Sustaining Development Initiatives:
A study of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme

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Abstract

Working towards economic and social equity and environmental improvement is a broad aim of sustainable development. Development initiatives in many forms have been, and continue to be, supported as a means of achieving the ideals of sustainable development. However recent studies suggest that few of these initiatives, and the benefits that they seek to produce, are sustained over the longer-term. This study is undertaken as a rigorous re-look at the assumptions within a particular development initiative regarding what factors ensure the sustainability of the programme and what processes may be useful for realising these factors.

The particular development initiative focused on in this study is the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme, a programme on which the author has worked since 1997. In common with many development initiatives this programme is supported and shaped by multiple actors. These actors have different understandings of what factors may enhance the sustainability of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. In this context it has been important to develop a research methodology that makes these assumptions more apparent and thus available for review, dialogue, critique and if necessary transformation. An analysis of the patterns of speech or discourses, within key documents associated with the programme since 1994, forms the basis of a representation of the plurality of understandings and knowledge claims regarding the sustainability of the programme.

Through this analysis a number of aspects that are considered useful for the sustainability of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme have been identified. These are: policy support; the selection of appropriate technologies; environmental protection; sensitivity to socio-cultural realities of diverse groups; professional, institutional and management capacity and the importance of formal and informal links between actors; and diverse funding options. It is however in the opening up of multiple perspectives on programme sustainability that the real value of this study lies. It is hoped that this disclosure will open new space and discontinuities to continue probing and questioning programme sustainability within the context of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme.

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List Of Commonly Used Abbreviations.	
EE	Environmental Education
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC ELMS	SADC Environment and Land Management Sector
SADC REEC	SADC Regional Environmental Education Centre
SADC REEP	SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
WESSA	Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa

Introduction

This thesis is located within an ongoing development initiative designed to support and enhance environmental education processes in the Southern African Development Community[1] (SADC). The programme is run under the auspices of the SADC Environment and Land Management Sector[2] (ELMS), it is implemented on behalf of and with environmental education practitioners in the region and is supported by a number of donor agencies particularly initially Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). Since the start of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme in 1993 the issue of sustainability, in terms of sustaining the programme and/or the initiatives that it enables, has been an important one for many of the partners involved in the development and implementation of the programme. This research is undertaken as a rigorous re-look at some of the assumptions that have underpinned the dialogue on sustainability in the context of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme.

In 1988 a compendium of donor experiences on the sustainability of development programmes claimed that "sustainability is in many ways the ultimate test of development efforts" (US A.I.D., 1988: 1). Over the next 15 years the understanding of what sustainability of development programmes may entail has become more sophisticated. A recent study conducted under the auspices of Sida's Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit explores "how the incentives that arise in the system of development co-operation affect sustainable outcomes" (Ostrom *et al,* 2002: i). With other research in this field (Jordan, 1996; Taylor, 1997; Cannon, 1999), this has helped to broaden our understanding of what is meant by sustainability as well as providing a deeper appreciation of the processes that may enhance sustainability. This is not to suggest that there is consensus on these issues; our understandings remain contested, emergent and context-dependent. The experiences within the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme thus serve as a way of reflecting on (grounding, challenging and using) the current assumptions on and research results about sustainability. They also open up through a careful case study a number of dimensions of sustainability that may require further investigation and clarification. It is hoped that a careful description and consideration of the tensions around the notion of sustainability within the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme may "help us [to] ask questions about what we have not thought to think, about what is most densely invested in our discourse/practices, about what has been muted, repressed, unheard" (Lather in Taylor, 1997). Having re-searched the ongoing processes and tensions surrounding sustainability of and within the SADC Regional EE Programme I will draw on recent research to suggest possible ways forward. It is hoped that this re-look at the programme and the reaching for insights from international research will provide new opportunities for various partners within the SADC Regional EE Programme to engage in more informed dialogue, and more appropriate actions, that enhance the sustainability of a particular development initiative.

Programme documents, policy statements and correspondence from different actors (individuals, groups and institutions) associated with the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme provide empirical evidence of the importance that the issue of sustainability has attained within the programme. While different actors usually, though certainly not always, agree that sustainability is desirable they often place emphasis on different and occasionally competing interpretations of what it is that should be sustained and what processes may enhance this sustainability. By examining the contexts within which the actors are operating it becomes

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[1] The Southern African Development Community includes the following fourteen countries: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
[2] For a summary of key institutions involved see appendix A.

possible to interpret and be sensitive to the different "rules of the game" of various actors and why they have adopted these rules instead of others.   A careful analysis of documents and conversations associated with the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme makes these assumptions more apparent and thus more available for review, dialogue, critique and, if necessary, transformation.

Objectives and Scope

From the above introduction it seems appropriate to distil three statements that form the basis of this thesis:
- In working towards the sustainability of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme different dimensions of sustainability need to be clarified and enhanced.
- The degree of emphasis on particular dimensions will differ between actors and it is useful to interpret and critique these different emphases.
- The relationships between and among different actors, including issues of power, knowledge and incentives, are important considerations in situations of complexity such as working towards the sustainability of development programmes.

