coexistence’ was fully acknowledged by the Copplestone staff is uncertain. The ‘feeling’ I got from observing the interactions, was that the Northern partner held a form of affective power over the narratives of care and responsibility for the orphans, drawing discussion during the visits and beyond towards the support they were able to provide, and steering the debate over practical solutions. I spent some time on that visit, and then further time on the following year’s visit, thinking through how this narrative could be unsettled and viewed differently. Searching for the ‘other’ perspective led me to investigate the management structure of the Tanzanian school and uncover the complex stories behind the simple fundraising objectives that Copplestone had undertaken from the outset of the partnership. It became evident to me that, at any one time, the Tanzanian schools had a running list of projects they wished to complete, as part of
the ongoing development programme for their schools. The lists that the British teachers sometimes mistook as lengthy requests for money were more often than not the management plan of the school. Juliet, at Majana Mapana, had great plans for her school, including a secure fence around the boundary, a new toilet block, already started, and a netball pitch for the girls. From time to time, the government provided funds to undertake certain projects, like building the nursery classroom in Kwakaheza, but progress was slow and uncertain. Schools consequently had to rely on parental contributions to raise the necessary finance to complete the project, which, depending on the socio-economic composition of the local area, could be either fruitful or not forthcoming. In this financial context, the partnerships with the British schools enabled certain projects to be ‘brought forward’ and completed ahead of schedule, yet this was not often made explicit amongst the British schools’ narratives of fundraising, in which projects were funded that would never otherwise have happened.

An issue I stumbled upon time and again, the notion of ‘parental contribution’ replaced the collection of school fees, which were abolished in 2002 as part of the Millennium Development Goal towards universal primary education. In contrast to formal school fees, which effectively filtered those who were able to afford schooling for their children, the parental contribution intended to maintain a sense of ownership and responsibility for their children’s education. The concept proved controversial, not only for parents who believed ‘no school fees’ translated to ‘free education’, but also for the headteachers who were charged with the onerous task of collecting contributions, maintaining public relations with poor parents, and balancing their books. At Donge, the contributions were set at around 6200 TSh a year (around £2.70), often more than the government contributed in the Capitation Grant. Even with carefully structured payment plans, and discounts for sibling groups, many families were unable, or unwilling, to pay, leaving school funds extremely low.

As I uncovered the story of the contributions, I wondered if the parents had changed their attitudes now that they could see the wazungu raising money for the schools. Esther said her parents were inevitably ‘very, very happy’ about the help the school received from The Wyche, but explained this was because they were poor and unable to contribute to the school’s development themselves. I asked
Halifa the same question and he felt there had been more community involvement since the instigation of the partnership with Somers Park, citing the example of the parents clubbing together to fund a night-watchman to guard the new ICT suite. It occurred to me during a conversation with a school committee member from M-Mapana that maybe the tension with fundraising and support from the British schools arose from a semantic perspective. The concept of local contribution was a well-established mechanism for community development and could be usefully employed in the language of partnership. Contributing did not hold the same connotation as providing, assuming responsibility for the entire project, or even simply helping. If the Northern schools were to refer to their help as a ‘contribution’, just as all parents and local community members contributed to the ongoing development of the school, the relationship had the potential to be more equal, easing the discomfort around financial support and promoting a rebalanced perspective of partnership.

The School Committee held a pivotal role in the management of the school budget, and this had been somewhat overlooked by the Copplestone partners. The Donge parents referred to the Copplestone community as ‘sponsors’, which the School Committee attempted to frame in a different light, as Saidi told me:

[W]hat we do in our meetings, the School Committee tell them we have friends, but these friends are not our sponsor – they can give us something, they contribute from the parents like you do, for example, Copplestone contribute for the toilets there. (Saidi Moshi, 29/10/2010)

Myths sprang up around the figures of money that Copplestone had donated (a similar thing happened in Chumbageni and Gofu-juu) and the School Committee was at pains to ensure there was complete transparency surrounding the specific amount of money, its purpose, and its management. Parents needed to be clear exactly how much money had been sent over by the Copplestone community, so expectations were not too high, or so doubts did not begin to creep in over the honesty of the school management team. It occurred to me that the large, extra sums of money that appeared at random from Copplestone must have rendered the financial management of the school very complicated for Saidi and the School Committee. Saidi stressed the importance of involving the committee in the transactions and future planning whilst the Copplestone teachers were visiting,
but I am not certain that they fully grasped the position of the committee. The meetings with Donge School Committee were treated by some teachers as more dutiful than relevant aspects of the visit. On the second visit, Stuart and Sue had ongoing conversations about ‘sorting out’ the electricity supply, which would have effectively bypassed the School Committee, causing untold problems for Saidi and the team. Saidi told me:

For example, when Sue say we can give them the money, but before you can do anything in the school, you have to call the School Committee members, OK, and tell them, from our partnership, we’ll get this - £120 for example, we want to do this and this. So they say yeah, it’s OK. Because you know – when I get the money for example, for the electricity, and find a skilled person to do the wiring – when you say you have £100, for example, they say no – you have more than £100, so they will challenge. (Saidi, 29/10/2010)

The money that had been sent for the orphans, by the individual Copplestone sponsors back in 2008, had had to be routed through the Ward Councillor, not Saidi. Ensuring transparency and educating the parents about the partnership had become important tasks for the School Committee:

[S]o when we involve them, they know what is going on at school, and in the School Committee there is people who are going to school, they are well-educated, they can challenge, they can give advice, that’s why you see we have this time, in our timetable, meeting with the staff and school members. (Saidi, 29/20/2010)

In Chumbageni, a member of the School Committee had visited Somers Park, alongside the teachers, and as Saidi confirmed, ‘this is making the link very strong, because they will understand what is going on’. It was evident that a greater understanding of the nature of the Tanzanian school structure and role of the School Committee would facilitate a more equal partnership and sense of working together to further the development of both schools, and shift the ‘centre’ of care and responsibility from the British schools.

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter presented some of the multiple stories from a variety of schools that illustrate how narratives of care and charity emerged in the school partnerships. Initially, I discussed the contested practice of fundraising and showed how the original objectives of the programme sought to encourage equitable, mutually
beneficial relationships. Although there was no mention in the GSP programme’s objectives of ‘care’ or caring for the distant others who became ‘partners’, the various charitable projects conducted by the schools on behalf of their Tanzanian partners suggests that care was an essential, if unacknowledged, component of the global school partnership. The fundraising projects instigated by Copplestone Primary School, and some of the other British schools, pointed towards a caring, pragmatic response to the needs both articulated by the Tanzanian school community and emotionally encountered by the teachers visiting Tanga. The provision of improved toilets and the sponsorship package of support for a number of orphans attending school, as well as the later projects, like the soak-away, kitchen, and the connection of the school to the local electricity supply, had visible, material benefits within the Donge school community. The ‘stretching’ of care over the distance between the partner schools raised particular issues attached to the mediation and representation of suffering, and the proliferation of stereotypical caring identities and relations. I included two vignettes of partnership encounters with the Northern sponsors, and the Southern orphan guardians, which offered ethnographic descriptions of the knowledges invoked in the negotiation of care in this school context. In the final section, I searched for a richer story of care and responsibility exhibited within the partnership, which served to unsettle the binaries of ‘carer’ and ‘cared-about’. Although this opportunity was missed in the partnerships in which I participated, there is certainly further scope to reframe the language and practices employed around issues of financial support offered by the Northern schools.

The involvement of Copplestone Primary School in the ongoing ‘development’ of Donge Primary School was a central element of the partnership in the early stages. Yet, as the partnership progressed over time, the relative emphasis on these projects shifted from an all-encompassing rationale, to a taken-for-granted, but underplayed, addition to the other practices of partnership. In the next chapter, I turn to the second prevailing narrative that emerged from the partnerships, of teaching and learning in a globalised world.
Chapter Six

Narratives of education, teaching, and learning

How education is delivered, or the pedagogic style of education, has become a primary concern in education systems throughout the world over the past three decades. In this chapter, I explore the ways in which the Global School Partnership presented opportunities for observation and reflection on the English and Tanzanian teachers’ respective education systems and pedagogic styles, as they were encountered in the four reciprocal visits. Although concerns about charity prevailed in the early stages of the partnerships, it was the teachers’ exploration of the different education systems that became the over-riding and enduring theme. The exposure to another education system, and what it can afford the evolving partnership, was considered by the funders to be one of the distinguishing features of the programme:

Reciprocal visits allow teachers to experience their partner’s educational systems at first hand, and so serve to strengthen an understanding of how best to develop a partnership for the benefit of all schools involved’ (DfID, n.d.e)

As I described in Chapter Two, DfID provided funding for Reciprocal Visits and the Curriculum Projects for schools embarking on, and involved in, a global partnership. They suggested that these visits could be used for a variety of purposes, including getting to know the partner school better (for example, through classroom observations, staff meetings, shadowing a pupil), teaching lessons or taking assemblies, gathering photographs and artefacts for use back home, and planning ahead for shared curricular projects (DfID, n.d.e). In reality, the reciprocal visits between Donge and Copplestone comprised a complex entanglement of observation, teaching, sharing resources, and planning and undertaking curriculum projects. This chapter is concerned with the narratives that emerged from engaging in these practices during, and between, the four visits between England and Tanzania, as the teachers ascribed meaning to the situated practices of teaching and learning they encountered. In the following sections, I describe the visits in a chronological fashion in an attempt to more accurately
portray the way in which embodied experience, reflection, planning, and meaning-making were intimately contingent in the teacher visits.

6.1 The first visit – Copplestone, July 2009

In the initial 2009 visits to Copplestone and Donge, the participating teachers had surprisingly limited opportunity to observe their partners’ styles of teaching. Each school was eager to welcome their guests and ‘showcase’ their school as far as they were able and this entailed emphasis on special events – the extravagant welcome ceremony, whole-school sporting events, and ‘cultural’ excursions. Planning the schedule for the first visit of Saidi and Cecilia to Copplestone in July 2009, Stuart hoped to show the visitors a slice of life of both Copplestone Primary School and England. He worked hard at producing an imaginative schedule with a diversity of activities, such as cob hand-printing, trips to the cinema, Exeter University, London, a school trip to an environmental centre, and various meetings with staff and orphan sponsors.110 In retrospect, this engaging and energetic timetable stumbled on only one point – Stuart felt that there had been insufficient opportunity for the two Tanzanian teachers to sit in classes with the teachers, spend time with the children, and observe the lessons. Despite this, it was evident that both Saidi and Cecilia had spent much of their time absorbing the educational culture and practices of Copplestone. In the evaluation meeting on the last afternoon of the visit, Stuart asked them what they had learned from their first visit to Copplestone - had it been what they had expected? Saidi answered:

No, of course, we have seen a lot of differences, especially in teaching. The way we teach and the way you teach here. Because you have a point where pupils will give her or his opinion, how he see the lesson, er, and another thing is how you manage to prepare your pupils to express themselves, so when you ask them, they can express before or after teaching. (Saidi, 14/07/2009)

I had joined one of the few lessons that Saidi observed during the visit and I recognised the teaching methods to which he was referring. The mathematics lesson was delivered by Stuart and had, in many ways, exemplified the techniques that encompass ‘learner-centred pedagogy’. The lesson began with Stuart standing at the front, identifying the learning objectives for the lesson and leading the

110 Cob-making is a local Devon tradition mixing clay, water, and straw, used for making houses – the children got to make it in the playground and then make their own hand-print ‘tiles’ that dried in the sun.
children in five minutes of rapid-fire mathematical queries. Released from their concentration on their headteacher, the children spoke animatedly to their partners, thrusting their hands into the air when they thought they had the right answer, and grinning when they found out they were right. Following the burst of activity, they turned their eyes to the front, returning to a quiet and attentive posture. After Stuart had delivered an introduction to the technique of the lesson, he split the class into familiar groups and directed them to go to their normal locations; Saidi and I were invited to join the ‘top’ group at a collection of coloured tables in the corridor. The children had an extensive set of questions to answer, using a department-store catalogue to find prices of retail items and their ‘number lines’ to assist their calculations.111 The children worked steadily through the exercise and towards the end of the lesson, they referred back to their personal ‘learning targets’, written in their exercise books, and assessed their own levels of achievement in the lesson. Saidi was entranced by the ability of the children to follow this technique, and it was this placing of the learner at the centre of the learning process that he singled out for comment in the evaluation meeting. Immediately, he could envisage how this technique could be employed in his school back in Tanzania:

What we can do when [we return to] Tanzania is first of all to talk to the school committee and the teachers there, how can we prepare our students to give their opinion, because we thought that children does not know anything but they do know a lot of things, so it is better for us to ask them. So we are going to do maybe numbers, OK? With following the numbers we may ask them how they feel or what they know about numbers and after the lesson you can ask them how do they see this lesson [...] some of them say ‘this lesson was too easy for me, I see this confusing’, so you know that ‘how can I help this pupil or child say that this lesson is confusing?’ (Saidi, 14/07/2009)

Saidi was clearly excited by witnessing a teaching style that held the learner in such a responsible position and was taken aback by the pupils’ familiarity with the class procedures. The positioning of the child as a responsible learner sparked subsequent reflections on the relationship between the adult-teacher and the child-learner, and it was this unfamiliar relationship that most captivated the Tanzanian visitors. On the final day, Cecilia agreed to teach some Swahili to

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111 A number line is a teaching resource that assists children in their mathematical learning. It is a thin strip of paper or laminated cardboard with a succession of numbers along its edge, which are used to count back and forward to calculate mathematical problems such as additions and subtractions. The idea is that the child will use it as a scaffold until she is comfortable doing the calculation mentally. One child explained the device to Saidi.
Orange Class and the experience led her to reflect more upon her relationship with the children in her own classes. She started by teaching a song ‘Zzz nukia la we’, her teaching style abrupt and exacting, requesting the children’s repetition of the words and phrases. She wrote the Swahili and English translations carefully on the whiteboard, as the children sat in various degrees of engagement; some slumped in their chairs, some chins in hands, some alert (see Plate 6.1). After the song, she invited the children to ask for translations of words into Swahili - the children were more enamoured with this idea and requests came thick and fast - ‘dog’, ‘friend’, ‘tiger’, ‘dinosaur’, ‘ferret’! Cecilia looked to be enjoying herself and when the lesson was over, she sat next to me and told me more about her classes back home in Tanzania. There were ‘too many children’ in each class, she sighed, three to a desk, leaving little room to move around the classroom. She was frustrated by her inability to help all the children, and always had too many books to mark at the end of the day, giving her little chance to see how the children were really doing in their learning. Shaking her head, she admitted she did not even know all of their names and if they saw her in the street and said ‘hello’, she was hard pushed to recall their name or class. As we spoke, I was reminded of my days teaching in a primary school – I knew nearly all of the 160 children by name, and this knowledge was crucial to my effectiveness as a teacher. It was the children that made teaching worthwhile for me. I sensed that Cecilia felt she was employed in crowd-control and little else, and her body revealed her feelings about that. Teaching the short lesson at Copplestone had afforded her a more intimate connection with the children and it had clearly got her thinking.

Observing and teaching the few lessons in Copplestone on their first visit to Copplestone was a revelation for Saidi and Cecilia. They spoke animatedly in the evaluation meeting with Stuart at the end of the visit, and even when I visited Donge with the Copplestone teachers three months later, the experiences remained fresh in their minds. It would not be overstating the impact to say that for both Saidi and Cecilia, observing the style of teaching in England, and the relationships with the children that underpinned teachers’ practice had proved instrumental in shifting their own practice. I spoke with Cecilia in Donge, when the Copplestone teachers visited the school later that year, and she shared her astonishment at witnessing the way that the Copplestone teachers treated the children in their charge:
Hospitality – it’s good, between teachers and children, they love their children – there is one children fall down – eh! [claps hands]. Three teachers run and they catch them, yes! I go and ask them, who is the children, a daughter of – say no! No, I see there is different to teachers in Tanzania and UK, we don’t have – us, we don’t love so much like you, you love your children very much and that makes the children to learn well. (Cecilia Hiza, 04/11/2009)

Although she found it difficult to influence her colleagues to any great extent since her visit, Cecilia described the subtle changes she had made in her own teaching practice:

It helps me somehow, and myself I change – in some places – at home, in the school – I see the children started to love me, they love me! Because I become close to them – yes, I can call them and tell, ask them ‘what’s your problem?’ – this school, this subject, what’s your problem? I learn that thing from UK, yes – it is important to be close to the children, yes, and they love you’. (Cecilia, 04/11/2009)

Similar stories emerged from the other partnerships. The headteacher at Chumbageni, Halifa, iterated a similar conclusion from his observations of the teachers in Somers Park, though for him it was more a question of fair treatment than of ‘love’. He was surprised to find that English teachers did not ‘harass’ their pupils, unlike their Tanzanian counterparts, and that they were ‘very close’. Making the connection with children’s capacity to learn, he claimed ‘if you harass him maybe he cannot understand’. Within these partnerships, then, it appeared that observing the ‘caring’ relationships engendered within the English primary school had a profound influence on the Tanzanians’ frame of reference for relationships between teacher and child. The Tanzanian headteachers, operating within a context of government requirements to implement more learner-centred pedagogy into primary education, recognised that this cultural shift within the adult-child relationship was essential for the effective incorporation of ‘group work’, in which pupils were given the space ‘to work themselves, to explain themselves’. Indeed, through his experiences in English primary schools, Halifa had since endeavoured to make changes in his school culture: ‘I educate my teacher to be very close to the pupils, so nowadays they are very close’ (Halifa, 04/11/2009).

Stuart was shocked to witness Saidi’s authoritarian approach to school leadership on his initial visit to Donge, but on his subsequent visit in 2009, Stuart noticed
Plate 6.1 Images of teaching in Copplestone and Donge
distinct changes in Saidi’s attitudes towards his pupils. He described seeing Saidi accept a child’s invitation to dance at the welcome ceremony, play softball with a child in the compound, and speak gently to the children that cleared the crockery from the teachers’ lunches. Stuart was certain Saidi would not have entertained such behaviour previously. The visit had evidently had consequences on a deep level for the two Tanzanians who had made the trip to England.

6.2 The second visit – Donge, October 2009

Before the British teachers embarked on their visit to Tanga, the choosing of gifts, both personal and institutional, formed an integral part of their preparations. They were acutely aware of the differences in wealth between their schools and those in Tanga, and hence most of the gifts were selected for their practical use to their Tanzanian partners. These were usually teaching materials and resources, and then perhaps one or two electronic items, such as a camera or a CD player. The act of giving a gift is entwined in complex patterns of reciprocation and obligation, indicative of social hierarchies of power that operate between the giver and receiver (Silk, 2004). The giving of gifts to the Tanzanian schools was rarely a simple affair. Stuart Sewell from Somers Park recalled the giving of a laptop computer, one of the most common gifts requested:

Stuart [Busby] did a very simple thing [...] when we were over there, just ‘cause he’s a naturally generous person, um, the head at Donge asked for a laptop and he said yes, we’ll have a spare one, I’ll send you one [...] I straight away said I wish you hadn’t – that’s going to cause a problem and it caused major problems, because then all the other heads immediately said can we have a laptop? So then you’re into the zone of if you’re not careful, the UK school is a school with these material things [...] Stuart sees that now, so innocent things can make things go wrong. (Stuart Sewell, 30/09/2009)

As promised, Stuart had sent a functioning laptop that was no longer being used within Copplestone, via a container from Somers Park to Chumbageni. The gift was gratefully received, though as Donge had no access to an electricity supply, the computer was kept at Saidi’s home. The intention had been to facilitate communication through email but this entailed an internet connection that Saidi was unable to afford in his home. In Mabawa School, previous fundraising projects
by their partner Malvern Parish had already resulted in connection to the electricity supply and the recent installation of a fast Broadband service, and the headteacher, John Mteta, told me about their most recent gift of a laptop:

It will help us to make the communication to be better than before, just because before we used to go to the internet café, but when we go there, a lot of people there, you can wait for half an hour, one hour, in order to get a chance to communicate with our friends in the UK – but after bringing it was very nice, communication will be good. (John Mteta, 10/11/2009)

The Northleigh teachers recalled that the giving of gifts had formed a major element of their visit to Darajani. The gifts were handed to the Tanzanian teachers on the second day and headteacher Elinipa ensured that the gifts received due ceremony. Photographs of the exchanges were taken, and by the end of the week a commemorative album of the visit remained on Elinipa’s desk in her office, visible to all visitors. The absence of a connection to the electricity supply, on which the gifts of laptop and CD player depended, became apparent to the Northleigh teachers on the first day of their visit.