The objectives of this thesis are thus to clarify sustainability, to interpret different perspectives and to illuminate the power, knowledge and incentives within a particular development programme. The scope of the thesis is the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme, more specifically issues associated with the sustainability of the programme, and the context within which the programme is embedded.

The concepts of sustainability and development are used in a variety of contexts with a multitude of different meanings. Salmi (cited in Ostrom *et al,* 2002: 8) identifies nine major contexts within which the concept of sustainability is invoked, including allocative efficiency, intergenerational equity, resource substitutability, externalities, and property rights. In order to avoid adding to this ambiguity it is important to clarify the context in which sustainability is used in this thesis. This is "sustainability of development programmes" more specifically the sustainability of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. Since the objective of the thesis is to clarify the "what" and "how" of sustainability in the context of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme this thesis will not contain a general discussion on sustainability generally. The broader discourse of sustainability will, however, obviously have a shaping impact on what is considered sustainable in the context of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme and thus reference to the broader debate will be made where appropriate.

In a similar vein the broader discourse of development has had a significant shaping influence on both the development and implementation of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. Since one of the major dimensions of sustainability of development programmes is considered to be the sustainability of benefits from development programmes it is vital that we have some framework with which to interpret and evaluate these benefits. It is not simply a case of sustaining developments but also assessing whether these are the sort of developments that we actually want to sustain. This thesis will argue that what constitutes good or appropriate development is not an objective entity but rather a social construct based on different understandings and interests.

The central focus of this thesis is to clarify and develop more sophisticated understandings of the "what" and "how" of sustainability of development programmes. However the theoretical

assumption that I will argue for is that these understandings emerge in different situations and are contested within and across contexts.

Theoretical Framework

In attempting to develop a theoretical framework that seemed appropriate in the complex relational situations within the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme I have drawn extensively on two closely connected orientations to theory namely poststructuralist (Cherryholmes, 1995) and postmodern (Bauman 1993, 1995). Poststructuralists hold that there is no final knowledge; "the contingency and historical moment of all readings ensures that, whatever the object of our gaze, it is contested, temporal and emergent" (Clifford in Lather, 1991: 14). In a similar vein Cherryholmes suggests "our attempts to develop metanarratives are incomplete, time-bound, interest-relative, ideologically informed, and shaped by power" (1988: 12). Within these orientations it becomes important to work towards *framing* meaning possibilities rather than *closing* them in working with empirical data - to work towards disclosure rather than closure (Lather, 1991). The following theoretical framework is used as a reference point throughout the study in an attempt to keep framing or interpreting multiple knowledges rather than seeking to legislate for one 'objective' knowledge.

In his book entitled *World Risk Society* Ulrich Beck (1999: 124) makes a distinction between linear and non-linear theories of knowledge. A linear conception of knowledge emphasises the possibility of and striving for one coherent knowledge system. In the context of this study this would involve striving for one coherent, systematic outline of what is meant by sustainability. Underpinning this conception are strong assumptions of universality, foundation, homogeneity, monotony, and clarity. Unknowns or conflicting knowings are played down as "not-yet-resolved-but-in-principle-resolvable" (Bauman, 1993: 8) imperfections of knowledge. Unawareness, defined by Beck (1999: 127) as both inability to know and unwillingness to know, is thus marginalised within linear theories of knowledge, as a temporary nuisance or failing. The flipside of this marginalisation of unawareness is the idealisation of positive knowledge and certainty. Closely linked to this certainty is an absence of doubt about the universal grounding of knowledge. Thus the cumulative creation of new knowledge based on the consensus of universally recognised practitioners operating from within universally sanctioned institutions becomes the defining property of a linear theory of knowledge. This understanding of knowledge has much in common with Bauman's portrayal of modernity as being about "conflict-*resolution,* and about admitting no contradictions except conflicts amenable to, and awaiting resolution" (1993: 8).

It is the disbelief that everything is ultimately knowable and that conflicting knowings are no more than misunderstandings awaiting resolution, that supports and is supported by theories of postmodernity. Lyotard defines postmodern as "incredulity towards metanarratives" (in Cherryholmes, 1988: 10). Those moments when the visions and hopes of modernity seem misguided and unattainable provide a glimpse of what has been described as the postmodern condition. This condition stems from the recognition that "there are powers behind the *plural* forms of life and plural versions of truth which would not be *made* inferior, and hence would not surrender to the argument of their inferiority…" (Bauman, 1987: 141, emphases in original).

Non-linear theories of knowledge (Beck, 1999) accept unknowns as well as plurality, dissent and conflicting knowledge claims as central and inevitable components to understanding knowledge construction, deconstruction and reconstruction processes such as the ongoing dialogue on sustainability within the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. The implications of having to make decisions and knowledge claims in the face of known unknowns

(those areas where we are aware that we lack knowledge) and unknown unintended consequences (those areas in which we have yet to recognise the implications of our actions) become significant in a non-linear theory of knowledge. There is a recognition that unknown unintended consequences and suppressed unknowns do not erase endangerment but in fact intensify it. In addition unintended consequences and unknowns do not stop or disappear as a result of unawareness (unknown and suppressed) but are favoured by it.