For some weeks before they left for Tanzania, the Copplestone teachers gathered many teaching resources together in a large, maroon holdall. The gifts included plentiful packs of pens and pencils, stickers, calculators, puzzles, playing cards, audiobooks, textbooks, netball and football bibs, badminton rackets, soft ball rackets, and footballs, as well as letters and pictures produced by the Copplestone pupils, and materials specifically to be used in teaching lessons in Donge. There was no ceremonious ‘handing-over’ of the resources, as there had been in Darajani, instead the bag lay in the corner of Saidi’s office until Naomi took it upon herself to sort the resources out one afternoon. (Plate 6.1, p.226) The lack of storage space in the classrooms meant that the only safe place to store the resources was in a locked cupboard in Saidi’s office. I will return to stories of how these resources became the objects of consternation later in the visit, but now I want to attend to the other practices of observing and teaching lessons that formed the essence of the school visits.
6.2.1 Observing...

The visit to Donge School was marked by a general lack of opportunity for the Copplestone teachers to observe lessons and glean a sense of what a ‘normal’ school day might look like. Once the statutory visit to the City Education Office had been factored in, there were barely two and a half days to spend in the school. The compact schedule had been designed by Saidi in advance of our arrival and included the welcome ceremony on the first afternoon, a tour of the school grounds, an entire day of teaching lessons and sport, and a short period of time to visit the other schools. Between these organised activities, and the generous provision of ‘breakfast’ and lunch, there was little time left in which we could wander around the school and observe the daily practice of the Tanzanian school. These minimal observations generated questions that puzzled us all week. We observed the Donge teachers sitting outside the classrooms, chatting with books piled in front of them and leaving noisy classes to their own devices inside the classroom, an observation corroborated by teachers visiting other schools. How much teaching did Tanzanian teachers actually do, we pondered? Was this indicative of the general life of the school, or were things different due to our visit? Asha shared her experience in Mzingani:

They put an exercise on the board and then go and sit and chat with the others outside, not even marking or anything. [...] in the staff room she was there painting her nails and another one was doing the henna but you know they weren’t prepping or marking or anything like that. (Asha, 27/10/2009)

Saidi took us to visit his young daughter who attended a local private school and Nicky mentioned later that this was the only time she actually saw any lessons taking place, concluding ‘but then, totally different school isn’t it?’ The apparent absence of teaching taking place in the schools was a recurrent theme in the visit and by the end of the week jokes circulated amongst the English teachers regarding the lack of teaching.

On one evening early into the school visits, I organised a reflective group meeting back in the Panori Hotel, in which I invited a group of teachers from various schools to share their first few days’ experience. Each school in the partnership network had organised the visit in subtly different ways, we discovered, some
building in far more time for lesson observation. At Mzingani, for example, the two teachers from Holmer Primary had the opportunity to observe a number of lessons, although they believed they were 'very staged'. Angela was sent to observe a science lesson focused on the work of a flat mirror:

I don’t even think half the children knew what a mirror actually was and then, um, they started going on about submarines and periscopes, and I thought [laughing] how bizarre is this?! (Angela, 27/10/2009)

Recalling the lesson some months later, her response to seeing the teacher-centred approach was still fresh:

It was shocking. We just felt that the children weren’t actually learning anything because it was all rote. Um, just trying to think back, yes I went into a science lesson with the older children who must have been about 10-12 and they were trying, well they were learning about the workings of the periscope and there wasn’t a periscope in sight, it was all on the board, and they didn’t even understand what a mirror – so I had a mirror in my handbag and showed them, so they had no idea really what was going on. They were just writing things off the board into their books and that meant nothing to them. [...] You thought gosh, those poor children are sitting here for an hour and all they are doing is copying off the board, it means absolutely nothing to them. They kept perfectly still, well-behaved – but it meant absolutely nothing to them. (Angela, 29/03/2010)

Back in Tanzania, Asha was taken to observe a maths lesson where she was struck by the lack of child-centred tasks:

But they just had a very strange way, long-winded way of doing it, you know, we know much quicker and simpler ways and um again the children didn’t seem to do anything for a very long, sort of half an hour, it was just written on the board but they all had to answer in unison, didn’t they? She’d say ‘now give me the answer’ and they all had to say it together, um, and they were just all grouped round the textbooks, weren’t they? (Asha, 27/10/2009)

Watching children not engaged or ‘on-task’ in their lessons was an unsettling experience for the British teachers. The extent to which learner-centred pedagogical discourse was embedded in their discourse was striking, as a conversation at the end of the visit revealed. When I suggested that it was not possible to go into another school without applying one’s own values to it, Stuart claimed that surely ‘the value of teaching and learning that children are actually doing something’ was something on which all teachers could agree. For him, the
definition of learning was clear - ‘the children are able to do something different by the end of the lesson – they acquire skills, or knowledge, that’s what good learning is’.

Observing children removed from their own learning was somewhat compensated by witnessing the children’s participation in the exuberant welcome ceremonies that featured in every school receiving visitors from England. For Sarah from Northleigh, the welcome was so extraordinary that she became worried in advance that the welcome her school would be willing to mobilise would be nothing like as moving and inclusive. I asked her why that should be the case and she explained that the ‘culture’ in her school was to give the children a ‘real talking to’ about noise and behaviour before any visitors arrived, in an attempt to retain control over the children. She predicted that when Elinipa visited the following summer ‘we won’t drop whatever’s going on in school that week – we will presumably have an African week or whatever but you know, it won’t be OK that the kids aren’t doing anything’. The tension between activity levels of the children in England and Tanzania provided a pertinent point of debate for British teachers steeped in a tradition of keeping children occupied at all costs.

Sarah, a teacher from Somers Park, found that being treated as a revered visitor was a problematic experience, colouring her encounters with the children:

As a teacher yourself you, you just kind of want, don’t want to be treated as a visitor, and I mean I know it’s the culture and the day we went round all the schools it was very much ceremonial, whereas [...] it would have been really lovely to see nitty-gritty, day in, day-out lessons being taught and you know for the children to get more used to you instead of chasing around asking for their photos, that they could see you in the classrooms, so I think I’d have liked to be a bit more grounded there and spent a bit more time actually from a teacher’s perspective. (Sarah, 30/03/2010)

Perhaps as a result of being accorded the special visitor status, the ‘flocking’ of children was a common experience during the visits to the Tanzanian schools. For Naomi, it prompted consideration of their relative world awareness compared with British children. Responding to my photograph of Donge pupils excitedly gathered around Stuart, she felt that ‘our’ children acted in a different manner when visitors came into school as a result of their increased exposure to the world outside. She found the reaction of the Tanzanian children remarkable; ‘not only are we mzungu, you know we’re white people but – I’m just thinking are we really that,
are we really that unique? Are we really that different that they all want to flock and all want to see us and all want to touch you? Sheila had experienced something rather different in her visit to Darajani:

I didn’t mind that really, I just thought I understood their excitement, you know, if I was one of those children, I’d have been excited like that, very much so. I dunno, probably sound a bit trite now, but I have this kind of thing that in my heart I do believe that we’re all brothers and sisters and that global citizenship is real and that we are all sharing this earth [...] I do actually believe that, so when I approach them, I was there with that very much at the forefront – you know that kind of gets blatted out of me sometimes in the day-to-day grind but on that trip and at that moment it was very much what I was all about – so it felt good just to be there. (Sheila, 03/03/2010)

6.2.2 Teaching...

The limited experiences of observing lessons in Tanzania provided the British teachers with a tenuous context from which they could understand the education system. However, the most profoundly affecting experience for them by far was being enrolled in the teaching of lessons in their partner schools. Prior to the visit, Naomi, Stuart, and Saidi had discussed what kind of lesson would be beneficial for the Donge staff to see them teach on their visit. They had settled on mathematics for Standard V, as Saidi had requested, and Jolly Phonics for Standard I, which they believed could offer an effective resource for teaching English to the younger children. In recent years, the national results of the Tanzanian Primary Leavers Examination revealed that children failed to learn English to the standard required for succeeding at secondary school, where it was the language of instruction. Saidi shared his concerns for his school’s English results and was acutely aware that few of his teachers were confident at teaching in the foreign language. I believed that Jolly Phonics was an innovative and fun language resource that might be helpful to the teachers and lent my full support to the lesson in Donge. I wrote a detailed account of the day’s teaching in my fieldnotes, of which I offer an edited account below.

‘The rain was coming down in torrents. One of the teachers, Rose, came out to meet us with her large umbrella, leading us out of the veranda area, around the corner to the door to Standard I’s classroom, one at a time. Inside, we were greeted by the class of some seventy-two children, aged around seven years old.
Naomi had prepared a Jolly Phonics lesson to introduce the phonic sounds and letters, bringing large laminated sheets with pictures of each phoneme’s action and sound, coloured in by her class. Nicky and I were in charge of these, handing them one at a time to Naomi who would make the sound, show the action, then hand it back to me to tape onto the wall with masking tape, which wasn’t ideal on the damp wall (see Plate 6.1, p.226). My small area of wall was rapidly filled, so I began to pass them onto one of the teachers, Rose, who taped them to the back wall. She received them without a smile and I sensed she was annoyed at sticking all of these sheets to her back wall. Naomi went through each sound and action – lolly, van, plane, yoghurt, cuckoo clock – all culturally contextual to Western society. The children, however, loved it. They tried the sounds, made the actions, watching Naomi all the while with rapt attention. After finishing the demonstration, she asked the children to turn to sit in groups of six and look at the pictures, practise the sounds. Some children looked at the picture and made the sounds with enthusiasm, but more often than not, the group sat in silence, staring at the picture.

After morning break, it was back to class for an unscheduled P.E. lesson. By now, much of the playground was under water, the toilets were unreachable, and we tiptoed around the stone ledge into the classroom, careful not to topple off into the red muddy water. Rose told us they wanted us to conduct a PE lesson, using the koosh balls, skipping ropes, and bean bags that Saidi and Cecilia had taken back with them from Copplestone in the summer, which had remained unused until that point. Totally unprepared, we rapidly discussed what we could do as going outside in the torrential rain was clearly not an option. We decided to move the desks back to the walls, leaving us with some form of space to demonstrate some games and get the children involved, somehow. Older boys were called in to stack the wooden benches at the edges of the room. The benches were dusty, heavy, awkward things to manoeuvre. The rain was torrential on the tin roof, and with the children as ‘high as kites’, the noise was almost deafening inside the room, lending the atmosphere a certain anarchic edge. We helped the boys with the desks and were reassured to see the other teachers join in. Moving the desks had revealed odd shoes, dusty bags, exercise books, flimsy and damp, vulnerable on the sandy floor. After twenty minutes, maybe more, a suitable space was cleared in the room.

112 A common colloquium used by British teachers to describe excited children.
It was then we noticed that it had stopped raining and the sun had come out. The field was so sandy that almost immediately the water had soaked through so, laughing, the teachers suggested we go outside and conduct the PE lesson out there, where it should have been in the first place.

Getting seventy-two children outside was straightforward; they just spilled outside and waited for us, but getting them to form a large circle was almost impossible. We got them to hold hands and spread out, but they seemed unfamiliar with such commands and it took a long time to get them into any semblance of order. We thought we’d demonstrate some games using the new equipment – Frisbee between the three of us, piggy in the middle, Velcro ball – and each time, we showed them something, the circle clapped. We invited the children to have a go themselves but it proved incredibly difficult. The children waited for us to direct them but hampered by language, every command took time. We became aware that our large group had expanded to what felt like hundreds, as we realised other classes had been let out to ‘watch’. Some older boys had started to take the equipment off some of the younger ones, until I said ‘darasa moja’ and they retreated affably.\(^\text{113}\) Then it began to rain again. We were soaked in moments and the children turned to run back to the classrooms. Back inside finally, soaked to the skin, our shirts clinging to our backs, we resumed our over-energetic organisation of the children, into three lines this time. At one point, the group broke into counting to sixty, shouting the numbers out to us, getting ever louder to compete with the rain hammering on the roof. We showed the children how to pass the beanbag under and over to the person behind them in their line. Some of the children caught on relatively quickly, but it was then that I began to notice that a couple of the children were unresponsive, vague, disorientated, with obvious learning disabilities. One girl, dressed in a thick woolly jumper stood helpless as the neighbouring children showed her what to do. At one point, the rain blew into the open windows, five feet into the room, soaking and chilling the children, distracting them. The lesson ended finally, and we retreated to Saidi’s office.’ (Fieldnotes, 26/10/2009)

The experience of teaching in the Donge classrooms affected us all in various ways. The embodied experience – the torrential rain, the hundreds of children, the
indifference of the teachers – had collectively generated an emotional moment that was to haunt the partnership for some time to come. But at the time, performing the act of teaching in a Tanzanian classroom led the Copplestone staff to draw a number of conclusions about the education system in which they found themselves for that brief moment. Naomi later described to me how she had been completely out of her 'comfort zone'. Standing in front of a class, teaching phonic letter sounds to children whose grasp of English was minimal, she had been moved to re-examine what she had hoped to achieve. Although she knew the children relished the experience of learning the Jolly Phonics sounds and actions, she was doubtful of the impact it had on the teachers' ability to teach English. It occurred to me at the time, as I helped in the lesson, to question the relevance of importing a particularly British technique for teaching native speakers of English to read and write. Learning English as a foreign language requires an entirely different pedagogical approach. Rose told Naomi that she found the lesson 'quite interesting' as she was not aware of the concept of letters making sounds (the phoneme), as she had always focused on teaching ABC by rote. Naomi doubted that they would use the resource, and when we returned to the class the following day, the pictures had been removed from the walls. Stuart told me later that Naomi was 'hurt quite a lot' by the apparent rejection of the resources she and her class had spent time making.

From a personal perspective, my embodied encounters with the children of Standard I in those two lessons wrought strong emotions. Moving amongst the large numbers of children inhabiting classrooms not much larger than those in British schools, their stress was tangible. Immersed in a tradition of placing the individual child at the heart of the educative act, I felt the loss of the children's individuality in that moment keenly:

There were so many of them that they could so easily get lost. I caught myself feeling that I could make a difference, by treating them kindly and making sure I got around all of them when they were working on their own. They were children used to not receiving much attention from adults, left to their own devices more often than not. Thank goodness we went outside – the children were beginning to fight and jostle each other, each fighting for their own space, the disagreements amplified in the small space. The sheer numbers of them meant that they fought for their place, or else shrank into the background and hid away best they could. One girl retreated to the back of the room as the desks were being moved, distancing her body from the crowd and activity. That tugged at me. Nothing for them there, left behind at school, simply no skills to equip them to deal with the
onslaught of bodies and words they faced on a daily basis.’ (Fieldnotes, 25/10/2009)

It was evident that the individualised learners, which had so captivated Saidi on his visit to Copplestone, were nowhere near as visible in our encounters at Donge. The children’s ability to work independently of the teacher in groups was limited as I mentioned above and when we went outside, I noticed that after our demonstration of playing some games, they stood there with little idea of how to manage their bodies into the configurations that were required. Again, I wrote in my fieldnotes:

Their passive response really surprised me; I would motion to them that they needed to spread out, and they would just stare at me. It struck me how much P.E. is cultural – the self-organising skills the children learn can appear almost natural, until you come to a place where this form of activity is not done. I know they play netball and football, but not much in terms of individual or group physical skills – throwing, catching, passing objects, manipulating them with their hands. All skills missed out on. (Fieldnotes, 25/10/2009)

It was not only the schoolchildren that commanded our empathy. Teaching the lessons had steered the British teachers towards a new-found respect for their Tanzanian colleagues. Stuart recognised the sheer hard-work of holding a lesson for nearly eighty pupils: ‘I do think it’s a stamina thing, because I couldn’t teach like that. I was knackered after doing that maths lesson!’ The others agreed, and Naomi reminded us of Cecilia’s despair at the numbers she was required to teach every day.

Little opportunity to observe lessons left the Copplestone staff thinking that African schools lagged far behind British schools as a direct result of lacking the ‘basics’. They acknowledged that the Tanzanian teachers faced the particular challenge of teaching lessons with little or no resources and wondered if they sent Donge more teaching resources, whether they could assist in the development of ‘quality’ teaching and learning in the school. However, another narrative began to emerge from the teachers’ discussion about the resources that had been sent back with Saidi and Cecilia in the summer – they were curious about what had happened to the resources and were perturbed to realise that the sports equipment had been locked in Saidi’s cupboard. The opportunity never seemed to arise for the teachers to assuage the misunderstandings, and it was only speaking
to Saidi after the British teachers returned to England that some of the ‘truth’ came to light. He told me that one of the problems they faced in their schools was children did not know how to look after their school equipment. Having seen the way that the Copplestone children cleared their classroom after a lesson and put all the materials back in their place without stealing them, he expressed his ardent hope that his own pupils might be taught how to care for their school materials in the same way. In the meantime, the resources that had been given to the school were kept safely stored away, in order to keep them in good condition so more children could benefit from them and, in some cases, they would need to wait to ask the Copplestone teachers how they should use them correctly, or for ideas for activities with the equipment. Saidi had a clear plan of how such resources could be incorporated into the learning of the children over time:

> We try to centralise it in our lower classes so they can grow up used to these games – that's why we start with Standard 5, sometimes Standard 4 and we based in Standard 1, 2, 3 because they are going to stay in school for 6, 7 years, so they can teach the younger ones. *(Saidi, 12/11/2009)*

I drew a comparison with his careful management of the new toilets that were donated by the Copplestone community:

> It's like the toilets isn't it? It's like teaching them how to look after the things and then they will teach, I see that – so I think you have a very good system in your mind, of how to introduce the resources, how to look after them. *(Lynne, 12/11/2009)*

Saidi believed the partnership could effect change in his school, if his staff were able to take on board the changes required of them:

> Everything you learn, you must practice it, so when they come here again, we change from this stage to another stage. You know, it's not good for someone to do something then when you come back you are still there, there is no improvement. It's not good so you have to continue to improve and practice what he or she teaches. *(Saidi, 12/11/2009)*

One of Stuart’s concerns had been that they were making no difference to Donge, but Saidi’s words suggested otherwise. It was unfortunate that Stuart and Saidi had not found time to have this conversation themselves.
6.3 The third visit – Copplestone, June 2010

The third visit in my research saw Saidi and Cecilia return to Copplestone in June 2010. Stuart had learned from the previous year’s visits and so allocated time for the Tanzanian teachers to observe as many lessons as possible. I spoke to Stuart a couple of weeks before the visit and he told me that they had decided to do the visit differently this time:

We found that when they came over to us last time, we put on a completely false impression of what life at the school was like because we did lots of stand-alone activities, so when they come over this time […] we’ve said well they’re going to see normal lessons, they’re going to come into a staff meeting, in fact […] the only thing that’s going to be different is Friday which is World Cup day at the school which is June 11th which we would um, which we would do regardless of whether they were there. (Stuart, 21/05/2010)

The second visit of Saidi and Cecilia to Copplestone Primary School was a very different affair, as they said themselves. Whereas the first visit had been an encounter with newness, this visit consolidated and deepened their learning from the previous trip. No longer was the village life, or educational approach, or relationships with children, so unfamiliar to them; as Cecilia said, being comfortable with the difference allowed her to ‘push on’ with her learning experience. At the staff meeting on the first day, they were asked which lessons they wanted to observe; science and mathematics, subjects struggling with poor results in Tanzania, were emphasised. Cecilia spent time in the Reception Class, watching Show and Tell and a group story session with around thirty small children, then remained with the children during a wet playtime:

The children organised themselves to get out the play boxes of Lego, cars, animals, and gears. Cecilia went straight over to a group of children and began playing with them. I don’t remember her being quite so confident and proactive last year. I went and joined her. A boy burst into tears next to her – his playmate, a girl, had hit him on the head with a toy hammer – ‘he hit me too!’ she justified. Cecilia comforted him – he was very upset and she rubbed his head and put her arm around him. A Teaching Assistant came over and remarked ‘oh, he’s staying put’ meaning I think that he was happy to be getting comfort from Cecilia. (Fieldnotes, 08/06/2010)

For the Tanzanian teachers, their visit to Copplestone held up a mirror to their own culture and educational practices. Most strikingly, it presented them with an
alternative way in which to regard the children in Donge. In the final evaluation meeting, Saidi recalled how he had seen how children as young as five years old could be facilitated to ask and understand questions, rather than sit and ‘receive’ knowledge. He had evidently spent time that week discussing with Cecilia how changes could be brought about in the children at Donge. He appreciated that the child-centred teaching techniques he had observed in the lessons could make a difference at his own school, and he settled on the one area of school life he thought he could affect some change back home. He shared it in the meeting:

The biggest aim is how we can make our children to like reading different kind of books, that is my aim, my biggest aim, because that is the problem in Tanzania. Because when you put maybe a different kind of books here, no pupil is interested, even to take it and look at the pictures in, but when you place a lot of balls here within a second no ball would be there and then not children only, even teachers – they don’t spare time to read anything unless it is when they are preparing their lessons, so you remember the book but in their spare time even when we are on the coaches or in the spare time they don’t bother reading anything. So the biggest aim is to make our pupils, teachers, to like reading different kinds of books. (Saidi, 14/06/2010)

Taking into account his school’s limited resources, he wanted to promote reading, and the independent thought it engendered through careful teacher facilitation. Michael offered some thoughts on how he used books in his lessons to help the children acquire information about the topic that could be shared with everyone. The ‘jigsaw’ approach, in which five groups might be given different sections to read from the same page of a book, appeared to offer the potential to be used effectively in Donge, and Saidi was enthusiastic about the prospect. In addition, the visit of the five Copplestone staff to Tanzania that October was discussed in more detail. Stuart had already applied for, and received, the second British Council Curriculum Grant and so ideas for this were in the process of bubbling up. Michael favoured a shared science project, perhaps on water quality, and loose plans were drawn up of a ‘shared curriculum day’, in which children in both schools could undertake activities around the theme of water. Possible dates were thrown in, thoughts about sharing the work between the schools were suggested, and potential exciting ‘design and technology’ activities were put forward. For most of this discussion, however, Saidi sat quietly, listening, as Stuart and Michael talked with animation about the possibilities. The practical limitations for the Tanzanian school came out piecemeal – it would be impossible to ask the parents
to be involved, the limited resources meant children constructing something to carry water was unlikely, but as Saidi said, yes, they could create a ‘concept map’ of what the children knew about science. As the realities of the difficulties facing Donge became apparent, the animated discussion lost momentum; Michael hesitated, ‘probably needs a bit of thought’, and Stuart agreed ‘well, we can give it more thought can’t we, as we go through.’ It is revealing to note that, as far as I know, the shared science day never happened. Practicalities took over and the chasm between the pedagogic styles in each school proved insurmountable in this instance.

Alongside the observation of lessons and participation in the various projects that were arranged for the week, the ongoing issue of resources was raised again. Towards the end of the visit, Stuart scheduled a time for Michael and Saidi to go through the education resource catalogue that all schools use to purchase their materials and equipment. A list of resources for Donge was compiled and ordered, arriving on the day before they were due to leave for Heathrow and a large bag filled with pots of paint, sports bibs, paper, and pencils. Saidi told me later he had been stopped and the bulging holdall searched at Cairo Airport, a contrary experience to Stuart’s at Heathrow, where the maroon holdall filled with teaching resources had been agreeably waved through on his claim that it was for ‘orphans in Tanzania’.

The theme of language was present from the very start of the partnership, but on this visit, it began to take a more prominent position in the collective consciousness of the emerging partnership between Donge and Copplestone. Conversations with Saidi, coupled with my own research into the role of English as the chief language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools, led me to understand that poor examination results had positioned English as a matter of great concern for Tanzanian teachers and could, in part, explain their enthusiasm for partnerships with British schools. At the staff meeting on the first day of the visit, Saidi referred back to the photograph of Nicky sitting with the Donge pupils:

You can see when Nicky was there with that pupil there, trying to read English to Nicky, so every pupil now is trying to learn English so when you come back they can speak very good English. They know how to read English but they can’t understand what they are reading [...] but having this link, every pupil is anxious to learn more English, so that when you are there they can speak English so you
can understand each other, without using a teacher to translate. [...] Even in Donge, the teachers I can say sometimes they are afraid to speak English because they say ‘I don’t know English’, but nowadays they encourage themselves that what they need is to get information or the message, to parts of the link so they can communicate. (Saidi, 08/06/2010)

On the flip side, it had not gone unnoticed at Copplestone that there was an expectation that the Tanzanian visitors spoke English and general activities of the partnership would be conducted in English. Stuart expressed his desire, and perhaps even obligation, to learn more Swahili and other members of staff recognised that their pupils could also benefit from learning another language. During the visit, then, both Saidi and Cecilia were called upon to teach some basic vocabulary and phrases to each class in Copplestone, and a commitment was made to learn Swahili in order to ‘give something back’ as Stuart phrased it. I spoke with two girls from Year Six after the visit about the language ‘issue’ and they believed this linguistic inequality should be addressed. They held a delightful, articulate conversation about language that offered an intriguing window into their thoughts on language ‘usefulness’, suggesting that Swahili should be learnt in school instead of French.

By the third visit, I had considerable experience of attempting to learn Swahili, and although I found it a relatively straightforward language to grasp, I recognised the time and effort it would take the Copplestone teachers to really make inroads into speaking it sufficiently in the partnership. I offered Stuart the details of the language book and website I had found so useful, but time constraints of everyday school life meant that he was unable to follow them up. In the staff meeting after Saidi and Cecilia returned home, the issue of language arose once again. One of the teachers shared a perceptive reflection on their children’s approach to language:

I think kids value language because they kind of remember when they were still having to learn kind of stuff and they’re still learning – so they get that if you don’t know how to – ‘cause my lot look at me sometimes and say ‘I just don’t know how to say it, what I’m trying to say to you, I don’t know how to say it’ – so they still feel that. I think as you get older you forget how difficult it is when you can’t say something. (Teacher, 17/06/2010)
6.4 The fourth visit – Donge, October 2010

6.4.1 Preparing...

The fourth, and final, visit in which I participated involved a group of five Copplestone staff and two teachers from Cheriton Bishop visiting Tanga in October 2010. The Copplestone-Donge partnership was in full swing at this point and the previous visits had shaped the teachers’ hopes and expectations for this occasion. The ‘busyness’ of school life left little time to think too deeply about the impending visit, so focus was diverted to more material concerns, like what to pack and planning for the following term. As the departure date approached, I secured some time in Copplestone to talk to the teachers that were taking part, asking them what they hoped to achieve on their visit. The teachers that had been before wanted to spend more time observing teaching in Donge, and less (if any) time teaching in the classrooms. Naomi said:

I am looking forward to going back. Spend a bit more time with the children really. Want to find out little bit more about the school – so many questions to ask! How do they train? Who decides the curriculum? (Naomi, 05/10/2010)

The memory of teaching in the classroom in Donge last year had left a powerful emotional imprint on Naomi and as she cast her thoughts forward to how the visit might pan out this time, she reiterated that she would not entertain teaching like that again:

If they ask something I’m not happy about, I’ll just say no, I’m not going to do it. Because I’m not going to feel like that again. But I don’t think they will. Got a clear plan of what we’re going to do. So long as we’re prepared. I’m not thinking about it too much, I don’t want to worry about it, and I don’t want to feel, what will be, will be [...] (Naomi, 05/10/2010)

Michael had not been before and his hopes for the visit centred on learning from Donge, and ‘to share some of the ways that they go about their teaching and their relationships with parents and children’. He was also ‘looking forward to having a class and having a go’. Elaine, a teaching assistant, was interested to see whether Saidi and Cecilia had taken anything back from Copplestone but also, from ‘snippets’ of conversations with Cecilia about teaching in Tanzanian schools, she
questioned her image of African children sitting in neat rows, eager to learn, and was intrigued to find out ‘how it works’. Stuart was also concerned with the material details of leading the visit, particularly as he was ‘going it alone’ this year, and taking four members of staff, and two from another school. He hoped to encourage the other participants to take things forward themselves. The previous visit to Donge had left him feeling negatively towards the partnership and, like Naomi, he believed that this encounter could be far more positive if expectations were openly shared with Saidi beforehand.

Deciding which teaching resources to take over to Donge, and what to do with them once they were there, became a key theme in the weeks prior to the visit. The complicated stories of resources, which threaded through each visit, came to a head in the last planning meeting for the Copplestone group before their departure (05/10/2010). Once the teachers had discussed their various expectations about the visit and the practicalities of getting there, the focus of the meeting turned to the extensive list of resources that Stuart had allocated each teacher to collect before their departure. Alison had been overwhelmed by her list and cautioned the others to think about ‘what is doable as well’. I watched the teachers take a very functional, proactive approach to planning their visit; resources were identified and attached to some form of task or teaching activity that could be conducted in Donge. Throughout the meeting, I was struck by their enthusiasm for sharing their resources and ideas with the Donge staff but as a participating outsider, I considered the list of activities too ambitious. I had memories of the previous visit and knew that the embodied experience would likely take over and curtail their enthusiasm. There were grand plans to ‘decorate’ a classroom with materials such as numbers, letters, and colours, but some of the teachers had concerns over whether the other classes might feel left out. Michael asked what would happen if the folder full of materials was left with Saidi to use as he saw fit and Stuart replied that ‘it would probably be in his cupboard’. Faced with this prospect, the teachers favoured the proactive approach; as Stuart recalled, ‘when we went over the time before, unless we actually physically and practically do something...’ Naomi remembered that the Tanzanian teachers had just taken the posters straight down after her lesson, and quickly the others decided that it sounded pointless and should be crossed off the list. Stuart reiterated that it was important to get the teachers on side with the partnership whilst they were over
there. The others turned their thoughts to how their best intentions might be perceived, and were very mindful of doing the right thing, wary of appearing too controlling.

The obligation to honour the British Council funding requirements for their Curriculum Grant featured in the planning meeting and various plans were considered for the water project that Stuart had stated on the funding application. There were ambitious plans to take over water-sampling devices and electron microscopes. As the meeting wore on, it began to dawn on the teachers just how much they were taking on. Michael said ‘at the moment, we’re saying we’ll do every subject under the sun rather aren’t we and biting off quite a lot there?’ and suggested that they email Saidi and confirm what he wanted them to do, rather than dictate what they were going to do. Mindful of my desire to nudge people towards a better understanding of their embodied experiences, as well as to protect the teachers from taking on board too much, I finally decided to intervene:

I suppose you’ve just got to think, reflect on what do you want to be doing most of, and if it is observing, research, getting to know people, if you’re worried about ‘oh god, I’ve got to teach a lesson at ten’ – because remember the anxiety that you had about just teaching one lesson, one activity in those two and a half days? (Lynne, 05/10/2010)

There was a pause and then the conversation shifted towards planning for fewer activities. By the end of the meeting, it had been collectively agreed to ‘go easy’ on themselves.

6.4.2 Observing...

The first day of the visit was taken up with introductions to the staff of Donge and its sister school, Kwakaheza, receiving their first visitors from Cheriton Bishop Primary School. Following the grand welcome ceremony delivered by pupils from both schools, we were all taken on a tour around the schools. Joachim, the upper school teacher, was going on the next visit to England and so was urged by Saidi to get more involved in the activities of this visit. He led the tour around the school, taking us into each classroom where the visibility of the resources was a familiar topic of conversation. Standing in Standard I, the class in which Naomi had taught her lesson the previous year, we noticed that the walls were covered with displays.
Michelle, a teacher from Cheriton Bishop, pointed out a poster of paired letters stuck to the side wall by the door and said ‘oh, look at the Jolly Phonics!’ Seeing our interest, the teacher of Standard I, Rose, stepped up to the poster and explained ‘this is the letters to make the names of Kiswahili – with these letters we make many, many words’. Reading out the letters – me, mi, ma, mo, mu - Naomi and I came to the conclusion that the Jolly Phonics she had taught had not been used in its English guise, but adapted to suit the learning of Swahili, and was being actively employed in the teaching of the children’s second language. Later, as we walked to the Mkonge Hotel for our evening meal, Stuart shared his positive feelings about the day:

> It was good – the work we’d done last year had obviously had an impact, ‘cause it was on display, but more than that there was one classroom I noticed that the children had actually done some number line work which they’d put up on the wall. And it was also really nice to see they’d put the sign on the Copplestone garden and given it a big public awareness. (Stuart, 25/10/2010)

His immediate emphasis on the changes taking place in Donge as a result of the partnership revealed an undercurrent of conditionality. Saidi had eluded to it the previous visit in describing the need to demonstrate change in his school to satisfy the partners. Stuart took evident pleasure in seeing their ‘work’ appreciated and employed to make changes that he could tally with his understanding of ‘quality teaching and learning’, like the displays of children’s work, and the use of techniques to learn languages and solve mathematical problems.

For the two visitors from Cheriton Bishop, the resilient narrative of resources had only just begun. When she saw the pictures of the Copplestone pupils on the back wall of the Standard I classroom, the headteacher, Sue, realised that she had not seen ‘any evidence’ of the work they had sent over from her school.114 Alison replied that it might be worth asking the teachers from Kwakaheza and recalled that Naomi had noticed the same thing on their visit the previous year. The resources remained infused with mystery, as they had been in the first visit, and this manifested at various points during the visit, having affective power on the

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114 I had attended the visit to Cheriton Bishop back in June 2010 with Saidi, Cecilia, Alison, and Elaine. The aim of the visit had been to introduce the Tanzanians and to pave the way for the new partnership between Cheriton Bishop and Kwakaheza. At the start of the visit, Sue made it clear she would be unable to visit Tanzania this year. She talked to Saidi for some time and handed over a brown folder bulging with children’s work for him to take back to Tanzania and give to the headteacher of Kwakaheza. By the time we all returned to Copplestone a few hours later, Stuart had received an email from Sue saying she would be coming on the next visit.
British teachers as it did so. The paucity of resources was a source of comment over our evening meal; Sue thought the posters on the walls were ‘very old, very basic' and found it ‘just very strange, just want to see what they’ve got hidden behind those little locks, cupboards with locks on, what's in there, resources they don't use?' Michelle picked up the thread of mystery: ‘I want to know what's in the store room, I'm going to ask the storekeepers tomorrow, what's in your store?’ Michelle and Sue discussed when to hand over the large holdall full of materials that they had brought over; a degree of uncertainty hovered over their conversation, prompted no doubt by the absence of the resources they had sent. This rapidly became suspicion, or scepticism as Michelle called it, as she quietly raised the question of how the £2000 their school had raised for the toilets might actually get spent.

6.4.3 Reflecting...

My research methodology in this final visit differed to the others, in that I organised two distinct reflective sessions with the British teachers, on the Monday and Wednesday evenings of the school visits. I attempt to capture the ‘flow’ of the conversation below, as the teachers shared their observations and these coalesced into wider reflections, not only on the Tanzanian education system but also on their own teaching practice and education system. The initial session captured their impressions from their first day in their partner schools. The welcome ceremony was an emotional experience for all the teachers, but particularly for the ones who had not witnessed it before. The interaction between the children and adults presented striking reflection. Michelle was shocked to see the children being hit with a stick, Naomi recounted her encounter with a ‘cheeky monkey' pushing his luck with the mzungu, and Michael shared his ‘little lesson learnt, don't single out one or two smiling kids at the front and not expect to be swamped by a thousand kids'. The universal nature of children was highlighted. Each teacher retained a snapshot of a child doing something inherently ‘childlike’ – the child playing in the sand when he should have being paying attention, the ‘cool' older boys performing their street dances, and the excitement at the end of the ceremony (Plate 6.1). Equally, differences were identified; Stuart considered the behaviour of the pre-school children to be superior to those in Coppinestone and he knew the apparent pride that the boys had shown in their dancing would have been considered ‘uncool' in England.
The teachers were still confused and curious about the nature of the Tanzanian ‘learner’. The levels of attainment of the children were an unknown factor, for example, and presented a topic ripe for further investigation. I asked the teachers what they expected to find out about the curriculum and the learning standards; Michael admitted they were likely to see areas of strength, such as in language ability, as well as the expected weaknesses. For Michelle, witnessing the large class sizes led her to surmise that the children were required to be ‘independent’ learners and wonder how their learning could be progressed without a lack of one-to-one support from the teacher. Being ‘left to their own devices’, to work at their own speed, reminded Naomi of learning mathematics at primary school herself, prompting Michelle to comment that when she let some children in her own class work at their own pace, ‘they love it’. Although she could see some ‘merit’ in a more traditional approach, she was quick to clarify that it would work for ‘some children some of the time’ but raised the question of what happened to the slower learners, or indeed those who were particularly bright. Naomi recalled the moment when Cecilia had identified a child who required ‘more help’ in one of her lessons back home; Stuart cited a similar example with Saidi and so the ability to ‘spot’ the slower learners was acknowledged, but the British teachers remained curious as to how such learners were supported thereafter.115

The second reflective session took place after a further two days spent in the school, ensuring a deeper level of reflection than the speculation of the first. The general mood was positive; the teachers felt more welcomed by their Tanzanian counterparts, and found the sports and dance sessions incredibly enjoyable, cementing their affective attachment to the children. The embodied experience of leading these sessions led Michelle to conclude that the Tanzanian children had a ‘real commitment on their part to their learning’, which emanated from an appreciation of the importance of education to their future livelihoods. She was ‘pleasantly surprised’ at the extent of the learning taking place in classes – the opportunities to see more teaching in ‘normal circumstances’ was paying off.116 Stuart observed an engaging lesson in pre-Standard I, and the Cheriton Bishop teachers watched Kwakeheza nursery teachers employing similar techniques –

115 This question was partially answered for me by my visit to Majana Mapana, where a special unit had been set up to cater for those with learning and physical disabilities. The concept of ‘inclusive education’ had been gaining ground in Tanzania for several years and teachers’ awareness of individual children’s needs was keeping pace.
116 There was a brief discussion about to what extent an observed lesson could be judged as ‘normal’, similar to the British teachers’ experiences of preparing ‘normal’ lessons for an Ofsted inspection.
rhyme, song, repetition, counting - to those found in British nursery classes. In contrast, Michael and Elaine glimpsed a Tanzanian education system reliant upon a teacher-led, textbook-based curriculum, in their observations of a science lesson and Standard I mathematics lesson. Differentiated learning is the cornerstone of a learner-centred pedagogy and the teachers reflected on the lack of such individualisation in the lessons they had observed. Lessons lacked ‘challenge’ – ‘everything was handed to them on a plate’ said Michael - relying on cloze procedures that fostered limited thinking skills. The notion of teaching that ‘covered the ground’ but came ‘straight out a book’ was difficult to appreciate for the British teachers. Referencing back to the question from several days earlier, I asked them to reflect on their expectations about educational standards. Stuart believed standards were similar, from his observations, but the Donge children’s behaviour was superior. Michael thought the skill level in mathematics was high, but highlighted a distinction between accuracy and challenge. Sue and Michelle believed summative assessment of the children’s work, by marking the books en masse at the end of the lesson, was not as effective as being able to support them throughout the lesson. The urge to make sense of their observations was strong for the teachers and general conclusions began to be drawn. Alison surmised that the difference between the two countries’ teachers was that in Tanzania teachers were ‘there to deliver a curriculum and that’s what they do’, but in England, ‘we try to do more and we’re looking at the holistic child and how that child is engaging’. A general agreement was hastily reached that teaching was more demanding in England, despite the smaller class sizes, as a result of the intensive planning for differentiated lessons catering for four levels of ability. The simplistic comparison with Tanzanian teaching – ‘they have a book’ and ‘they go home at 3 o’clock every day’ – began to take on an affective hue.