The focus, in a non-linear theory of knowledge, thus shifts to the "unclear, uncooperative and oppositely polarised networks of people and coalitions acting on knowledge" (Hajer in Beck, 1999: 125). In such situations grand narratives, or universal knowledge claims, dissolve into processes of decision-making and power relations. A plurality of interest groups, none powerful enough to claim an objective superiority for the knowledge it represents, engage in processes of coalition formations around contested certainties and unknowns.

Berger and Luckmann, articulating the link between knowledge and power, wrote: "The confrontation of alternative symbolic universes implies a problem of power – which of the conflicting definitions of reality will be 'made to stick' in the society … will depend more on the power than on the theoretical ingenuity of the respective legitimators" (in Beck, 1999: 99). Subsequent writings on knowledge/power relations have emphasised the plurality of positions and the play of dependencies between these positions. Foucault, for example, set out to "render apparent the polymorphous interweaving of correlations" (1975: 58) by focussing on the multiplicity of component discourses which resulted in subtle transformations rather than unequivocal processes of social change (Hajer, 1997: 47). In doing so Foucault criticised "the historical practice which sought to understand history in terms of causality" (Hajer, 1997: 47). Similarly Bauman describes situations in which the different actors and institutions operate within "spaces of chaos and chronic *indeterminacy,* a territory subjected to rival and contradictory meaning-bestowing claims and hence perpetually *ambivalent*" (Bauman in Beilharz, 2001: 178). This ambivalence "confounds calculation of events and confuses the relevance of memorised action patterns" (*ibid*: 282). Bauman argues that in such situations "heuristics of pragmatically useful 'next moves' displaces the search for… certain knowledge of deterministic chains" (*ibid*: 179).

To the extent that researchers are unable to reduce this underlying ambivalence, they may adopt a number of roles or strategies. One strategy is characterised by Bauman (1987:4) as the "legislator" role which "consists of making authoritative statements which arbitrate in controversies of opinions and which select those opinions which, having been selected, become correct and binding". This strategy depends for its success on being carried out in situations of uncontested clarity (relatively rare) or on the researcher being able to command enough power to silence or exclude any dissenting opinions (again rare in situations of institutionalised plurality such as the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme). A second strategy outlined by Bauman is that of an "interpreter". This role consists of translating statements made by one interest group so that they can be understood within the system of knowledge of another interest group. "Instead of being orientated towards selecting the best social order, this strategy is aimed at facilitating communication between autonomous interest groups" (*ibid*: 5). It is this strategy that I have attempted to follow in this thesis.

I am not focusing on identifying one clear truth behind the text, nor am I asking questions concerning which discourse is more accurate or meaningful, although I often slip into doing this despite the theoretical framework; rather I aim to show how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in the context of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. In order to work towards this aim I will draw on the method of discourse analysis.

Method

Discourse analysis

The method that I have chosen to use is discourse analysis. Discourses have been described as "broad patterns of talk – systems of statement – that are taken up in particular speeches and conversations, not the speeches or conversations themselves" (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 156). Cherryholmes echoes this description when he refers to discourse as "regularities in what is said" (1988: 1). These speeches and conversations come to be captured in the documents that we write or 'texts' and it is these texts which form the basis of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is thus the seeking to bring forward underlying patterns or regularities that underpin the texts that we analyse, to interpret and critique these underlying patterns and to explain the broader context within which the text operates.

In order to locate, identify, interpret and critique the discourses operating in the texts associated with the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme it is necessary to have both an engagement with and a detachment from the text and the context in which the text is located. Engagement has been described by Janks (1997) as reading *with* the text, or accepting the preferred or intended meaning of the author. Detachment on the other hand can be described as reading *against* the text or searching for alternative readings and the implications of these readings. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) suggest that "[we] can identify discourses because we are part of a culture and because we are able to strike a critical distance from that culture." However this gaining of a critical distance or reading against a text can be difficult to do especially since the researcher, with his or her particular situation *vis-à-vis* the text and the context, is the principle instrument of the analysis. While some authors (see Fairclough 1995) have suggested analytic frameworks for discourse analysis these frameworks do not provide rigid methods or technical procedures for identifying discourses. Rather what is available is a flexible set of tools that may help to reflect on textual activity and particularly on the underlying discourses.

The place and role of the analyst

Before turning to the tools it is important to clarify my position as the researcher or analyst in the context of this study. My background is as the manager of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme from 1997 until the commencement of my studies in Sweden in August 2001. Both prior to this appointment, and during the period of working on the Programme, I was employed by the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) who became the implementers of the Programme. Having been intimately involved with the interpretation and implementation of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme including the recent updating of the Programme Document (2001) I have developed some understandings of the processes within and related to the programme. However in researching the many texts associated with the Programme for this study I was struck by how much I had taken for granted or not noticed at particular times in the programme development.

By selecting particular texts and by representing them in a new context, that is the context of research, rather than in the context of the day to day running of the programme, I 'recreate' them in a number of ways. Mulkay (1991) has suggested that in the process of doing research, of using tools and techniques, to make apparent to ourselves and others how a particular object of study is to be viewed or understood, we engage in processes of re-presentation that ignore some things, put some things in new contexts and identify what is significant and what is not. In doing so we inevitably assert a kind of interpretive privilege over the original object of study. While more traditional approaches to research have tended to overlook or deny this consequence of research it

becomes central within a poststructuralist or postmodern approach (the theoretical framework adopted for this study). These approaches advocate "the creation of a more hesitant and partial scholarship capable of helping us to tell a better story in a world marked by the elusiveness with which it greets our efforts to know it" (Lather, 1991). Thus this research should be seen as a continuation and re-focussing of an ongoing dialogue within the SADC Regional EE Programme.