The process of reflection had invited them to consider their own teaching practice, school, and educational culture. Michelle was ‘never ever going to complain’ again about the numbers of children she taught. Sue’s sense that ‘children are children wherever you go’ was reinforced. Naomi wondered if the Tanzanian teachers were not daunted by teaching one hundred children in a class because ‘maybe they’ve been trained to teach the way they teach’. Sue watched a lesson with ‘about five

117 A ‘cloze’ procedure is a teaching technique, providing a sentence or short passage of text, with words omitted for the pupil to complete using their understanding of the text.
members of staff in there' but questioned the efficiency of staff deployment, ‘the others could have actually been working with the other children but they weren’t, they were just standing around, just chivvying a bit’. Naomi recognised that the teacher training the British teachers had undergone was ‘quite sophisticated, we’ve all got degrees, been to university’, and that ‘the way we have to plan and teach and the expectations on us are very different to what is there’. Recalling Barrett’s (2007) questioning of the theoretical continuum from teacher-centred to learner-centred pedagogy, I asked the teachers if theirs was therefore a ‘better system’. Naomi thought not, that it was just different, but Michael firmly believed the British education system was better. Sue added that the British system was continually ‘evolving’ as a result of government intervention. Naomi reiterated her balanced view that any system had strengths and flaws; ‘here you can see the benefits of how the children work, they have a bit more freedom than ours [...] they’ve got independence, but they’ve also got the respect.’ Michelle believed that they gave their children back home ‘too much freedom’ and that the Tanzanian system had retained a discipline that they had lost. The relationship between teachers and their pupils emerged again as a key issue and Naomi wondered if they were too personable with their pupils. Stuart reminded them that they were expected to be by government agendas like Every Child Matters. The media was to blame for influencing children’s disrespectful attitudes towards the adults around them, the others agreed, and they sensed that Tanzania had not been subject to such negative influences yet. The teacher/child relationship was pivotal for teachers’ motivations and personal fulfilment – the ‘spark that makes me want to do my job’ said Naomi. Without it, the job of teaching would cease to be an attractive proposition for her. The conversation delved deeper into the emotional elements of teaching – did Tanzanian teachers ‘care’ for their pupils, as the British teachers did? The concept of care was not straightforward; Michelle said that although she was shocked ‘with the whole beating thing’, she witnessed ‘caring’ moments towards the children and incidents of teachers evidently ‘having fun’ with their class.

The final story concerns the compelling circulation of the easiness of teaching. To trace the starting point of ‘easy’ teaching we must first return to a sunny morning outside The Wyche in Malvern, where Esther, Charles, and William from Gofu-juu were visiting in July 2010. Esther had just observed the Reception Class lesson and
their teacher, Elly, brought some of their exercise books to show her whilst they were standing outside having tea. Esther looked on with a solemn face, and then said ‘but our classes are so big, we cannot teach like this!’ Later she suggested to me: ‘I think it is easier to teach in a smaller class’. I agreed, but said that British teachers had many other pressures placed on them and they worked very hard, most evenings and weekends. In my journal later, I wrote: ‘I’d heard it said before that teaching in the UK was ‘easy’ and I felt I needed to set the record straight, for all those teachers I know that work themselves stupid, driven by internal and external expectations’. And so the word ‘easy’, in conjunction with teaching, took flight. It had rankled me, reminding me of the many people I had heard saying the long holidays made teaching an easy career option.

Fast-forward to the visit to Tanzania in October 2010 and I found myself sharing the phrase with the teachers from Copplestone and Cheriton Bishop. There was little response at the time but evidently it remained with the teachers, as an event towards the end of the week aptly demonstrated. A meeting was convened for us to meet the School Committees of Donge and Kwakaheza and share ideas about the partnerships. A member of the Donge school committee stood and delivered an articulate, informative speech about the responsibilities of his committee. He outlined the role of ensuring quality education, supervising the school’s income – ‘we administer seriously’ – and the school buildings, overseeing the school’s development, and encouraging registration of all local children in the school. The head of the committee stood up then and gave a more detailed account of the role of the committee members, as the ‘link between the teachers, the community, and the students’. The difference in class sizes between the British and Tanzanian schools clearly emerged as an important issue that was observed, discussed, and circulated within the partnership visits, and he took up the issue in his following words:

[T]he challenge is how far do we give out, to deliver the knowledge needed to the students, it will take long period. All students to capture, to grasp all the needed knowledge – but teaching few students, it’s easy, to supervise and monitor and make follow-ups – but as you compare the big numbers of students in class, it is chaos sometimes. [...] as parents, we appreciate and we are very eager by the teachers who are teaching in Tanzania, they are teaching in a very difficult situation. Economic wise, it’s down to the government needed to support, but it is not easy to afford. That’s why when you come out, somebody come and discussing together how to live and to co-operate together from you, from Cheriton and
Copplestone schools so for us it's a benefit – we have to learn new ways of teaching, so long as you are teaching less, few numbers of students, but how can you manage to teach – but also you have to learn from us? How do we manage? Teaching sixty students per class! (*School Committee, 28/10/2010, my emphasis*)

It was at this point that one of the teachers, looking hot and uncomfortable, leaned over to me and said 'I'm getting a bit frustrated by this, sorry'. Moments later, they made their apologies and left the room. The parent concluded his stirring speech and his fluent words found agreement with the teachers listening – ‘he’s hit the nail right on the head’ said someone. I sensed that the opportunity for the hard work of the Tanzanian teachers to be witnessed and acknowledged by overseas visitors was a powerful motivator of the partnership:

Finally I have to give thanks to you for coming, for observing and seeing, visualising the way we teach in class, seeing the big numbers around the school, not easy to manage them, even knowing their names, but it is our task to know the names, each student has its own problems, at school, at home, at class [...] so it is we teachers who – the challenge lie on us. But our teachers are performing well, we are doing better. [...] so I thank you very much and I wish all programmes we are arranging here, will materialise such that we can manage, we could benefit, for better management of our nation, and better management of your nation too – your students too. Thank you very much.' (*ibid*)

The rest of the meeting allowed the visiting teachers to offer their own contribution. Stuart spoke of the ‘richness’ that Donge had in terms of the children’s learning and respect, and the lack of respect of British children. Others spoke of the challenge of ‘teaching’ respect and personal connections, which the Donge children appeared to know ‘naturally’ and the English children had somehow lost. This became a matter of contention that grumbled on in the hours that followed. Some of the teachers were unhappy with the way Stuart portrayed their children as disrespectful, whilst others felt maligned as teachers, the trope of ‘ease’ featuring powerfully in their narrative. I wrote later in my journal: ‘that’s what happens when issues are dealt with in black and white terms, misconceptions about the ‘easy’ life. I don’t think it’s something to take umbrage to – it’s just part of an ongoing conversation that needs to be open.’

The emotive circulation of the concept ‘easy’ was startling to watch. It led to personal frustration and disappointment, confusion over motives and uncertainty over the value of the link. In my final interview with Saidi, then, we explored the
issue together and it is worth repeating this interaction almost in its entirety. I asked him if he thought teaching in England was easy and was perturbed when he answered straightaway:

[As I was in England, I could see teaching in England is very easy. Because when you teach you have a lot of material to teach, lots of books, maybe you have computer there, you can present other thing – I would say teaching in England is very, very easy. (Saidi, 29/10/2010)]

I pursued the point: ‘so do you think then – we’re talking about ‘easy’ ‘difficult’ – do you think then that teachers in the UK do not have to work as hard as teachers in Tanzania?’

Saidi replied, ‘I think they have to work hard, as they do in Tanzania – because you have…’

I interrupted him to confirm the point ‘as hard, equal?’

‘Yeah,’ he replied:

because you have to prepare a lesson, even if you use computer, you should find a program that can work with your subjects. So you have to think hard – you have to go and ask, you have to go through books and find the teaching aids maybe which will sit in your computer? But here in Tanzania you will find - marker pens, sit down and draw sometimes, making models, so they work the same – I think it is the same.

‘It is the same – yeah, so maybe the word easy – could be misunderstood? Maybe?’ I offered.

‘Yes, easy can be’, he agreed.

I went on: ‘Because ‘easy’ means ‘oh you don’t have to work hard’ – but it’s not that, is it? It means maybe it’s more comfortable to teach thirty children than 120, of course it is, of course it is.’

Saidi replied:

You know, easy come when you are teaching something – so for example in Tanzania, we have a period of forty minutes, and you have let’s say least number sixty pupils in the class. So for example, you say I want to help – you have ten, you have fifteen, you can say half of the class didn’t understand so you want to go
through one by one to help him or her. So half of sixty is thirty – so maybe thirty seconds per pupil. What about forty minutes you have? But when you are in the class in the UK maybe you have thirty pupils, half of it is fifteen –

I agreed, ‘Yes, it’s manageable.’

So you will have the time to go through fifteen pupils, one by one and finish up on time. That is only challenge we have. So teaching in Tanzania, and teaching in England are the same. But the challenge is in Tanzania, we have a big number of pupils to help, so it is hard to control 60 -100 pupils in one classroom so they can all listen to you, but if you have least number it is manageable.’

I had wondered if the confusion about ‘easy’ resulted from a problem in translation, and talking to Saidi, it was very apparent that it had been. The term ‘easy’ has such connotations in English, particularly to teachers sensitive to public criticism. There are two words for easy in Swahili – *rahisi* (meaning easy, but also cheap, facile) but also *epesi* (meaning easy, lightweight). In translation, these words could have adopted very different meanings to the English term, with all its cultural attachments for teachers. The word could not simply be taken at face value, as the British teachers (and indeed, for a time, I) had done. For me, the ‘easy’ story served as a sober reminder of the perils of the intercultural encounter, as I discussed in Chapter Four, yet it pointed to the solution at the same time – communication, communication, and always communication.

6.4.4 Teaching...

The teachers from Copplestone and Cheriton Bishop made it very clear in their pre-visit communication with Saidi that they did not wish to teach large numbers of children, as they had the previous year. In fact, ‘teaching’ activities were more ‘fun’ orientated and involved teaching a traditional country dance (heel-and-toe) to one hundred children under the dappled shade of the trees outside the school, and leading three sporting sessions of tag-rugby, Kwik Kricket, and skipping. The activities were chaotic but fun, certainly for the British teachers (see Plate 6.1, p.226).

The teachers from the other English schools in the network also found it problematic when asked to teach in Tanzanian schools. Their responses to this request varied, depending on their own levels of confidence at saying ‘no’ and in
their own teaching ability, and their clarity around the meaning of shared learning. Geoff, from The Wyche, in a reflective interview about his school’s partnership with Gofu-Juu, shared his feelings on the matter:

[T]hey see us as a panacea and the answer to everything, and I think that’s something to be warded against really. When we first went over there, for our very, very first visit, you know, we landed on the Monday in the school, and they were all welcome and then day two, you teach now, show us how to do it properly, was [laughs] sort of the subtext, and I had to say to her, whoa, no, you know, [...] I don’t teach classes of 120 pupils, no textbooks and one chalkboard – so my skill sets are not in that thing, and I remember having this conversation with her, I said to her, you know, I might sound a bit selfish, but my job is to come here and learn from you, and then in the summer you come to my school, I’ll teach as much as you want, tell me what you want me to teach and we’ll do it for you, and then you’ll learn from us. But you’ll see classrooms of twenty computers in, you know, same as I’m not going to say to you, Esther, when you come over here, right, teach the kids ICT – it’s not going to happen is it! So it’s a fish out of water stuff, and um, I think she took that on board really – but I think it was this, well here come the English guy who’s fifty million times better than us, so he can show us how to do it properly now. Um – and I think, yeah it’s that element needs to be broken down really. (Geoff, 30/03/2010)

Karen had a similar response when she was asked by Juliet in Majana Mapana to demonstrate her teaching to some of their classes. She told me ‘I just said no, I don’t think so’, and when I asked her if she had found that difficult to say, she replied:

I’d talked to Geoff about it. I was apprehensive but he said no, what he’d said to Esther – he just said you’re having a laugh, I’m not teaching here, I have no resources, I will watch you teach and when you come to England you will watch me teach. So that’s what I said, and it’s been fine... (Karen, 21/10/2010)

She recognised that Juliet was hoping she could ‘enlighten’ them on how to deliver quality teaching:

I didn’t want to do that. I think that’s really why I’m down to teach, ‘you’re going to show us how it’s done’, but actually I don’t have constraints, I don’t have 54 Key Stage One children in a room with three to a bench and me, nothing else. (Karen, 21/10/2010)

‘And that takes a particular kind of skill,’ I offered. She agreed, ‘and a lot of practice – Estelle [pre-Standard One teacher] did very, very well.’ Our conversation reminded me of the issues that Barrett had covered in her paper about the
inappropriateness of importing Western pedagogies into Tanzanian classrooms and so I shared the sentiment of the paper with Karen. She concluded, ‘I was very keen not to come in and be seen as the great expert.’ In a similar vein to the charitable narrative I expounded in the previous chapter, many teachers were emotionally overwhelmed by the education quality they faced in the Tanzanian schools and their instinct was to ‘do something’, putting them immediately into the position of being perceived as someone who can help. Karen’s personal philosophy of simply being ‘here to learn’ was refreshing.

As Barrett (2007: 288) reminds us, the Tanzanian teachers’ ‘pedagogical palette’ should not be underestimated and, for some of the English teachers from the Somers Park visit, the ‘skill’ of the Tanzanian teachers in teaching in challenging circumstances did not go unnoticed:

I haven’t heard anybody over the last three days go into lessons, observing lessons and doing lessons, other than coming back and say ‘do you know the African teachers bring a high level of skill to try and deliver a limited curriculum really, and they’ve been asked to teach English, their own English isn’t that great – they do try, there’s no resources. They’ve been impressed. (Stuart Sewell, 21/10/2010)

6.5 Lessons learnt...

These stories and snapshots from the teachers’ visits attempt to give a flavour of the discussions and issues that arose. The final section of this chapter considers the wider implications of the Global School Partnership in relation to the significant themes highlighted in the introductory literature review of the geographies of education. It describes the shift in teachers’ professional subjectivities, the way in which embodied experiences informed teachers’ perspectives on the broader purpose of education, and their interpretation of ‘pressure’ within education, the ramifications of ‘sharing’ pedagogies, and finally the Global School Partnership programme’s ongoing role in the production of the cultural imaginary, the ‘global knowledge economy’.

6.5.1 Professional subjectivities

The emotional and embodied nature of the GSP visits has been described in some detail in an earlier chapter. Importantly, the bodily (dis)placement of teachers
from their usual work cultures into ‘other’ education systems presented a crucible for critical reflection on their own education systems and professional identities. Finding themselves in starkly unfamiliar surroundings, the teachers were propelled towards existential questions, like ‘what is the purpose of teaching?’ In the reflective sessions in the Mkonge hotel, the British education system was unsettled. In previous interviews, I had gleaned a sense from the Copplestone teachers of their personal philosophy of teaching; for Naomi, it was the personal relationship with the children and her pivotal role in guiding them in their learning. Despite acknowledging that teaching was ‘time sucked out of your life basically’, Michael described his ethos as encouraging ‘relaxed and happy and motivated’ children. Later, on hearing the school committee’s united belief in the liberating potential of education, he began to question the taken-for-granted approach that many of his pupils took towards their own education. For other teachers, the GSP brought into sharp focus that their vocation for teaching was getting ‘lost’ or subsumed beneath the weight of expectation and performance targets. Another teacher from Malvern gained a different perspective on what really mattered from her visit to Tanzania and when she returned to her class, she told me ‘I kind of stopped caring for a little bit’. She took an important step back from the pressured educational world in which she had become entrenched, but suffered the backlash as she let things slip; soon, the pressure and expectation of the British classroom seeped back into her life and tipped her, for a time, over the edge. Sheila was also emotionally charged by the experience and on more than one occasion remarked that she would love the opportunity to come and teach in Tanzania, lured by the apparent lack of pressure compared to her classroom experience back home. The emotional impact of the visit continued to make its presence felt for some time – by the following year, the former teacher both recognised, and chose to resist, the pressure by leaving her school and seeking employment nearer her family home. The GSP, then, offered the participating teachers a rare opportunity to engage in professional reflection, albeit on an ad-hoc, informal basis, recognising that limited funding and time was available for teacher professional development. For the headteachers as well, the GSP provided a unique opportunity to reflect upon their own roles as leaders, and to witness their own staff in challenging circumstances. The division between personal and
professional introspection was difficult to distinguish, and the emotional threatened to engulf their professional world at times.

The GSP provided a centrifuge in which different understandings of education were scrutinised. In Britain, there has been an increasing emphasis on the ‘technical-rational’ interpretation of education (Mockler, 2011: 517), which aims to produce useful, employable citizens replete with a set of generic skills and competences, primed for the global knowledge economy. Within this narrowing remit of education, Mockler argues, teachers’ professional identities have become channelled into instrumentalist roles and have lost their more expansive vision of what education can achieve. The British teachers were brought face-to-face with a condensed version of this functionalist approach, in which the Tanzanian teachers were reduced to ‘educators’ that process pupils swiftly through the examination system. The implicit message in this observation was that the British teachers were so much more than vehicles of curriculum reproduction, countering Mockler’s assertion that this has been a feature of British education system for some considerable while. Whether it has been or not, the teachers visiting Tanzania did not recognise this representation of their schools and their professional roles.

The searching question of what it means to be a teacher was given serious attention during the teachers’ visits to their partner schools. Most of the British teachers, far from feeling like pawns in an educational system, recognised the privilege of having ‘job satisfaction’. The Tanzanian teachers acknowledged that the physical constraints of their education system, particularly the class sizes, stood in the way of their own personal fulfilment. The concept that teaching could offer a fulfilling occupation was a minor revelation to Cecilia. What was perhaps not so explicit was the price that British teachers paid for the ‘privilege’ of a stimulating career. The ‘pressure’ that pervades the British education system is well-recognised by those in the profession. Indeed, it was the release from this pressure of their daily teaching lives that enabled all the teachers to step back for a more objective view of their own cultures. Far from providing teachers with an undeserved ‘jolly’ as the media is want to describe (Paton, 2010), the observations of the Tanzanian style of teaching prompted resigned reflections of the pressured nature of teaching in England:
[T]hey are so relaxed in Africa, and you know, we went and saw so many lessons yet not once did I see a lesson plan or scheme of work or anything! And yet here as soon as you got back, have you done this, have you got that? And it was just like, back on the hamster wheel again – keep on going! [laughs] So when things get bombarded at you, you think I could just be back in Africa. (Angela, 30/03/2010)

It’s all about pressure – I was thinking as I was watching my watch as to how long it was taking those children to all just get into the right space [for the ceremony] – and I thought if this was in England now, I’d be thinking I need to start literacy in fifteen minutes and they haven’t even sat down yet! I’d be like, sit down, sit down, quickly, quickly, file in, file in… (Michelle, 25/10/2010)

These descriptions, however, mask the lived reality of the Tanzanian education system, where ‘pressure’ takes on a different hue – anxiety about the inadequate budget, the lack of parental support, the demotivated teachers, the ongoing hardship of lacking the most basic facilities, and the pressures of a regional ‘league table’ of examination results that demanded almost weekly tests, placing schools in direct competition with each other, and rendering the headteacher in an increasingly administrative capacity. Notably, although the GSP revealed the ‘monoculture’ of standardisation and testing culture entrenched in the Tanzanian system (Shahjahan, 2011), the pressures of testing were not highlighted by the British teachers as being similar in any way to their experiences of standardisation over the past ten years with the introduction of standardised testing (SATs). Why should this be the case? Surely some degree of solidarity could be realised if the teachers were to acknowledge the mutual pressure that fuelled their obligation to fulfil an increasingly standardised curriculum.

To inch closer to an explanation of why the British teachers sought to ‘other’ their Tanzanian colleagues, we must turn our attention to the professionalism paradigm that has infused British schools over the past twenty years. As I outlined in the introduction, there has been a shift in teachers’ professional subjectivities over this time, as managerialism and performativity has taken hold in schools. The language of the market place has crept into the headteacher’s office, but how far has it found its way into common parlance in the staffroom? By the time of my research, Copplestone was well on the road to becoming an ‘outstanding’ school, and the language of ‘quality’ sat comfortably in the narratives of both headteacher and teachers. Familiar for so long with the discourse of educational reform - parental choice and competition, performance targets, league tables, improving quality,
creating ‘world-class’ curricula - the British teachers had adopted a mantle of efficient and professional operation within an increasingly neoliberalised education system. Such general acceptance, particularly amongst the younger teachers like Naomi, or new mature entrants like Michael, indicates the ‘common-sense’ nature of the system. Yet, this was not the entire story either. The British teachers also possessed an optimistic, creative edge to their duties that could be neither faulted nor ignored. Far from curtailing their freedom and stifling their creativity, the new professionalism agenda appeared to present teachers with new avenues for enterprise and ‘creative practice within formal routines of performance management, targets and measured standards’ (Storey, 2007: 268). From this vantage point, the Tanzanian education system appeared dull indeed.

6.5.2 The clash of the pedagogies

Although there were fleeting moments when similarities were identified between the British and Tanzanian teachers, more often perceived differences served to disrupt any ‘together’ feeling that was experienced. Encountering contrasting pedagogies - the learner-centred approaches of the British teachers and the more traditional, teacher-led pedagogies of Tanzania – aroused significant questions within the partnership. The general global shift towards personalised learning was in little evidence in the Tanzanian schools although there was a demonstrable desire amongst the headteachers to incorporate new learner-centred approaches that they had witnessed on their visits to England and that the City Education Office was already actively promoting. There is a widespread belief that there is a prefigurative element to pedagogy that enables learners to take control of their own learning, and in doing so, to become more inclined, and able, to participate in democracy. The hopes of a learner-centred approach, then, extend beyond the school to the broader trend towards democratic politics and the reduction of poverty. As Schweisfurth (2011) outlined, however, schools across the Global South face multiple obstacles in their attempted uptake of the new pedagogies. The necessary cultural shift in the relationship between adult-teacher and child-learner is key, along with the practical requirements such as smaller class sizes and adequate training.
The implementation of learner-centred pedagogy in Tanzanian schools, then, has become an important concern for teachers and policy-makers alike wishing to improve standards of teaching and learning. In her ethnographic research of the extent of LCP in Tanzanian classrooms, Barrett (2007) troubles the polarisation that researchers tend to construct, between the two opposing styles of teaching – either teacher-centred (traditional, and therefore ‘bad’) or learner-centred pedagogy (progressive, and therefore ‘better’). Barrett extends an important warning to educational researchers not to ‘allow the conditions of scarcity to deceive them into underestimating the pedagogical traditions and debate that do exist with Tanzania and other low-income countries’ (2007: 292), remaining vigilant that judgement of Tanzanian strategies and classroom practice from within the theoretical framework of Western teaching strategies may overlook the complexities and hybrid nature of ‘good practice’ as it pertains to Tanzanian teachers. This work is pertinent to our understanding of the dynamics within the GSP, where we witnessed a different shade of the monochrome story of British teachers ‘helping’ Tanzanian teachers that I narrated in the previous chapter. The urge to assist in ‘improving’ the teaching, through modelling ‘best’ practice and donating teaching resources, was a feature of both visits to Tanzania. The teaching experiences of the British teachers whilst in Tanzania reflected an ambitious, and unrealistic, hope that they might somehow make a difference to the delivery of education in Donge. Beneath this urge, however, lay the same common-sense instinct for the neoliberal educational reform that has transformed British education over the past decades. An earlier chapter describes in detail the educational landscape in England, in which the personalised learning discourse has become entrenched over the past decade, providing the discursive framework of teaching practice in the British schools. Some of the Copplestone and Cheriton Bishop teachers of the second visit adopted rather managerial approaches to the task, whilst others questioned the impulse for development through the imposition of a Western style of teaching. The application of a Western approach to the Tanzanian education system was hard to resist for many of the teachers, framing it in the familiar discourse of learner entitlement and teacher responsibility. One Malvern teacher reflected on their attempt at a shared curriculum project, in which they had created a display of children’s drawings from both schools, and described their behaviour as ‘*that very pushy English thing of you’ve got to have nice displays*
and colour’. Other hasty revisions of planned curricular projects spoke of the critique of the wholesale adoption of Western teaching techniques that pay little attention to the cultural practices in which the existing pedagogies are embedded (Nguyen, Elliott, Terlouw & Pilot, 2009). In a distinctly postcolonial approach, they conclude that the uncritical uptake or ‘cloning’ of Western pedagogies reproduces a sense of dependency on former imperial cultures and argue, like Fanon, that Southern countries should look to their own cultural traditions in a postcolonial project. However, this interpretation of a neocolonial education project, furthered by the GSP, misses the mark. Tabulawa’s conception that the shift towards learner-centred pedagogy is driven by a Westernised agenda was not borne out by partnerships in this research. The British teachers shrugged off the ‘expert’ label wherever possible and yet observing lessons and being around Tanzanian schools for a period of time inevitably led them to assess the quality of teaching. Traditional forms of teacher-led pedagogy have connotations of ‘poor’ practice as Watkins (2007) highlights, when juxtaposed with more ‘learner-friendly’ techniques such as group work. In the partnership stories, the crux of effective pedagogy was the affective relationship between adult and child. Teaching founded on a personal connection with each child was perceived as more fulfilling for all teachers, attributed to its affective capacity to make teachers ‘feel’ good.

Much remained unspoken about the nature of teaching in the partnerships. Conversations about the different quality of teaching did not take place between the British and Tanzanian teachers - and it is understandable how the debate shifted quickly to how hard someone works, and the relative ‘ease’ of teaching styles, an altogether more personal narrative. It is important to reiterate how powerful the emotional expression of the unspoken dialogue became, and how the feelings of envy and unfair comparisons engendered a sense of ‘them’ and ‘us’, of who was pulling their weight in this education business, and who clearly was not. The narrative speaks clearly to the incremental professionalisation of teachers; the British teachers had become so steeped in the art of being ‘effective’, being seen to be reaching ‘standards’ to justify one’s salary, and being ‘outstanding’ for the sake of their own careers, that the Tanzanian teachers were perceived as not meeting

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118 Saidi critiqued the adoption of Westernised approaches ‘before judging the consequences’, such as the abolition of corporal punishment in schools.
these internalised standards. What was even more interesting is that the wholesale reform of British education along learner-centred lines was by no means a collectively agreed ‘good thing’. The teachers asked themselves if they were being too ‘soft’ on their learners, striving to make it all ‘lovely’ for them. The desire to teach is often associated with standing in front of a class, talking to the class, holding question and answer sessions. Watkins (2007) studied the emotional impact of the shift from whole-class teaching to group work on the teacher’s role, as they adopt a more facilitative and managerial role within the classroom. She found that, despite the requirement for them to take on more LCP, teachers admitted that they actually preferred teacher-centred pedagogy and grasped every opportunity to teach in this manner. She makes a strong connection between the effects of educational reform on class composition in England where, increasingly, year groups are clustered into one class, necessitating the pupils to work more in groups, requiring the teacher’s meticulous organisation, sheer hard-work, and energy. It was this aspect of LCP – the planning, the schemes of work, and the differentiation – that the British teachers readily discussed. From my own observations of Tanzanian teaching, I surmise that the strong Eastern African tradition of inspiring, charismatic leaders will live on in the teacher taking their place at the front of the class for some time to come.

6.5.3 Educational systems

As this chapter demonstrates, the GSP generated confused and incoherent responses to the differing educational approaches in both countries. Teaching in Britain, for example, was described as ‘softer’ than Tanzania and yet, at the same time, it was regarded as being ‘all about pressure’. To unpack this further, we must explore the competing discourses of childhood that underpinned these contradictory comments. The narrative of being too soft on their pupils back in England complemented the narrative that placed discipline in Tanzanian schools as superior to British schools. The Copplestone teachers were keen to take back ideas on how to discipline their unruly Year Six children when they left school at the end of the day, and Stuart hoped the link could inspire a similar ‘respect for learning’ that the Donge pupils demonstrated. Yet, when one delved a little deeper, this narrative did not always ring true. Mama Mushi told me about the growing Tanzanian problem of ‘naughty boys’ and believed their poor behaviour and school
attendance could be put down to poverty and its devastating impact on the children’s self-esteem; an explanation familiar in development contexts, but certainly not so prevalent in British society. The soft nature of British schools, critiqued by the British teachers themselves, was challenged by a conversation I had with Cecilia, who appreciated the care that was lavished on the Copplestone pupils and shared an altogether darker vision of Tanga, where children were left loose on the streets, prey to road traffic accidents, and even rape. This was a powerful counterbalance to the common lament that we ‘over-protect’ our children in Britain. The perception that Tanzanian children were more independent might have been seen by Cecilia as simply the lack of appropriate care. These debates speak to the conceptualisation of childhood that underpins the role of schooling – as a time requiring adult protection and care, or as a time for developing independence and self-reliance (see Nyerere, 1968).

The British teachers expressed anger that the government felt it had to formalise the provision of care for children, into policies, checklists, and Ofsted inspection; as they rightly argued, ‘we’ve always done that’. This heritage of the ‘softer’ British education system runs through the cultural reproduction of primary teachers, in what has always been a predominantly female profession (Boler, 1999). Murray (2006) studied the pedagogies and pastoral methods employed in initial teacher training (ITT) that generate a ‘caring professionalism’ in female trainee teachers. She highlights the gendered way in which professionalism is constructed, as the masculinist and managerial styles are privileged over the more hidden and ‘feminine’ values of caring, nurture, and pastoral care. Silcock (2003) asks whether the ‘caring’ and feminine face of teaching has prevented teachers being perceived as professionals, where the public perception of primary school teaching is of an occupation more akin to child-care than a ‘real’ profession like a doctor or lawyer. The cultural history of primary teaching has had a complex impact on the morale of teachers, who regard themselves as already professional, yet acknowledge that others believe they have an ‘easy’ job. The ‘soft’ approach can also only be applied to the children themselves; as we have seen, there is nothing soft in the requirement of teachers to work ever harder to facilitate the stimulating and effective learning experiences that the children and their families have come to

119 Consider the August 2011 riots in Britain that placed blame on the individual and family, but not on the social inequalities that successive neoliberal economic policies had rendered.
expect. It might also be remembered that a soft approach to educating children does not necessarily equate to allowing academic standards to slip. Comparing the learning she had seen in Tanzania with that which took place in her class, Naomi claimed:

It’s not purposeful is it really? I mean the children are at school, but not learning at a rate that they could be learning. ‘Cause we push children so hard, they need to be doing so many things by the time they’re seven. You know, I’ve got children in my class that are five and I’m thinking oh my goodness, I’m expecting them to make circuits this afternoon! (Naomi, 05/10/2010)

Finally, the GSP raised questions of the validity of framing the individual learner as solely responsible for their own learning. Stuart Sewell supported the notion of education providing a level playing-field on which individuals could make or break their academic success. Extrapolating this notion to a global playing field, he said ‘it isn’t about being black or white, anyone can get there, it’s about – as we say to the children at Somers Park, if you work hard, if you persist and if you study hard, anyone can get there’. He immediately qualified his statement, ‘very idealistic actually, because there are barriers in the way’. Aside from the structural socio-economic inequalities, one of the highlighted barriers was parental education and aspiration (Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). The influence of parents on their children’s learning and aspiration was highlighted by both British and Tanzanian teachers. Saidi was clear that, in Donge, parents with little or no education were unable to see the value in their own children going to school. The theme was a familiar complaint of the British teachers too, who believed parents did not offer their children the level of support they required to succeed academically.

6.5.4 Reproducing the global knowledge economy

Underscoring much of the educational discourse that emerged from the GSP was a conceptualisation of the kind of society in which their pupils were growing up and would in time be participating. The ‘social imaginary’ of globalisation loomed large in the teachers’ visits between the two countries (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010: 23). There was a sense amongst the Tanzanian headteachers in Tanga that there was an imperative to develop and modernise, to not ‘be behind of date’. Mama Mushi described the need to modernise the teaching profession:
When I was young we used to see our teachers writing on the blackboard and we copied – not today, you can’t go with the situation, this is another world, the world now is running, eh? (Mama Mushi, 09/11/2009)

This global imaginary underpinned many of the reflections of the teachers. Despite detailed reflection on their own professional careers, or on their school cultures, the reflections rarely moved into the uncertain world of questioning the premise of globalisation. It was an inevitable trajectory that was impossible to avoid, in their personal as well as professional lives. So, how did the globalised nature of education manifest in the partnerships? Certainly, the entwined heritage of globalisation and colonialism was not destined to be exposed in the partnerships – Stuart Sewell believed that the younger teachers came to Tanzania without a colonial ‘bone in their body’. Yet, the global knowledge economy, which some argue to be a continuation of the imperial project (Crossley & Tikly, 2004), provided a steady backdrop to the practices and purposes of the partnerships as the schools negotiated their place on the world economic stage. Two key elements of this knowledge economy featured prominently in the partnerships – the rise of digital technologies and the adoption of English as a global language – and demonstrate how the global school partnership is imbricated in the ongoing production of this global imaginary.

All of the schools involved in the GSPs shared an emphasis on the importance of digital technologies. Most schools offered laptops and digital cameras as gifts to their Tanzanian partners, and engaged in fundraising for broadband connections and electricity. Somers Park raised enough to open an entire computer suite in Chumbageni, which became the technology ‘hub’ for the surrounding schools, facilitating both web conferences with their British and American partner schools, and meeting the government requirements that ICT be an essential component of the primary curriculum. The charitable activities diverted attention from the work that was already going on in Tanzania towards addressing the needs of the global knowledge economy. USAID and Nokia provided funds for a national education television station that could be accessed through mobile technologies. Within the partnerships, the advent of the information age in Tanzania was greeted with contrasting responses. Sheila could not share the Darajani teachers’ enthusiasm for receiving a laptop and explained, ‘I’m not excited about it, I seem to have missed
the global excitement about the internet, and stuff, what excites me is meeting somebody and getting to know them, face-to-face’. Coming to Tanzania presented a welcome opportunity to extricate herself from the digital saturation of the British education system. Saidi, on the other hand, embraced the digital dawn in Tanga and was quick to see the benefits of having a laptop for email and social network communication. He taught himself how to use the laptop and soon became the person the other headteachers turned to when they needed help with their IT. These few examples of technological encounter speak to the ongoing production of the modernisation and globalisation narrative, which was by no means uncontested.

The second major component of the global knowledge economy is the ability to speak English. The language of the former colonisers has become so deeply entrenched in the Tanzanian national psyche that most people accept the need to learn and speak English effectively. The language has become inextricably entwined with business success in the global context, as one of the Tanzanian headteachers described, ‘communication with the world, can’t do business without it’. This has become a widely-shared perspective that finds some degree of validity in Waters’ (2006) research into the recruitment procedures of Human Resource managers in Hong Kong, which revealed the propensity to select candidates with an overseas educational connection, due to the higher levels of English achieved by graduates. The acquisition of English was also correlated with an expanded world outlook and more confidence of expression. The independent researcher, Chambi Chachage, informed me that he believed English had become fetishized amongst his people, no longer valuable in itself, but for what it says about you. The desire to speak the colonisers’ tongue, as ‘a key that can open doors which were still barred...fifty years ago’, remains a powerful motivation in Tanzania (Fanon, 1986: 36). Lacking the ability to speak the colonisers’ language had a subtle, but pervasive, impact on people’s confidence with the mzungu, as our experience meeting the Donge teachers clearly demonstrated. Saidi later confided that the teachers were ashamed of their poor language ability. Showing a sound grasp of the politics of language - ‘to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture’ (Fanon, 1986: 36) - Saidi urged his staff to ‘be free’, cast off their doubts, and be confident speaking Swahili in their own classroom. The conversations around the
inability of the British teachers to speak anything but the simplest of Swahili only served to accentuate this politic.