Tools for discourse analysis

The following tools have been used in this study to provide a flexible method for reading with and reading against various texts associated with the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. Since they are not made explicit during the actual analysis component of this study it seems important to outline them in some detail in this section. I have also provided examples related to the topic of this thesis in order to clarify how these tools have been used.

Three main tools have been used during this study. They are a focus and seeking out of binary oppositions; an examination of recurrent themes, phrases and metaphors; and attention to what subjects are being spoken about (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999). I shall outline each tool in terms of how it may help to bring forward underlying patterns or regularities that underpin the texts being analysed, to interpret and critique these underlying patterns and to explain the broader context within which the text operates.

Binary oppositions such as developed/undeveloped, aware/unaware, indigenous knowledge/western knowledge are often implicit within a text when only one side is mentioned and the other is implied or silenced. Thus, for example, when we see a statement such as "we need to make them aware" it is useful to consider the binary opposite "they are unaware". Questions arise here around what counts as awareness and by whose standards. When we see a focus on indigenous knowledge it is useful to consider what its opposite may be and why indigenous knowledge is privileged in a particular text. Within discourse analysis, and particularly within a poststructuralist or postmodern orientation, the emphasis is not on siding with one or other side of an opposition or reading for truth. Rather what we seek to understand or interpret is what kind of world is produced through the opposition, in other words, what effects do these oppositions produce. In the example of awareness above, one of the effects is the development of educational processes that marginalise one community's awareness and understanding in favour of another community's conception of what counts as awareness.

Another useful tool involves looking for recurrent terms, phrases or metaphors that may help us to recognise a particular discourse. Thus, for example, the recurrence of terms such as 'support', 'dependence', 'assistance' may alert us to an underlying discourse associated with development and development aid. We could question why these terms are used and not others such as 'cooperation' or 'solidarity'. Again I am not trying to select which is the best term but rather to look at the effects of these different terms – what do they reveal or hide and who benefits?

It is also useful to consider the subjects or people that are being spoken about. If we encounter subjects such as 'the donor', 'the recipient', and 'the cooperation partner' we are alerted to the probability of discourses associated with development aid. If we encounter subjects such as 'the target group' or 'the participants' we are alerted to the possibility of different educational discourses operating within the text.

As mentioned above I am interested in the effects of the texts or what they do in terms of organising particular meanings so as to make some things possible and others not. An emphasis on 'participants' may create the possibility of more inclusive and less hierarchical educational processes. However it may also hide underlying power asymmetries. It is here that a focus on

the contexts within which particular discourses are operating becomes important. Terre Blanch and Durrheim (1999) suggest that in researching this contextualisation of text we need to focus on the "micro-context" of conversations and debates and the "macro-context" of institutions and ideologies. The former shape the kinds of spaces that are opened or closed within a conversation by the actors involved while the latter shape the kinds of conversations that are possible in particular contexts. "The major difference between these dialogical contexts of a micro and macro level of analysis is that conversations and arguments between people take place in short periods of time, whereas the history of struggle and the collusion between discourses unfolds over long periods of history" (Terre Blanch and Durrheim, 1999: 167).

At both the micro and macro levels discourses refer to each other and thereby shape the contexts and spaces available for dialogue. Thus the constant reference and later objection to, for example, 'target group' may stimulate the development and use of the counter term of 'participants'. While the tension is evident between these two different terms and the discourses that underpin them there is a possibility for critique and perhaps the formation of new discourses. However if an actor simply uncritically appropriates the new term such as 'participants' this may create the appearance of change and lead to a form of closure. It is the task of the discourse analyst to disclose closures that may hide the effects of particular discourse in the contexts within which we live and work.

Material

In this study I have opted to use documents associated with the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme as the main source of data.

> Documents, read as the sediments of social practices, have the potential to inform and structure the decisions which people make on a daily and longer-term basis; they are also constitutive of particular readings of social events. They tell us about the aspirations and intentions of the periods to which they refer…(May, 2001: 176)

This description of documents has much resonance with the stated aim of this study to identify and interpret the underlying or sedimented discourses that may influence what is considered sustainable and how to work towards that sustainability in the context of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme.

Programme Background

Before outlining the documents to be analysed it is necessary to include a brief history of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme as so much of the analysis and discussion that follows will allude to the history and components of the programme.

In 1993, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Environment and Land Management Sector (ELMS) initiated a programme to support environmental education processes in the southern African Region. The initial phase of this programme included a series of workshops involving environmental education practitioners in the region. The first workshop was held in Windhoek, Namibia in 1994 and the second in Howick, South Africa in 1996. These workshops were complemented by other research processes designed to assess the state of environmental education in the region. Based on information gathered during this initial phase a formal programme document was developed and submitted to the SADC Council of Ministers for approval. The Council of Ministers ratified the proposal and agreed that the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) should act as implementing agents of the programme. Following approval in August 1996 the document was finalised in December 1996 (Harare) by environmental education experts from the region and submitted to the Swedish

International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) for funding. Following a review by an independent consultant Sida found the recommendations within the programme appropriate for responding to the urgent need for environmental education in the SADC region and agreed to fund the bulk of the first three years of operation, from July 1997 to June 2000.

The SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme was officially launched at the 1997 annual meeting of the Environmental Education Association of Southern Africa. Following the launch countries in the region were approached by SADC ELMS to nominate national representatives who would both monitor the activities of the Regional EE Centre and support the implementation of the programme in their countries. These National Network Representatives meet annually with SADC ELMS and staff from the SADC Regional EE Centre.

In 1999 two independent consultants, Professor Ben Parker and Mr Steve Murray, from the region were contracted to undertake a mid-term review of the programme. This review was based on interviews with over 50 environmental education practitioners from the region, including the National Network Representatives, and a thorough review of the annual reports, course evaluations and other key documentation. The review concluded that "[i]n the past two years, a vibrant and strong programme has emerged which has produced the basic infrastructure and resources for training and materials development throughout the SADC region" (Parker and Murray, 1999). The review also made a number of recommendations for the continuation of the programme. At the end of 1999 staff from SADC ELMS and the SADC Regional EE Centre met with Sida to discuss the outcomes of the review report of the programme.

Also at the end of 1999 work on a new project proposal for Sida support of the SADC Regional EE Programme began. While working on the proposal the issue of sustainability of the programme became an important area of discussion both in the region and particularly with Sida. This resulted in two regional consultants being contracted to undertake research into the sustainability of the SADC Regional EE Programme. The research process was also used to circulate the draft programme document in the region. Following almost two years of consultation in the region and discussion with Sida the new Programme Document was finalised at a National Network Representatives meeting in 2001 and published in 2002. Based on this broad programme document and more specific project documents submitted to Sida, Sida have agreed to continue supporting aspects of the programme until 2005. This support is subject to annual reviews, an important component of which is the sustainability of the programme.

Programme Description

The stated objective of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme is "to enable environmental education practitioners in the SADC region to strengthen environmental education processes for equitable and sustainable environmental management choices. This will be achieved through enhanced and strengthened environmental education policy, networking, resource materials and training capacity" (SADC REEP, 2001: 21). In order to achieve this broad objective a number of more specific objectives are articulated in the programme documents:

1. to support a reflexive orientation that informs and guides the development and implementation of environmental education processes within the SADC region;
2. to create an enabling environment for regional and national environmental education **policy** and to support the development and implementation of local level environmental and environmental education policy within the SADC region;
3. to support environmental education processes through enabling decentralised **networking** of environmental education practitioners within the SADC region;

4. to support the development of capacity within the SADC region to access, use and develop appropriate environmental education **resource materials**; and
5. to support the development of capacity within the SADC region to respond to environmental issues through improved environmental education processes and **training** activities.

The four components of the programme are seen as interlinked spheres of focus and activity as is depicted in Figure 1 below.
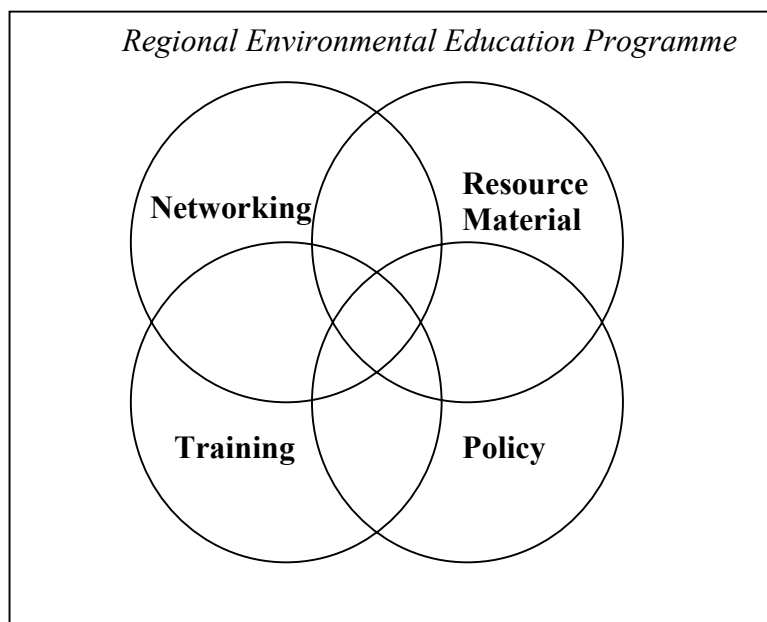

Figure 1: Representation of Programme
Components (SADC REEP 2001: 33)

Within each of the components of the Programme a number of activity areas have been identified as important for the realisation of the specific and overall objectives. These activity areas are supported to a greater or lesser degree depending on a range of factors including funding, availability of expertise and institutional support, perceptions of importance and demand. For an outline of these activity areas see appendix B.

Documents Analysed

While I have attempted to analyse as many of the documents associated with the programme as possible many choices were made regarding what to include and what to exclude in this study. These decisions are based on five years of experience within the programme and interaction with the many people who have been part of this process. During this time particular documents or parts of documents have been referred to again and again by particular actors or groups of actors. It is these texts that have formed the basis of this study. Discussions with key actors during the study period confirmed the importance of the documents and issues being raised. However the selections would certainly differ if I had done this study earlier or later in the programme's history. They would also differ if different actors were to take on the study. This is part of what is meant when it is said that these documents and the ideas that they express are contested, temporal and emergent.

I have used the two key Programme Documents (SADC ELMS, 1996 and SADC ELMS, 2001) as reference points within this study. The Programme Documents outline the principles, objectives and activity areas of the Programme and are developed prior to the start of a

programme, or the start of a new phase. Both documents were developed through lengthy consultative processes involving a wide range of stakeholders including environmental education practitioners from the region, country representatives, staff employed through the programme, SADC ELMS, external consultants and Sida. Both documents represent the views of many of these stakeholders and as such reveal the often contested positions of different interest groups. A careful reading of these documents thus formed the basis of the discourse analysis. At the same time, however, it was important to read documentation that fed into and shaped the production of these programme proposals. This documentation often provided insights into the origin of particular themes and how they were modified during the processes of putting together the final programme documents. During the programme's history many different documents have been produced by particular actors for particular purposes with particular readers in mind. I have included a description of some of the main documents used in Table 1 below. Other sources consulted are listed in the reference section at the end of this study.

Table 1: Summary of documents analysed in this study.

Date	Document	Comments
1994	Hertzman, T. *Workshop for Environmental Education for Youth: Windhoek, Namibia* in Splash Magazine	This article was a summary of the conclusions and recommendations of the SADC ELMS workshop (see detail in row 4). Hertzman was a Swedish consultant working as an advisor to SADC ELMS
1994	Taylor, J. *Some reflections on the SADC Workshop Windhoek 14-18 March*	This unpublished report was circulated within the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa and more broadly in the region. (See row 3 for note on author)
1994	Taylor, J. *A Platform for Networking* in Splash Magazine	A summary of the report above. Taylor was and is employed by WESSA and became the Director of the SADC Regional EE Programme.
1994	SADC ELMS *Report from the SADC ELMS Environmental Education Programme*	This report was a record of the conclusions and recommendations of a workshop attended by over 60 environmental education practitioners from southern Africa.
1996	SADC ELMS *Draft Proceedings 2nd SADC Workshop on Environmental Education*	Proceedings of a workshop held in Howick, South Africa – it consists mainly of papers presented at the workshop.
1996	SADC ELMS *The SADC ELMS Programme on Environmental Education*	A consolidation of the conclusions and recommendations from the two workshops (Windhoek and Howick). Written by a group of local EE experts in region. Submitted to Sida for funding support.
1997	Grönvall, M. *Review of proposal: SADC ELMS Programme on Environmental Education*	Grönvall was a member of the Sida advisory panel on EE and was contracted to undertake the review. At the time Grönvall was a private consultant.
1997	SADC ELMS *Three Year Plan of Operation*	Developed by the SADC Regional EE Centre and SADC ELMS with support from Grönvall contracted by Sida
1997 onwards	*EEMail* newsletter	The Newsletter of the SADC Regional EE Programme. Edited by the REEC and course participants from the region and published twice a year since 1997.
1997 onwards	Quarterly and Annual Reports	Written by REEC and endorsed by SADC ELMS. Submitted to Sida, Country Representatives and others.
1998 onwards	Minutes of National Network Representatives Meetings	These annual meetings are attended by nominated country representatives who report on EE activities in their countries and review the programmes performance. Compiled by SADC REEC. Also submitted to Sida.
1998	Sida. *Sida at Work: Sida's Methods for Development*	A handbook outlining Sida's principles, objectives and methods of work. Particularly used by Sida staff in the

	Cooperation	assessment of project proposals.
1999-	Email correspondence	Comprehensive records of email correspondence were kept from the beginning of 1999.
1999	Lotz, H.B. (Ed.) *Developing Curriculum Frameworks*	The development of this document involved three workshops with curriculum developers from the region. The principles of responsiveness, flexibility, participation, praxis and evaluation were very influential in the subsequent development of the programme. Lotz is a professor at Rhodes University in South Africa.
1999	Parker, B. and Murray, S. *SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme Mid-Term Review*	This formative evaluation of the SADC REEP was undertaken by external consultants and built its findings to a large degree on interviews with over 50 regional participants including the National Network Representatives. Submitted to Sida and all National Network Representatives.
1999	Grönval, M. and Vähämäki, J. *SADC REEP Mid-term Review – Points for Discussion*	Grönval (consultant to Sida) and Vähämäki (Sida project officer) listed points for discussion with SADC ELMS and the SADC REEC.
1999	SADC REEP *Report on the visit to Sida, Sweden*	SADC ELMS and REEC staff visit Sida to report on and discuss the SADC REEP - a collection of minutes and notes from this key meeting.
2000	Bakobi, B. and Russo, V. *Issues of Sustainability*	Two external consultants from the region were contracted by the REEP to undertake research into issues largely shaped by Sida.
2001	SADC ELMS 2001 *SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme: Programme Document*	The revision of the Programme Document. This process took over two years with more than 8 drafts being circulated in the region. The final document was compiled by a group from SADC ELMS, SADC REEC, external consultants, National Network Representatives in 2001 and the document was published in 2002.