The position of English, perceived or otherwise, in a globalised economy reinforces African governments’ retention of English as the language of instruction, despite considerable academic opposition (see Ouane & Glanz, 2010). It also perpetuates the link between language, education, and development through the broader issue of the textbook publishing industry, which constitutes a shocking 95% of all published books in Africa (Brock-Utne, 2000). The requirement for an English medium curriculum demands textbooks written in English, reinforcing the former colonisers’ language and siphoning off profit to multinational publishing houses, often based in Britain (Brock-Utne, 2007). Although primary school education in Tanzania is delivered in Swahili, English is still the official language of instruction in secondary schools. The failure of primary school leavers to attain high standards of spoken and written English has stark consequences for the pupils’ ability to learn effectively in a foreign language (Brock-Utne, 2003). There are few native English speakers in Tanzania, ensuring that English is not used widely in everyday life and offering scarce opportunities to practice English. Secondary school teachers struggle to speak correct English, often having been taught incorrect pronunciation and grammar themselves at school, and this has a profoundly detrimental impact on children’s participation in their own learning. Brock-Utne claims that ‘if the aim is the stupidification of the Tanzanian labour force, the use of English, a foreign language to the students and a language poorly mastered by the teachers, seems to be an excellent strategy (2007: 487). In such a context, the global school partnership is believed to provide essential motivation and opportunity to improve the language ability of the schools’ pupils and, more importantly, the adults that teach them. The ‘promise’ of partnership to raise the standards of English in Donge was repeated many times by Saidi, affirming its importance over and above any material gains the school may have received. The partnership was even framed as a ‘carrot’ to entice Tanzanian children to strive to visit England themselves one day and to pursue their education overseas if possible.
6.6 Conclusions

This chapter has drawn upon the rich contours of ethnographic material from the four teachers’ visits between England and Tanzania to articulate the direct and indirect ways these speak to the geographies of education. I considered each visit and explored how the teachers’ experiences of planning, observing, teaching, and selecting resources for the visits generated reflection on the wider canvas of the teaching profession and their respective education systems. The reciprocal teacher visits presented a unique opportunity for teachers to observe the teaching and learning practices and to teach in their partners’ classrooms, which together served to generate a visceral, emotional field of experience from which the participants came to narrate their own teaching stories. In addition, it provided a productive account of contemporary shifts in education in both the Global North and South. In the final section of the chapter, I stitched together the significant themes gathered from this ethnographic material with the wider issues raised in the literature review in the introductory chapters. This involved mapping the teachers’ professional subjectivities within the partnership, highlighting the value of embodied reflection on the wider realm of education, uncovering the jarring consequences of ‘sharing’ pedagogies, and exploring the ongoing role of the GSP in the uncritical cultural reproduction of the ‘global knowledge economy’.

The final part (Part Four) of this thesis takes a step back to consider the overarching value of the global school partnership to the participating individuals and institutions. The evaluation of the partnership was an ongoing process undertaken by a range of actors throughout my research period. The chapter explores the meanings that the participants attached to their partnerships and the way in which they were framed as ‘successful’, before drawing the thesis to a close with my own conclusions gleaned from my participation in the partnerships.
Part IV

Evaluating Partnership
Chapter Seven

Evaluating the Partnerships

We are nearing the end of this ethnography of global school partnerships. So far, we have seen how the partnership programme was formally established to tackle policy ‘problems’ within the political fields of international development and community cohesion, placing the responsibility for producing a new generation of ‘global citizens’ firmly in the hands of teachers and school communities. We have gained an overview of the practices enacted in these partnerships and shared some of the rich encounters that took place on the reciprocal teachers’ visits, within a network of partnerships in England and Tanzania. Two strong narratives emerged from these encounters, which have been explored in detail in the previous two chapters, surrounding the workings of charity, care, and contribution in the partnerships, and the narration and reflection of teaching and learning across two contexts. Finally, then, I ask how the teachers and schools viewed their own partnerships. What value were the partnerships considered to have in the contemporary education landscapes of both countries? In this concluding chapter, I recount the narration of ‘success’ in the partnerships before presenting my own thoughts, perspectives, and conclusions that I have gained from creating this ethnography.

7.1 Narratives of ‘success’ and ‘failure’

Narratives of success and failure haunt the partnerships, yet the ethnographic material presented in this thesis leads us to conclude that simplistic descriptions of partnerships as ‘successful’ or ‘failed’ are untenable. Nonetheless, evaluations of partnerships, formal or otherwise, are an integral part of the GSP landscape and in this concluding chapter it is helpful to capture the hybrid and multiple narratives of success and explore the participants’ own evaluative strategies and the ‘successful’ narrative that emerged from these. The GSP can be understood as a policy intervention that was designed to address the implicit ‘problems’ of inward-looking school cultures, the need to build support for international development aid, and the drive for children to acquire more knowledge around ‘global’ issues.
(see Chapter Three). The partnerships were not intended to achieve measurable outcomes like increasing school attendance or improving SATs scores, but rather the ephemeral objective of stimulating ‘global citizenship’. As a consequence, evaluation was conducted on a far more ambiguous basis, focusing on the degree to which ‘shared learning’ was facilitated within the partnership, for example.

Different narratives of ‘success’ flowed through the GSP partnerships (after Heathershaw, 2012). The English and Tanzanian teachers, English children, Tanzanian parents, British Council, Tanga City Education officials, me, and even the headteachers yet to embark on their partnerships, all held ideas, often conflicting, about what a ‘successful’ partnership looked like and judged their own, and other, partnerships accordingly. In this context, evaluation was a complicated process, not only brought about by formal requirements, like British Council reports, and presentations to governing bodies and school committees, but produced through an ongoing, informal, relational process between those involved in the partnerships.\(^{120}\) The following section looks to the different actors involved in the partnerships and their various descriptions of a successful partnership.

Partnerships were established around a loose collection of objectives and from multiple motivations, so it was not surprising that the definitions of ‘success’ were varied. Importantly, the partnerships provided unintentional reflection back to the school community, with the nature of ‘success’ becoming conflated with the nature of the school community itself. Stuart Sewell spoke of the connection between the quality of a school and the quality of its partnership:

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\text{[Y]ou can tell the ones that are going to fly and work well right from the off [...] a school has to be in a certain position, it has to be a certain successful school, you can't have a successful global link without the link school being successful at the start, because there's too many pressures on schools - if the school's in special measures or if it's a satisfactory school, it can't deliver a successful global link. It needs to be at least a good school. (Stuart Sewell, 30/09/2009)}
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He appreciated that the partnership took up considerable time and energy that could be ill-afforded by schools simply struggling to survive in the pressured, performative world of the British education system. In Copplestone, Stuart Busby

\(^{120}\) It is worth noting that it is impossible to ascertain how far my intervention as a researcher affected the narration of success - how much discussion would have turned to the evaluation or quality of the partnerships, if I had not been there to research them?
was adamant that he wanted their partnership with Donge to evolve as a result of it being good for both schools, rather than simply ‘ticking’ the Ofsted box for links with outside communities. I have already mentioned the staff meeting on the second visit of the Tanzanian teachers to Copplestone in June 2010 in which the teachers undertook a ‘SWOT’ analysis of the partnership, by now in its third year. ‘Threats’ – including the politics of current funding, extent of participation, and wider awareness of the purpose of the partnership - were acknowledged but downplayed. Instead, the meeting affirmed what had been achieved so far and generated excitement about future potential. Such formal evaluation processes, although rare, served to reproduce the successful stories and inculcate the recently appointed teachers with the ‘promise’ of partnership.

7.1.1 The British Council story

The British Council acknowledged the fluid nature of partnerships, although attempts to quantify success were made in the construction of questions on the grant application forms. Evaluation of the entire GSP programme was similarly challenging, with a reliance on quantitative techniques that belied the complexity behind the partnerships and the denigration of ‘anecdotal’ evidence that made up the larger part of any conversation about partnerships. The perspective of George Agango, from the British Council office in Dar-es-Salaam, was illustrative in this context. Global school partnerships were essentially worthwhile pursuits, in his view, despite the various challenges of cross-cultural communication and the lingering legacies of colonial power that he identified. In particular, he valued their psychological impact on the Tanzanian teachers:

I’ve worked with teachers who are just joining the programme and you see how sometimes worried, concerned and even confused about how they can contribute, how they can learn from all this and usually this makes them withdrawn, some of them are shy. They are not sure of their place. But then afterwards, you see their confidence, you see their ability now to know their place, how they interact with other countries, it’s great, really. (George Agango, 15/10/2010)

His idea of a successful partnership was one in which everyone was involved – teachers, children, parents, school committee members, and not simply the

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121 The first evaluation was conducted by Pricewaterhouse Coopers (2009), followed closely by an extensive study by the Institute of Education ‘The Influence of North South School Partnership: Examining the evidence from schools in the UK, Africa & Asia’ (Edge, Frayman, & Lawrie, 2009)
headteacher – and he cited the example of a school in Kiba where parents even contributed money for their children to fly to Britain. The involvement of children, which of course was not possible within the primary school partnership programme, was deemed by George to be a stimulating factor in the spread of enthusiasm for the partnership. Part of his role within the British Council was to share these positive stories from ‘high momentum partnerships’ (Edge, et al, 2009: 19) with other schools leaning towards setting up partnerships, thus once again reproducing the simple ‘promise’ of partnership.

7.1.2 The public face of ‘success’

Statements about the value of the school partnerships were often made by the headteachers, to each other in local network meetings, and to others beyond the school community. They had a vested interest in portraying the partnerships as successful - recent neoliberal reforms have turned British schools into localised market spaces, in which headteachers regularly engage in public relations exercises that promote or place a ‘spin’ on their school achievements. Astute headteachers are attuned to new ‘devices’ that will mark the school out above the rest, be they school achievement awards for being an EcoSchool, or a Healthy School, or having something different and interesting, like a global partnership. If I had followed a different methodological approach to this research, as others have done, and sent out questionnaires to multiple schools with partnerships, I would have gleaned a very different perspective on their ‘success’. On my first visit to Copplestone, Stuart recounted the success story that had been in circulation for some time already. The details reappeared some time later as Stuart filled in the British Council grant application form – ‘pupils in Copplestone have been learning Swahili. It is not unusual to hear registers being answered with ‘Jambo’ (Hello) or ‘Habari’ (How are you)’ and the pupils’ performance of African songs on stage at Exeter University. The ‘success’ story had become expressed in small details, isolated events, vignettes, and images – the text found its way into reports, the images used in PowerPoint presentations for governors, Parish Councillors, and neighbouring schools. Informal stories were shared amongst staff and local colleagues, captured further in local newspaper articles, and emblazoned on classroom walls in children’s work about ‘our friends in Donge’. The public face of success enhanced the school’s status in the local village and within the Crediton
Learning Cluster. Contact was made by other schools overseas wanting to ‘partner’ with Copplestone and there was talk of the school sharing its best practice with local Devon schools. These accounts helped to proffer a rather untextured, uncomplicated account of success. The reality of the partnership, as the preceding chapters reveal, was far more nuanced.

The public face of ‘success’ for the Tanzanian schools was somewhat different. Success here took on a far more pragmatic flavour but was equally captured in vignette and story. In an account to a visiting member of the Local Authority in Copplestone, Saidi focused on how pupils were improving their English communication through letter-writing to their Copplestone friends. Donge had a certain set of problems that it was his job to address and his pupils’ low achievement in English was one of them. His version of success was also not limited to the ‘positive’ aspects - he was not afraid to share the problems of wider staff involvement with the partnership and the reading of his teachers’ anxiety over communicating with the wazungu. Back in Tanga, the local schools with British partner schools became well-known amongst the many primary schools in the city, their partnerships held as symbols of their status. Of course, the partnerships had very material reverberations for the Tanga schools. The success of the partnerships was represented to the officials at the City Education Office, during the customary visit of the visiting teachers on their first day in town, as a comprehensive ‘list’ of material advancements in the schools. Development projects, such as building toilets and kitchens, and providing connections to electricity and broadband, changed not only the school spaces but also the position of the schools in local society. Halifa described Chumbageni as ‘different from another school because of the friendship’. The visiting British teachers heard about the reputation of Chumbageni from other teachers, the story of their success circulating around the groups. For the British teachers, the colourful mural on the external walls of Chumbageni represented the essence of the partnership with Somers Park, which they hoped to emulate with their own partnerships. The Tanzanian headteachers in the Tanga network looked to the Chumbageni partnership for advice and inspiration for what they too could achieve in their partnerships and this even resulted in competition between the schools, evident in the ebullient welcome ceremonies on the round schools’ visit in October 2009, and
confirmed by Mama Mushi the following year, ‘[the headteacher] wants to copy or do more, so you find that they are competing! It is good!’

7.1.3 ‘Opening children’s eyes’

‘Successful’ partnerships were also measured by how they had changed the school children. The Donge pupils acquired more English speaking skills, and the English children came to a realisation of how ‘lucky’ they were, the partnership providing a fruitful tool in some teachers’ moral toolkits. The orphans in the partner schools, in particular, offered pertinent reminders of their good fortune and privilege. The concept of modern British children ‘needing’ this message was useful in justifying the partnership’s outcomes in this manner but raised the contentious question that remained unanswered regarding the role of the surrounding adults, and indeed wider socio-economic structures, in the production of their ‘luck’.

For both English and Tanzanian schools, the creation of outward-looking school cultures was one of the ‘promises’ of partnership that the GSP literature evoked. Their partnership with Donge helped Copplestone pupils to ‘access the wider world’ as Michael described, making the link between learning about other countries around the world and growing up to be ‘wider thinking individuals’. Michael could date his own interest in the world to the task he had been set in primary school to plan a round-the-world expedition and thought the global partnership offered a similar perspective for his pupils. His interest led to several years travelling around the world, raising the tricky question of whether sparking an interest in the outside world leads children to want to go and explore it, with all the implications for a ‘sustainable future’ that that implies. Stuart could see the one purpose underlying education as the chance it gives to children to ‘escape’ the confines of a rural village but I questioned the equivalent opportunity for the Donge pupils to escape the confines of Mabawa ward, and to move beyond their present role of the ‘cared-about’ in the partnership. This discussion speaks to the alternative definitions of success imbricated in the partnerships, and there was perhaps a missed opportunity for shared curricular activities to explore the variant interpretations of success in Copplestone and Tanga.
7.1.4 Changing professional and personal lives

Another measure of ‘success’ of the school partnerships arose from the impact they had on the motivation and inspiration of participating teachers. As I described in Chapter One, extensive reform within education sectors across the world in recent years has had a profoundly detrimental impact on the motivation of teachers and, in Tanzania, teacher motivation has become a critical issue. Teacher demotivation has various roots – they are often not paid on time, they feel unvalued by government and local people alike, the construction of teachers’ houses (an essential requirement of teaching in rural areas) has slowed down to a virtual standstill and, as a result, prospective school-leavers are dissuaded from becoming teachers (HakiElimu, 2010). In this challenging context, the potential for getting something back, perhaps in the form of an opportunity to visit England, or new teaching ideas, made the global school partnership an attractive prospect for headteachers. The material acquisitions, described in earlier chapters, provided further motivation for headteachers who held little faith in their own government’s capacity to provide.

The school partnership gave the teaching staff, or certainly sections of it, a strong sense of collective identity. Most teachers from Somers Park had taken part in a visit to Chumbageni, providing them with a collective experience on which they were able to draw throughout the school year. Equally, the inclusion of certain teachers in the partnership could have opposite effects. For funding reasons, and because Stuart wished to extend the people who had visited Tanzania, Nicky was not selected to go the second year and she felt her subsequent isolation from the Tanzania ‘group’ acutely. The school partnerships could engender strong emotions of belonging, yet if we talk about the importance of teacher motivation through involvement in the partnerships, what happens when a partnership fails? The partnership between the Holmer and Mzingani lost momentum after the visit of Asha and Angela in 2009, and by October 2010, the partnership was at a standstill. Mama Mushi informed me that she had no visitors this year and had received no communication from the headteacher of Holmer for over two months. The other headteachers were all aware of her situation and they had offered their support, encouraging her to remain within the network and attend the activities alone. She
was visibly upset when I met her again in 2010 and described her feelings of isolation and embarrassment in the partnership network:

[W]hen we meet, we talk about the schools in the UK, everyone represent what his school is doing, so when the turn is mine, my turn to – to talk or to speak or to tell, I don't have anything to say [laughs] – ah, I don't say anything, because you see – mm, every school in UK are co-operating, every school is co-operating with a school in Tanzania. *(Mama Mushi, 18/10/2010)*

Communication had been difficult since the previous year's visit; she would regularly pay to go on the computer in the internet cafe, only to find there were no emails from her friends in England. She conducted a post-mortem of her emails, desperately searching for a reason why the communication had broken down. This unhappy conversation with Mama Mushi, in contrast to her excitement from the previous year, was a harsh reminder that partnerships had real affective currency.

The motivation of teachers through participation in projects such as the GSP held as much currency in England as it did in Tanzania. Although not working under such punitive physical conditions, the workload and pressures on teachers in British schools are well-rehearsed as I described in the preceding chapter. Accordingly, these teachers were keenly aware of the personal benefits their involvement in the partnership might accrue. I heard teachers laughingly admit that ‘*part of coming to Tanzania was for a sunshine fix*’, although they were quick to refute the holiday or ‘jolly’ discourse. One teacher, despite being unhappy in her post, had put off applying for other positions, her friend recalling ‘*the reason she's hung on a bit was that she really wanted to do this trip*’. There was another tale of a teacher who had harboured no great ambition to visit Tanzania until she observed the changes in her colleague who had been the previous year, which convinced her what ‘*an experience*’ it would be. These stories of personal advantage, in both Tanzania and England, support the contention that the motivation of teachers should be taken very seriously, which might require the public to be less judgemental about the perceived ‘value’ of study visits or trips overseas. Such ‘jollies’ might just be the incentive that keeps teachers in the classroom.\(^\text{122}\)

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\(^{122}\) See Paton (2010) for a scathing account of the ‘jollies’ that teachers are paid to go on as part of their professional development.
As an active participant myself in the teachers’ visits to Tanzania, I was afforded insights into the teachers’ multiple perspectives on their experiences. The visits became spaces for encounters between different people, living in different cultures, with different worldviews, and I have discussed this at some length in earlier chapters. Taking a progressive view of the visits, I suggest that the visits offered spaces for the teachers’ own learning, about others and about themselves. The notion that travel broadens one’s horizons has been a long and widely-held truism and recent work within education has attempted to interrogate this further (Morgan, 2012). Rees (2003) argues that learning takes place when one’s own cultural horizon is transcended through exposure to ‘other’ horizons. He notes that a limited horizon, where emphasis lies on that which is closest to an individual, inhibits one’s ability to see beyond the familiar. Remaining close to home, therefore, results in a limited horizon and stunted understanding of the ‘other’. In this conceptualisation, leaving familiar space, and venturing into ‘strange’ space (in this case, Tanzania for the British teachers, and vice versa for the Tanzanians), ruptures the individual’s comprehension. The potential for constituting new horizons depends on whether one engages in a hermeneutic conversation at this point of rupture where cultural biases and prejudices are interrogated. The teacher visits can be conceptualised as devices or events in which learning takes place only when the familiar is transcended and a new interpretation of the world is heralded. The encounters served to break down the geographical imagination of the ‘other’ place, which had long held connotations in the teachers’ minds. Saidi was surprised to experience English village life, where people still cooked fresh food and people said hello in the streets, just like his homeland near Moshi. He regarded the partnership as a unique opportunity to ‘know people from other country. To wipe out the imagination’, and his metaphor of ‘washing our brain to the reality’ will stay with me. For the English teachers, however, despite visiting the places in person, the school partnerships still held the danger of perpetuating a ‘single story’ of Africa in which a stereotypical worldview of linear development was confirmed (Adichie, 2009).

The metaphor of the global partnership as a learning journey was used on several occasions. Stuart Busby believed the whole partnership process had been a journey that had changed his view of schools, of children, and of himself as a parent and a headteacher. Michael had observed the sense of journey for the
partnership itself, as it had ‘opened up' to be more about sharing than about charity. Participating teachers shared the idea that experiences like this developed them personally, and these experiences contributed to forming them as well-rounded, effective teachers. For Naomi, the experience had allowed her to reflect on her own personal capability as a teacher ‘I feel brave, I feel proud that I've done it'. Such stories emphasised a ‘life-changing' narrative, particularly for Northern teachers more familiar with the personal development discourse.