In addition to the documents analysed discussions were held with Janet Vähämäki (Sida Project Officer), Ingemar Gustafsson (Director, Methods Development Unit, Sida), Marie Grönvall (consultant now working at Scandiaconsult Natura AB) and Jim Taylor (Director, SADC Regional EE Programme). All of these discussions related directly to this thesis however only the meeting with Ingemar Gustafsson was conducted as a formal interview. During this time I also attended a seminar at Sida entitled *Aid, Incentives and Sustainability* (October 2002). This seminar gave me the opportunity to talk informally to a number of the Sida staff about the issue of sustainability. These discussions also provided insights into the ongoing process of textual analysis.

Analysis

In this section of the study I have identified particular sections of text from key documents based on their ability to illustrate general themes that emerged during the process of analysing the documents. I have quoted these sections of text to provide the basis from which I develop the analysis. The quotes are in normal font and the analysis is in italics below.

In trying to write this analysis there has been a constant tension between providing a chronological account and providing a thematic account. I have opted for a thematic account but have broken the themes into three different time periods or phases. A thematic account allows the author to link insights from different periods while at the same time avoiding the complexity

that can develop when the theme is considered over the whole ten years in which the programme has developed.

The **first phase** is based on the first programme document developed in 1996. The reports of the two main workshops that informed the development of the programme document as well as two articles written on these workshops are also key documents analysed during this phase.

The **second phase** covers the period between the official launch of the programme in 1997 and the development of the second programme document in 2001. This is a period of intense activity with a number of evaluations, numerous meetings and prolific correspondence between actors within the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme.

The **third phase** relates specifically to the 2001 programme document and what has been included and excluded from the preceding discussions outlined in phase two.

The identification of the themes has been an important and difficult process within this research. The only other research that was identified, in an extensive literature review, that focused on a range of aspects associated with programme sustainability was a 1996 study undertaken for the United States Agency for International Development. In this study Jordan (1996) made a distinction between benefit sustainability, organisational sustainability and financial sustainability. An attempt to establish themes based on these aspects of sustainability forced a structure that had little resonance with the discussion within the SADC Regional EE Programme. Since the focus of this thesis was to identify and interpret patterns of speech or discourses that were prevalent and influential within the Programme it was felt that the introduction of an outside framework that had little resonance with the discussion and documentation of the programme would make this study less useful to the ongoing development of the programme.   It was therefore decided to use the factors considered important for ensuring sustainability identified in the 1996 programme document as the basis for a thematic review of the programme.

These **themes** are:
- policy support;
- appropriate technology;
- environmental protection;
- socio-cultural aspects;
- professional, institutional, management capacity; and
- economic and financial aspects (SADC REEP, 1996: 23-25).

The emphasis on particular themes has varied greatly during the history of the programme and although many of the discussions on the sustainability of the programme are not conducted with explicit reference to these themes they do provide the broadest shared, clearly identifiable framework within the programme.

Policy Support
Phase 1 (First Programme Document 1996)
The first factor listed as ensuring sustainability of the SADC Regional EE Progamme is policy support. The 1996 programme document notes that the SADC ELMS Policy and Strategy on Environment and Sustainable Development provides policy support for the programme. It also noted that while some countries are in the process of developing environmental education policies and strategies the programme itself will enhance these processes. This emphasis on policy although evident throughout the development of the programme was not supported by all of the actors involved.

At the first workshop it was "recommended that for EE to have, full and maximum support, there should be a deliberate policy on it. This policy would facilitate, guide, enable and monitor EE activities. Policy would facilitate the infusion of EE facets in the formal, non-formal and informal education at all levels" (SADC ELMS, 1994). From this recommendation came the suggestion that SADC ELMS "write to countries in southern Africa and recommend increased activity in the field of policy making concerning EE. The goal is to reach good Environmental Education policies for each country which later can be turned into a regional EE policy" (*ibid,* 1994). At the subsequent meeting on the SADC Regional EE Programme held in Howick, South Africa (February 1996) SADC ELMS reported that environmental education had been incorporated into the SADC Policy and Strategy for Environment and Sustainable Development.

It is significant that in neither the report written by the representative from WESSA's Umgeni Valley Project (Taylor, 1994a) nor his article (Taylor, 1994b) published in *Splash* magazine (January – April 1994: 21) is policy mentioned at all. Nor is policy mentioned in the conclusions and recommendations of the Howick meeting (SADC ELMS, 1996).

In the programme document the policy development component is included under the section on networking rather as a separate heading as it had been in the Windhoek workshop report.

Analysis
Evident within both the programme document and the Windhoek workshop report is a strong assumption that policy support is a necessary condition for the establishment, success and sustainability of environmental education initiatives. It is also assumed that policy is developed by some entity called a 'country' and that the policies developed by these diverse countries can usefully be turned into a regional environmental education policy.