Strong leadership by the headteacher was deemed an essential parameter in the narrative of ‘success'. I had some of my most informative conversations about leadership with Stuart Sewell, who felt that headteachers had to approach the partnership from ‘a very open-minded angle' and be prepared to change their schools as a result. I came to the conclusion early on into my research that the headteacher was pivotal in the success of the global partnership and my sympathies lay with the teachers I encountered who did not have as much support from their headteacher. The partnerships developed the identity of the headteachers as much as they shaped the trajectory of the partnerships themselves. Saidi took a far more proactive role in the partnership network on his second year of partnership with Copplestone and in one of my final interviews, he reflected with pride on his own growing ability to enable his own staff to participate in the visit. Using the spatial metaphor of building a bridge for his teachers, he showed pleasure in watching his efforts rewarded with an expanded sense of partnership. Stuart Busby described how he had steadily moved away from the Somers Park school network, taking ‘ownership' of the partnership over time. The partnership network became valuable to the Tanzanian headteachers, giving them opportunities to meet formally and informally, share experiences, and offer support to each other. The GSP had offered spaces and opportunities for accumulating cultural capital as witnessed by George Agango in the rise in status and promotion of teachers in Morogoro with successful partnerships with British schools. The status of headteachers in both countries evolved, although it is difficult to disentangle whether this occurred as a direct result of instigating a global partnership, or whether the successful partnership resulted from the strength of the headteacher's leadership. Suffice to say that the partnerships left

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123 See Simpson (2005) for a description of how gap year projects served to generate cultural capital for those participating.
few unaffected and afforded all teachers and headteachers involved opportunities for personal and professional growth that were variously realised.

7.1.5 The immeasurable

The final concept I wish to explore in this section is the emotive capacity of the partnerships and returns to the ‘promise’ of the partnerships that I outlined in Chapter Three. In contrast, it is the warm, emotive feelings associated with actually being involved in a global partnership, rather than simply hearing about it or reading about it, that concerns me here. There was something immeasurable about the experience of being involved in the partnerships and visiting the partner schools. Geoff Rutherford spoke of the ‘intangible’ value of the GSP for his staff development. By ‘getting into places that open them’ and enriching their lives, he was convinced the visits to Tanzania had changed both himself and his staff and, hence, had changed their teaching. The visits allowed the emotional to surface, to take centre stage, affording the partnerships an affective ‘pull’ that became (mostly) good for staff morale. The displacement of teachers’ bodies into another, unfamiliar space allowed something ‘other’ to emerge. Perhaps it was the opportunity for colleagues to gather together, without the regular, daily pressures of school life, and share moments of relaxation and reflection. In the warm, reassuring, but flattened, moments of reflection which followed the uncomfortable challenges of stepping beyond familiar, the partnership became a byword for positive change, evolution, and development - of the schools, and the teachers themselves. And that became, despite the complexity that stood behind those statements, a ‘good thing’. I reiterate here that the partnerships held the power to move me throughout my research in many ways.

Multiple knowledges were produced through the performance of global school partnerships. Knowledges formed in the moment of encounter, knowledges formed through evolving friendships and recurrent visits, and knowledges produced through the intersection of public discourses of charity, care, development, and education. These knowledges were reproduced by the participating teachers on return to their own schools, where they became stories of encounter and reflection. Each had their own representation of the event, shared in school assemblies and circle time, recounted to family and friends,
written in reports to the British Council, or presented to the school governors. In each moment, they chose what to divulge, selecting snippets of experience according to unspoken criteria, but underpinned by the understanding that being there allowed one to speak from a knowledgeable position. These representations assembled each school’s own particular notion of ‘success’, as successive cohorts of teachers visited and returned, told their stories, encouraging others to be involved, and still others to hold back.

Connelly & Clandinin (1990) describe how school stories are produced and intersect with the personal stories of the children and teachers alike. Likewise, the stories of the partnership became powerful stories that circulated within, and beyond, the participating schools, intersecting with personal tales of motivation, inspiration, and vocation. I watched as the school partnership became a confluence of hopeful stories – of development, progress, moving forward, ‘pushing on’, overcoming problems, making things better, evolving. Fragments of hope and redemption coalesced when partner teachers’ visited, or outsiders came to hear the partnership story, and then lingered when the excitement had died down. Over time, these colourful threads became stitched into the fabric of the school.

The remainder of this chapter looks to the conclusions that I made myself about the global school partnerships.

7.2 Meaningful encounters?

The intercultural encounter between the English and Tanzanian teachers produced a pivotal point of this ethnography. It shows how these partnership encounters were negotiated by people with different histories, cultures, and economic and political imperatives, and how particular narratives were produced and circulated. Beneath the hopeful promise of partnership and the joyful anticipation of encounter, it was important to trace the genealogy of these North-South cultural encounters back to successive discourses of exploration, missionaries, imperialism, and international development. This historicity was as hidden in the school partnerships, as it remains in international volunteering (Smith & Laurie, 2011) and the ‘gap year’ (Simpson, 2005), and during my research, there was minimal
suggestion that the Northern teachers appreciated the colonial legacy through which they were passing.

As I describe in Chapter Four, the embodied nature of the intercultural encounters and their emotional capacity must be acknowledged. Recent studies point to the importance of gaining a more embodied understanding of how global political relations and structures are reproduced (see Sultana, 2011; Pain, 2009; McEwan, 2003). Influenced by the work of Sara Ahmed who explores the ways in which emotions do ‘work’, both on our bodies, and in our relational social world, my research methodology developed to pay due attention to the emotional nature of the encounters. Borrowing Valentine’s (2009) term ‘meaningful’ encounter, I sought to interrogate the quality of ‘meaning’ that ensued from the multiple embodied encounters of the partnership. Unsurprisingly, the evidence suggested that encounters between the Northern and Southern teachers were not always meaningful. Material matters intervened, time limited people's ability to reach out, and matters of power and inequality positioned the teachers in difficult arenas, which ‘welcoming’ talk could do little to assuage. Teachers latched onto familiar cultural narratives, and misunderstandings unsettled the relationships, embedding cultural difference and the feeling of separation. Through the process of my fieldwork, I also began to think through how these embodied knowledges might be put to work reflexively, wondering what might be gained from attending to the embodied experiences of others, as well as my own. Highlighting the criticism that reflexivity in social science often involves little more than reflection on the positional implications of the researcher’s gender, class and race, Nast calls for an enlivening of the reflexive position. Fieldwork draws us ‘bodily into other worlds’ requiring us to release ‘carefully crafted objectives, agendas, and models and give our bodies/ spaces over to other bodies and places’ (1998: 95). Thus, being attentive to our embodiment, and exploring how this can position us in respect to others and our environment, can become a strategy for comprehending how these embodied experiences contribute to our experience of power inequalities and how we, as bodies, contribute to the same. The teachers’ embodied experiences of lengthy waits, bus repairs, and overwhelming generosity from their hosts, spoke much of such carefully crafted perceptions of service, risk and hospitality, all deeply culturally inscribed on our bodies.
If relationships and imaginaries with distant others are to be reworked through embodied encounters, then how do individuals master the necessary art of meaningful encounter? Margaret Urban Walker (1989) considers the acts of communication and dialogue to be fundamental to the ‘working out’ of the encounter, and the importance of the communicative act must be underestimated in this partnership context.124 I would make two suggestions in this regard. Firstly, I believe the failure (for whatever reason) of the English teachers to learn more than the most basic phrase in Swahili unwittingly reinforced the unequal power structures that existed between the groups and strengthened the power of English as a global language. If the English teachers could commit to learning some conversational Swahili, and using it regularly with their partners, it would begin to rework the taken-for-granted power differential between the two partners. Secondly, far more attention should be placed on the challenges of intercultural communication, with the teacher visit providing an ample forum for frank and imaginative discussions regarding the pitfalls and rewards of communicating with the ‘other’. From a practical perspective, there is a fine balance to be achieved between retaining the emotional support that a large, familiar group can provide, and being mindful that the personal experience does not become mediated solely through the group’s gaze. Opportunities for forging deeper connections between the English and Tanzanian teachers and communities were certainly missed in the teachers’ visits in which I participated. There was a fear of asking potentially sensitive questions, and of delving deeper, and part of that can be attributed to an over-reliance on the group.

However, this thesis should not dwell on the lacuna of meaningful encounter. Reading beneath the rhetoric of the partnership literature, it was the elusive and disembodied concept of global citizenship that the teachers’ visits to Tanzania hoped to engender, and I wish to emphasise the fleeting, but significant, moments of wonder that the partnerships afforded. Here, I consider the possibility of global citizenship as an expansive embodied act where ‘the body opens up as the world opens up before it’ (Ahmed, 2004: 180). Much has been written about ‘fear’ for the other (see Pain, 2010) but the school partnerships provided another orientation - towards the hope, joy and energy that comes from reaching out, and being with

124 See also Richard Sennett (2012) Together: The Rituals, Pleasures, and Politics of Cooperation where he talks of the need to learn the ‘craft’ of cooperation.
others, in different places. Perhaps global citizenship is simply the embodied act of opening our bodies and minds to the wonder of the world and, reassuringly, most teachers remained open to the encounter despite the unfamiliarity and discomfort. For many of the teachers, and possibly for the children involved, the welcome ceremonies embodied the amorphous notion of ‘global’ connection. Participation in the GSP also confirmed the school’s pivotal role as affective ‘nodes in social networks’ (Thiem, 2009: 158) and certainly, for the duration of the teachers’ visits, there was a revival of community, as local people were brought together in the form of ceilidhs, barbecues, meetings, art shows, and development projects. These hopeful, collective endeavours go some way towards countering the individualism advanced by neoliberal protagonists in education (see Apple, 2006).

Undertaking a sensitive ethnography, founded in feminist principles, was crucial to uncovering the multiple materialities on which the school partnerships were contingent. The ethnographic texture of the teachers’ encounters supported the contention that emotions and embodiment are integral to the production and experience of social life. This ethnography proposes that we take far greater heed of these underprivileged knowledges, as they underpin the very success or failure of our social endeavours.

7.3 Global or moral citizenship?

Ethical dilemmas arise within a host of institutional, organisational, and social contexts of modern life, but Popke argues that we need ‘to expand the realm of the social that is normally subject to moral or ethical significance’ (2006: 505). In this research, the social domain was extended to include the recent configuration of school assemblages participating in the global school partnership programme. This ethnography contributes to our understanding of the formative role that teachers play in the production of children’s moral subjectivities at school. The GSP functioned as part of an ‘informal’ or ‘hidden’ curriculum in which teachers’ moral codes and knowledge, enhanced through their experiences on the reciprocal visits, intersected with children’s own emerging moralities, as they were enrolled in subsequent school community practices (see Holloway et al, 2010; Jackson, 1968). The GSP also shaped children’s identities as global citizens. There was little doubt that children in both Copplestone and Donge Primary Schools had their ‘eyes
opened’ to the world as their teachers hoped, but for the English children, this served to crystallise their future identities as ‘caring global citizens’, mindful of how ‘lucky’ they are.

The British teachers all experienced emotional, embodied responses to the needs they encountered in Tanzania. The moment of encounter brought about identification with the other, where the teacher was propelled towards a caring, philanthropic response, extending beyond the self (Cloke, Johnsen & May, 2007; Schervish, 2000). The moral agency of the British teachers was further negotiated, contested, and reconstructed through their visits to their partner schools - they spent time discussing the problems amongst themselves, weighing their ‘worth’, and considering the best course of action they should take on behalf of their schools back in the UK. In all cases, the teachers considered the most fitting course of action to be to undertake charitable actions, by committing their school communities to fundraising for projects to support orphaned children, to build toilets and kitchens, and to improve teaching resources. In Chapters Five and Six, I explored the multiple ways in which the partnership brought about caring knowledges of the ‘other’ and how these came to frame the production of moral subjects, of the teachers and indirectly, the children back in England. The GSP, therefore, provided a bridge between the ‘ordinary’, emotional identification with the other, and the realm of moral citizenship, whereupon the teachers returned home and acted for the other (Cloke, et al, 2007). Returning to school, the British teachers found a ready venue for their caring, charitable responses, the school-space imbued with the routines of fundraising. This reading of the encounters explains the propensity for teachers to follow the familiar charitable track in these partnerships, counter to British Council ambitions for equitable partnerships, rooted in mutual learning and not charity. The moral exploration during the visits served to bring about mechanisms that reduced, albeit in a small way, the visible inequity between the schools, enabling the British teachers to become more at ‘ease’ with their partnership. In the light of the myriad ethical processes occurring within them, I propose that global school partnerships presented significant and complex sites of ‘ethical self-formation’ (after Miller & Rose, in Cloke et al, 2005: 28), in which urgent questions of moral agency arose for the visiting teachers, infused with dominant Northern discourses of global citizenship, responsibility, and care.
So, what position did the GSP occupy in the broader political debate about global citizenship? Within recent British citizenship discourse, there are strong signs of a turn towards the formation of the ‘moral’ citizen through the incorporation of an ethical dimension of philanthropy, charity, volunteering, and social enterprise. This has direct implications, shifting the focus of ‘global citizenship’ away from active political engagement with the issues, and towards a personalised, responsible global citizenship based on care, compassion, concern, duty, and replete with paternalistic overtones (Noxolo, 2006).125 Despite almost no references to global citizenship from the participants, the GSP occupied a specific position within these broader British political debates about citizenship, providing a striking example of the increasingly personalised nature of global citizenship, becoming more founded in narratives of care and philanthropy, and less in collective action for more socially just futures. There are two components of this emerging citizenship discourse that require further discussion; the neglect of the neoliberal foundations of the problems that necessitate such a caring citizenly response, and the hidden historicity behind this benevolent discourse (Lester, 2002).

Firstly, the GSP occupies an uneasy position within recent, and not so recent, restructuring of the state’s responsibilities. Voluntary action has been understood as people stepping into the void left by the retreat of state and public services, where charitable projects ‘bubble up to fill the gap’ in local services (Cloke et al, 2007: 1092). The ‘roll-back’ of state provision in Tanzania originated in the 1980s with the imposition of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) by the World Bank and continues with the conditionality of international aid agreements, all having a devastating impact on the provision of primary education (Vavrus, 2005). The retrenchment of the state has left a vacuum in local educational provision into which the school partnerships stepped, providing basic services that might otherwise have taken an indeterminate length of time to be realised. The Tanzanians framed this within the discourse of ‘parental contribution’, attempting

125 In July 2011, the Secretary of State for International Development, Andrew Mitchell, stated that DfID’s ‘excellent work on school linking will continue’ and that Britain had ‘a long history of links to developing countries and the Coalition Government wishes to build on these strong foundations to strengthen our communities and achieve development results.’ (DfID, 2011) The future points towards a different international development landscape, marked by partnerships between NGOs, civic groups, or schools, as well as towards a more charitable approach to aid. In this new discourse, Britain is positioned as being equipped with the ‘answers’ and ‘skills’ to many of the world’s problems and the GSP is set to become one more device that furthers this belief.
to reverse the parental expectations of state support that were engendered within post-Independence moves towards socialist provision of free education for all. Inevitably, a tension has ensued within the partnership landscape, between developing a sense of philanthropy as a ‘major source of civic renewal’ (Agard, 2003: 40) and recognising that the void is the result of deliberate neoliberal policies.

A relationship can be witnessed between caring activities that the entanglement of globalization and neoliberal political discourse has wrought (Dyck, 2005). Caring activities have been studied in various contexts – the daily working lives of women (England, 2010; Dyck, 2005), counselling spaces (Bondi, 2005b), community workers (Larner, 2007), asylum centres (Darling, 2011), and even town-twinning schemes (Clarke, 2010) – yet relatively little is known about the role of teachers in the reproduction of caring activities. This thesis frames the primary school as a significant site for the reproduction, contestation, and resistance of care (see Conradson, 2003). I witnessed the teachers from both countries taking on swathes of extra work and responsibility, in the care and maintenance of citizens and communities, often at great personal and emotional expenditure.

The second brief point I wish to raise about the increasingly personalised citizenship debate concerns the hidden genealogy of colonial discourse that infused the partnership practices. Positioned as devices that aimed to mediate our understanding of development and issues in the Global South, the partnerships conflated development and citizenship discourses, resulting in a global subjectivity based on benevolent global citizenship (Smith, 2004). The personalised, caring responses that I outlined above remained centred on the Northern partners, who unwittingly re-enacted familiar repertoires of beneficent care that find their roots in the humanitarian discourses of the later colonial era (Lester, 2002). However, I do not wish to vilify the teachers’ or the community’s desire to ‘make a difference’ - it is important to complement this form of global citizenship with another, yet to be realised, perspective. Drawing upon postcolonial geographies of care and responsibility, the partnerships have the potential to work towards ‘more pragmatic responsiveness’ (Raghuram, et al, 2009: 5) and a more ‘cosmopolitan morality’ (Merry & Ruyter, 2011: 15).
How might partnerships rework the dominant notion of benevolent, individualised global citizenship, and how might they incorporate the ‘forgotten’ elements of neoliberal postcolonial critique? In addition to the reworking of the caring relationship that I described in Chapter Five, it might be possible to revise the GSP spaces and practices through greater acknowledgement of the historicity of North-South relationships. Importantly, the partnership between the North and the South must become decentred (Raghuram et al, 2009), away from the Northern partners caring about the Southern partners, and towards an acknowledgement that caring practices are always already decentred. By fusing feminist ethics of care with postcolonial understandings, there is another way to conceive the GSP, capable of appreciating the UK teachers’ emotionally-founded motivations, whilst remaining alive to the possibilities of dominance and dependence upon the partnership and relationships therein. Pedagogical intervention into the partnership visits could combine postcolonial understandings, of the ongoing reproduction of an unequal relationship through charity and aid, and an acknowledgement of the emotions of identification elicited within the teachers. This thesis, therefore, supports the contention that both decolonising and feminist pedagogies could play a significant role in refashioning partnership spaces and practices (see Zembylas, 2005; Ahmed, 2004; Boler, 1999). There is no scope here to discuss how these pedagogies might be incorporated into the partnerships, but this research contends that the GSP offers a unique forum for extending a dialogue between different world views and knowledges, and exploring the cultural norms we may each have come to accept about the way things are.126

7.4 Placing the GSP within global educational discourse

As a cultural device, the GSP was both indicative, and constitutive, of the discourse surrounding the neoliberal realignment of the education sector around the world. Firstly, the GSP aptly demonstrated the ‘lure’ of the discourse of success that I explored earlier in this chapter. Although this was realised in different ways in England and Tanzania, the aspiration to become leading schools in their communities speaks to fundamental aspects of educational restructuring. For example, with the assistance of a dynamic partnership, Copplestone became a

126 See Martin & Griffiths (2011) for details of how decolonising pedagogy is being used in teachers’ study visits to the Gambia organised by TiDE.
successful school that readily attracted new pupils, changing the social geographies of the village and surrounding area. I would add the caveat that the GSP was not the only device that facilitated such advancement in local competitive education spaces, but its role in producing new spaces, and realigning others in relation to neighbouring spaces, should not be underestimated. Although pupil and family choice of schooling is limited in Tanzania, beyond the public/private school option, it was possible to see how a GSP could shift the nature of education provision over time, by raising the status of the headteacher and developing the confidence of teachers, which ripples out into the school culture and affects the quality of provision.

Secondly, the GSP opened an illustrative window into the global trend towards learner-centred pedagogy (LCP) and the role that the GSP might play in ‘promoting’ this global, and arguably neoliberal, LCP agenda. The recent push towards LCP in Tanzanian schools has faced considerable challenges and, although Saidi appeared open to the changes on the horizon, he recognised that he would face a hard time persuading his staff. The visiting British teachers, with their urge to share their experiences of, and present a model for, learner-centred pedagogy, were unwittingly complicit in the reproduction of the neoliberalised educational discourse of personalised learning. Amidst this general outcome, the British teachers held contradicting views about its implementation. Some teachers adopted a childhood perspective, raising the question of how one could legitimately argue against the care for individual children. Others recognised the Western ‘agenda’ of pedagogy that might be culturally, and practically, incompatible with the Tanzanian school system. The traditional discourse in Tanzania of ‘Education for Self-Reliance’, founded by Nyerere in the early days of independence, provided a similar route towards personal responsibility and achievement, which sat alongside the individualising pedagogical discourse so familiar to the British teachers.

A further role of the GSP in the reproduction of global education discourse features the prevailing language of the partnership, English. The GSP occupied an uncomfortable position in the reproduction of English as a global language. Whilst, on the one hand, mastering English has been framed as a positive step for formerly colonised people (see Achebe, 2006; Ashcroft, 2006), the execution of the
partnership almost entirely in English reinforced its hegemonic position. Framed within the intersection of colonial legacy, globalisation, and neoliberalisation, language is an extremely political issue and in this context, the GSP became a more sinister tool. There was slippage between Tanzanian headteachers’ eagerness to have a GSP, for all the reasons the British Council advances, and their desire and responsibility to improve educational attainment. The GSP offered the beguiling, but unsubstantiated, hope that it could improve pupils’ English, whilst ultimately masking the root of the problem; the medium of instruction for Tanzanian pupils needs to be in Swahili, and not the old colonial language of English (see Brock-Utne, 2007). The Global School Partnership programme, delivered by the British Council, occupied an ambiguous, uneasy position in this postcolonial linguistic dilemma, acting as both a response to a globalised knowledge economy, and an attempt to engineer Britain’s position within this context. Whilst partnership aims and objectives are taken at face value, the influential narratives of international development, aid, and colonial legacy will remain hidden and uncontested.

7.4.1 The performance of neoliberal and global education policy

The GSP provided a productive lens through which to view and reflect upon the contemporary transformation of the institution through neoliberal and global education policy and discourse. Firstly, the GSP presented a space in which teacher subjectivities were produced, reinforced, and sometimes realigned. There was potential for teachers to learn about their partners’ respective pedagogies and to reflect on their culturally-defined teaching practices but, significantly, the encounters of the GSP confirmed the privileging of the Western individualised educational model, without recourse to any Africanist perspectives on education. The narrative of development and modernisation was generally disavowed by the British teachers and yet, beyond this, the hidden narrative of ‘developing education’ lay untroubled.

The GSP became a space for a range of practices, which both unsettled and reproduced narratives of neoliberal education policy. The thesis reveals the complex entanglement of moral, personal, professional, and institutional narratives that inform a teacher’s subjective identity (see Beech, 2009). The partnerships exposed the appeal of neoliberal education practices, as discourses of
personal development were subsumed beneath more neoliberal discourses of professionalism. Whilst some teachers mastered the art of entwining personal values with professional aptitude, others were left feeling confused and torn between competing narratives. Ethical narratives of care for children, happiness and well-being, creativity, and social justice, sat alongside contradictory neoliberalised narratives of achievement, aspiration, and competition (Pykett et al, 2010). For many of the teachers, the melding of personal senses of injustice towards globalisation, with the GSP’s unwitting advancement of neoliberal core values, resulted in subconscious feelings of dissonance and unease.

Through this ethnography, we have learned that neoliberal educational spaces are ‘messy actualities’, and full of ‘contradictions, complexities, and inconsistencies’ (Larner, 2000: 16). The schools were spaces in which ‘old’, pre-National Curriculum systems and values worked in conjunction with new orders. The new teacher identities were not only the consequences of a shift towards more neoliberal education policies, but were themselves constitutive of this shift, an ‘integral part of the process of restructuring’ (ibid: 19). Further to this point, there was ‘resistance’ to creeping neoliberal reforms in education. Time and again, I witnessed the GSP produce confident individuals, with a coherent sense of self that sang out beyond the ‘requirements’ of a neoliberal knowledge economy, and the confidence and courage to be something else, to do it differently. I caught glimpses of the valuable role the GSP played in stimulating creativity in the curriculum, or where shared curriculum projects encouraged the inclusion of embodied, outdoors learning, through gardening and sustainability projects. The GSP was indeed one vehicle through which global education policy was converging but, within it, teachers were not simply the ‘passive recipients’ of neoliberal restructuring, but rather active agents in the construction of the school and local community (Dyck, 2005: 236).

7.5 Drawing it together

Education occupies an ambivalent position in the reproduction of capitalism and democracy (Holloway et al, 2010; Thiem, 2009); a ‘contradictory resource’ that at once offers the promise of liberation and yet fixes the student's position within the structural inequalities it serves to embed in society (Jeffrey, et al, 2008). The GSP
was no exception, telling a complex story with multiple incoherencies, manifest in the conflicting narratives presented within this thesis. Underpinning the neoliberal discourse of education of learner-centred pedagogy, testing, league tables and competition is the conception of the child as a ‘globalised learner’ – individual, competitive, and master of their own destiny. In the GSP, both British and Tanzanian schools were complicit in the production of these ‘strategic cosmopolitans’ (Mitchell, 2003: 387), eyes open to the world and its possibilities, however differently these might be realised for the respective children of Copplestone and Donge. Teachers described how pupils were motivated to work hard, achieve, and ‘escape’ the confines of their localised existence and how, for the Tanzanian children, the possibility of a future visit to England was a tantalising prospect that motivated their studies. This stood in stark contrast to the imaginary of the ‘caring global citizen’ that was also evoked through the GSP, as the British schools were enrolled in the production of caring, moral subjects, mindful of their collective responsibility to support less fortunate others. The GSP, thus, presented a space in which stories of aspiration and hard work, and global outlooks, leading to potential social and physical mobility, became intimately entangled with stories of care, concern, and responsible citizenship. This thesis argues that caring narratives represent both a continuation of established humanitarian narratives, lingering from colonialism (Lester, 2002), and a re-establishment of care and concern as the primary Northern narrative of the ‘global citizen’. The GSP thus maintained a pendulate position in the wider political debates around the nature of citizenship, and provided a stage upon which an ambiguous drama played out, of moral, socially minded children and school communities in stark juxtaposition with the drive for ever-more personalised learning. Most scholarship has focused on the role of secondary and tertiary education sectors in the production of the knowledge economy, but I would argue that the nascent discourses and imaginaries of the ‘global’ citizen are already being established and performed in primary schools around the world.

This thesis argues, through the example of the GSP, that education is pivotal to the wider geographies of social reproduction. Reading the GSP through a broader sociocultural perspective, I paid attention to how narratives of care and charity were produced, negotiated and contested in the GSP, how notions of professionalism were circulated and reworked within the partnership spaces, and
how normative understandings of childhood undergird the drive towards both learner-centred pedagogy and moral subjectivity in both schools. Importantly, the GSP marked a rupture in the education trajectories in both countries. The respective education systems of England and Tanzania, as experienced and negotiated by the teachers involved, ceased to be static and place-bound, and instead became mobile entities, ‘travelling’ between the Global North and South through the teachers’ visits and curriculum projects. Without the intervention of the teachers’ visits, the historical and cultural influences on the local education practices might have remained intact. Instead, ideas were shared, ‘quality’ teaching modelled, and resources donated, propelling ‘new identities [to] emerge from hybrid circumstances’ (Carney, 2005: 10).

7.6 Moving forward

This thesis charts the perils, possibilities, and hopes of school partnerships, but also begins to consider how such partnerships could offer more potential for change for social justice, and be part of the ongoing progressive struggle for social justice. Apple (2001) argues for the importance of research that critiques neoliberal education policies and practices, and highlights the important role researchers have to play in sustaining and promoting the democratic project. Increasing attention in the public arena is turning to the global politics that are keeping the majority in poverty and precarity, yet neoliberal restructuring remains less than visible to most people in their everyday lives.127

The GSP highlighted the de-politicisation of the teaching profession. Politics remained hidden in teachers’ discourse, as they shied away from answering political questions that I asked, and then proceeded to tell me plenty that was, in my eyes, inherently political. Aside from the two Stuarts, the British teachers claimed very little knowledge of the colonial history between Britain and Tanzania. There was potential to extend the teachers’ reflections on the nature of education and the teaching profession, and for the GSP to provide a context for a pedagogy that sought to deconstruct and critique the neoliberalised knowledges that circulated within the partnerships. There was even potential for solidarity between teachers in both England and Tanzania, yet the ‘othering’ process that I

127 This conclusion was written whilst the global ‘Occupy’ movement was taking hold in cities across the world.
described in Chapter Six, and the lack of engagement with deeper political issues, presented a significant barrier. The GSP certainly provided informal spaces and opportunities for group reflection on the purpose, practices, and policies of teaching but, as Chapter Six revealed, these often reproduced common-sense repertoires of neoliberal educational reform. How might a GSP look if we attempted to ‘reclaim a politics in which matters of power, agency, resistance, and collective struggles became paramount’ (Giroux, 2004: 147)?

Giroux describes the need for new paradigms, new ways of speaking, and the call for cultural workers, teachers in this instance, to become ‘border crossers’. Drawing on postcolonial theory to unlearn our privilege (Spivak, 1984), we must lay bare the lingering colonial legacies that ‘remain unacknowledged in the language of Western educators and cultural workers (Giroux, 1992: 26). The GSP has the exciting potential to provide a device for the critical interrogation of such hegemonic discourses, and pedagogy is required that builds critical reflection into the teachers’ visits (Martin & Griffiths, 2011; Simpson, 2005). In order to realise the potential of postcolonial politics, one has first to acknowledge the material, embodied and visceral encounter in the teachers’ visits – lived experiences triggering emotions towards the ‘other’ – before that experience can be channelled into critical reflection on the social and cultural nature of people and places, and relations between. The teachers’ visits offered profound visceral experiences, but neglected the importance of the discursive, which seeks to make sense of the material, as I proposed in my methodology. Combining the material with discursive reflection would allow the political to take ‘root’ in people’s real experiences, enabling transformative learning to take place (Brock et al, 2006; Mezirow, 1991).

My final note rests with children, the raison d'etre of the teaching profession and education. The potential role of the child in ‘spearheading change’ was highlighted in the conversation I had with George Agango. This is not the simplistic positioning of children as the ‘future’ (see Katz, 2008), but thinking through their capacity to stimulate change in their own communities. The children with whom I had the privilege to work in this research taught me not to underestimate the ‘readiness’ of children to be involved in complicated, political debate. This needs to be a mutual learning process, between children and teachers, openly debating.
the place of charity, care, and citizenship within the primary school’s own educational practices, and challenging the inevitability of globalisation (see Willinsky, 1998). Exciting future action research could be designed around this concept, working with teachers from both countries and with children specifically, in alignment with recent moves within political geographies to acknowledge children’s contribution (Kallio & Häkli, 2010).

The global school partnership already formed important sites of pedagogy, constructing narratives and knowledges about people in the Global North and South, but there is still more potential for these to become sites of public pedagogy, investing parents and communities, as well as children and teachers, with the potential to creatively resist and rework neoliberal educational and development discourse. Global school partnerships have the potential to be critical engines of social change, both within individual institutions, and within their wider social spheres.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>British Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEC</td>
<td>Development Education Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DfES</td>
<td>Department for Education and Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DfID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSP</td>
<td>Global School Partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCP</td>
<td>Learner-centred pedagogy</td>
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<tr>
<td>TCP</td>
<td>Teacher-centred pedagogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TiDE</td>
<td>Teachers in Development Education (Birmingham)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UKOWLA</td>
<td>UK One World Linking Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>Voluntary Service Overseas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices

Appendix I: Schedules of the four teachers’ reciprocal visits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mon. 6th</td>
<td>Saidi and Cecilia flew with Chumbageni teachers on Egypt Air from Dar-es-Salaam to Heathrow. After a six-hour delay in Cairo, they arrived late; met by Stuart Sewell and Stuart Busby. Stuart drove them back to Devon, and to their host families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tues. 7th</td>
<td>Met the Copplestone teachers for lunch. The official welcome in the ‘Festival of Devon’. Opening of Donge Garden. Attended the Kingfisher Awards Exhibition at Newton St. Cyres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weds. 8th</td>
<td>Saidi played cricket with Year Six. Saidi observed Stuart teaching a maths lesson and helped with a small group of children. Made cob-handprints for an outside mural. After school, visit to the cinema to watch ‘Transformers’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurs. 9th</td>
<td>Observation of literacy and maths lessons. Saidi taught Swahili to Year Six. Mini Olympics on the field. Ceilidh in evening with parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat. 11th</td>
<td>Day trip to London with one of the parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun. 12th</td>
<td>Day with host families, visiting the local areas around Copplestone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon. 13th</td>
<td>Day trip with upper classes to Escot – various craft activities, lunch in Anglo-Saxon village, followed a maze, games in the forest, then the children did a ‘Swamp Walk’, and the ‘Death Slide’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tues. 14th Cecilia taught Swahili to Orange Class and then observed Literacy lesson. Evaluation and planning meeting with Saidi, Cecilia, and Stuart. Meeting of some orphan sponsors. Farewell assembly. Naomi drove up to Somers Park in Malvern, with Saidi, Cecilia, Stuart, and me. Attended the schools’ Kaleidoscope performance, part of their centenary celebrations. Met the other Tanzanian teachers from Chumbageni. Said goodbye to Saidi and Cecilia there, and returned to Devon late in the evening.

Wed. 21st Met other teachers at Heathrow; flight to Dar-es-Salaam (B.A.)

Thurs. 22nd Arrived 6.30am. Met by Saidi, Mighty, & Halifa in private bus. Drove to Kurasini Conference Centre on the west side of the city. Trip to central bank. Evening meal at Slipway Restaurant.

Fri. 23rd Journey to Tanga, via slave fort at Bagamoyo on coast. Puncture on road nearing dusk. Arrived in Tanga at 8.30pm. Checked into Panori Hotel, then welcome meal at Victoria & Godfrey’s house.

Sat. 24th Drove into Tanga town centre. Walked round the market and went to supermarket, and bank. Lunchtime meal at City Hotel with other Tanga teachers. Afternoon and evening at Tanga Yacht Club.

Sun. 25th Early morning start for church. Long service, out by midday, breakfast and lunch with church staff and teachers. Late afternoon journey to Peponi Beach.

Mon. 26th Meeting for all teachers at City Education Office. Groups of British teachers went off to their partner schools for the rest of the day. Welcome ceremony at Donge and tour around school. Evening at the Panori.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weds. 28th</td>
<td>Third day in Donge. Copplestone teachers led football and netball sessions. Tree planting. Walked to Saidi’s daughter’s school in the local area. Tour of Chumbageni School. Final meal with City Education officers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurs. 29th</td>
<td>All British teachers tour all partner schools, with welcome performances and refreshments at each one. Stuart, Naomi, Nicky, and I caught 3pm flight back to Dar-es-Salaam. Taxi to Kurasini. Final meal together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fri. 30th</td>
<td>Copplestone teachers return to England. The remaining teachers leave Tanga the following morning for their safari to Lushoto and Tarangire.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Visit to Copplestone 7th – 15th June 2010

Saidi Moshi and Cecilia Hiza (Donge)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mon. 7th</td>
<td>Late arrival. Settled into their accommodation with host families in village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tues. 8th</td>
<td>Tour of school with Michael (Class teacher) &amp; Elaine (Teaching Assistant). Welcome assembly with children’s performances. Cecilia observed in Reception Class. Visit from the Religious Education advisor. Lunch in staff room. Tinga Tinga art in hall with each class. Staff meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weds. 9th</td>
<td>Lesson observation. Cecilia in maths and literacy. Visit to Cheriton Bishop in afternoon, with Alison (class teacher), Elaine, and me. Meet Sue Leyman, headteacher of Cheriton Bishop. Tour of school by Year Six pupils. Return to Copplestone. Evening fish &amp; chip super at Stuart’s house with family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurs. 10th</td>
<td>Morning meeting with Michael to select resources for Donge from school catalogue. Saidi and Cecilia taught Swahili in each class. Cecilia joins Forest School with Blue Class in school woodland. Devonshire Cream Tea after school with small group of governors and parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fri. 11th</td>
<td>‘World Cup Day’ in school. Children making banner for 1Goal campaign. Watched football tournament. Saidi visited another school in Crediton where former Deputy Head of Copplestone is now Headteacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat. 12th</td>
<td>Host’s birthday party in Copplestone.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sun. 13th  Day out with host family in South Devon, and late afternoon/evening meal with my husband and I at our home in in Bishopsteignton.

Mon. 14th  Staff meeting to discuss October visit to Donge. Whole school formal photograph and informal photographs outside with Stuart. Evaluation meeting with Stuart, Cecilia, Saidi, and me. Saidi and Cecilia visit the host families they stayed with last year.

Tues. 15th  Journey back to Heathrow and return to Dar-es-Salaam on later afternoon flight.

Visit to Donge 21st – 31st October 2010

Stuart Busby, Naomi, Michael, Alison, Elaine (Copplestone)  
Sue Leyman, Michelle (Cheriton Bishop)

Thurs. 21st  Teachers from both schools travel by train to Heathrow, and catch early evening flight to Dar-es-Salaam.

Fri. 22nd  Met by Saidi and Shedrack (Kwakaheza) at airport. Journey to Tanga by daladala (6 hours). Arrived Mbuyu Kenda late afternoon. Evening meal out in town centre.

Sat. 23rd  The British teachers walked around Tanga, visiting the beach, market, cafes, and bank. Met Saidi, Shedrack, Joachim, and Zaineb in Mbuyu Kenda around 3pm. Walked to the Harbour Club for a couple of beers. The Tanzanian teachers left us to it later, and we spent the evening in Tanga Yacht Club.

Sun. 24th  The Tanzanian teachers collected us in the morning and drove to Pangani Beach, several hours down the coast from Tanga on unpaved roads. Spent day at the beach hotel with lunch.

Mon. 25th  First day in Donge and Kwakaheza schools for the teachers. Welcome ceremony and met all the staff from both schools. Had two separate tours of the adjoining schools led by Tanzanian teachers. After school, booked flights back to Dar-es-Salaam for everyone but Michael and myself. Evening meal and reflective discussion for the British teachers at Mkonge Hotel.
Tues. 26th Lesson observation in Donge in pairs. Planned the mural for the school wall. Evening meal at Pizzeria in Raz Kazone with Saidi, his wife Necta, and Shedrack.

Weds. 27th The British teachers led three groups of sports activities; skipping, tag rugby, cricket. Groups of Donge and Kwakaheza children taught us traditional dances. Walked back through Tanga to the hostel.

Thurs. 28th Visits to Ukombosi and Magaoni Primary Schools. Others stay at Donge and watch football match. Painted mural on walls, and Sue and Michelle painted the nursery at Kwakaheza. Staff meeting with two school committees. Walk back through town to do some shopping. Meal at Zaineb’s house.

Fri. 29th Final day in school. Farewell ceremony of both schools. Afternoon visit to Buhuri Agriculture Centre, outside Tanga. Evening meal at Mkonge.

Sat. 30th Michael and I leave on early coach to Dar-es-Salaam. Others spend day in Tanga, meeting Saidi and Mama Majabu (Headteacher of Kwakaheza) for lunch, before flying back to Dar-es-Salaam in the evening. Final night in Kurasini.