The emphasis on policy in a workshop in which over half of the delegates were government representatives is understandable in a context where the development of policy was seen as a solution to problems including the lack of environmental education. SADC ELMS as an inter-governmental agency with a strong mandate to develop policy for the SADC region would have emphasised the importance of having centralised policy for the purpose of guiding and monitoring the implementation of environmental education in the region. However representatives from the national governments would have viewed this centralised policy with suspicion hence the rather incongruous notion of developing regional policy from national policies to guide policy at the national levels. This process of policy development reveals a tension between orientations to policy development as a top-down development and implementation process and emerging participatory policy processes in the region. What is not addressed in the rather neutral term of 'country' is who actually develops the policy and how.

For a small South African NGO (the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa), that was later to implement the Regional EE Programme, particularly given South Africa's recent history of centralised governmental abuse of power and policy, the reluctance to engage with policy is understandable. With the underlying assumption that policy development and its subsequent implementation was a top-down process with power concentrated in the hands of government it was strategic for an NGO like WESSA to play down the emphasis on policy. Again however simplistic assumptions about the nature of policy development as a centralised and top-down process underpin this sidelining of policy within the emerging SADC Regional EE Centre.

Another point that bears mentioning is that the difficulty of using policy to drive or even facilitate the infusion of EE at all levels of the formal education system is well recorded (Lotz-Sisitka,

2002). It is even more unlikely that policy support will result in the establishment, success and sustainability of environmental education initiatives in the informal and non-formal sectors that are not policy driven.

A final point worth making in this section of analysis is the confidence placed in the support that the recently published SADC ELMS Policy and Strategy on Environment and Sustainable Development would provide for environmental education generally and the SADC Regional EE Programme in particular. While this policy has been referred to in all subsequent documents relating to the policy environment in which the programme operates very little effort has been made to examine the importance of this policy in terms of support for the programme.

Phase 2 (Programme Launch 1997 to 2001)

In the review of the 1996 programme document Grönvall suggests that "since many countries already have developed, or are in the process of developing, their own policies, strategies and even action plans for environmental education the impact of a regional policy and strategy is questionable." Grönvall goes on to suggest Sida not fund the activity area in the programme proposal dealing with the development of a regional policy.

In the Mid-Term Review of the programme it was suggested that "[g]iven the high costs of maintaining networks, sharing resources and training expertise across the SADC region, REEP will always have fairly high costs. The best chance of REEP becoming sustainable is if governments take seriously the importance of EE and REEP by providing comprehensive policy and legislative frameworks, giving EE a higher priority within state expenditure, and embedding sound EE in the school curriculum" (Parker and Murray, 1999: 22).

During this phase the SADC Regional EE Programme was also approached to support a policy programme being run under the auspices of IUCN in the region. In the minutes of one of the first meetings to set up this policy project it is noted that "To be effective policy must be developed in context with developments at a local country level" (SADC REEC, 1999b).

Following the meeting between SADC ELMS, the Regional EE Centre staff and Sida in Sweden, Sida requested that the new programme proposal "clarify how the programme relates to the national educational policies and curriculum development of the member states" (Sida in SADC REEP, 2000a). This question is closely linked to one of the questions within *Sida at Work:* "Is there policy and legislation in place which is judged to be able to guarantee the continuation of the project when Swedish support has been phased out?" (Sida, 1998).

In addition to policy and legislation the notion of "political will" also started to appear in a number of documents. In the sustainability research it is stated that "there is great **political will** at national and regional levels" (Bakobi and Russo, 2000), while in the minutes of the National Network Representatives meeting held in 2000 the National Network Representatives raised "the lack of political will at a governmental level, especially at a middle management level" as one reason for a lack of country contributions to the programme.

Analysis

Policy as a factor ensuring sustainability of the programme reveals an interesting tension during this period of the programme. At one level the policies already in existence at regional and particularly national levels create an enabling framework within which the SADC Regional EE Programme can play a useful role supporting policy interpretation and reform. At another level the lack of policy directly focused on integrating the SADC Regional EE Programme into regional and national structures and institutions is increasingly revealed as a major threat to the

sustainability of the programme. This threat is however not articulated as a policy problem and will be dealt with in more detail in the section on institutional capacity later in the study.

Grönvall's review comments and the subsequent decision by Sida not to fund a regional policy initiative are based on an assumption that the existing policy creates enough of a demand for the Regional EE Programme to be relevant in the region. The SADC REEC minutes on the meeting with IUCN also reveal a focus on enabling and enhancing policy at a local level. The quote from the meeting hints at an emerging approach to policy work by the SADC REEC and more broadly in the SADC Regional EE Programme. This approach was sometimes referred to as 'policy as praxis' and focused on the interface between policy and practice. It was based on the view that policy, as knowledge and practice, is contested in a range of interlinked activity areas, including: the broader social debated on the nature and purpose of education; the writing and rewriting of policy texts; the re-presentations of policy texts at workshops; the arena of practice in which policy is interpreted, for example, in the classroom, and recreated including the reshaping of policy documents over time. This interpretation of policy created an area of activity for the SADC Regional EE Programme to meaningfully shape and contribute to policy at the local level while at the same time contributing to policy development and implementation at the national level.

The question concerning the relationship of the programme to education policy and curriculum development at a country level was answered by reference to the ongoing development of resource materials with teachers, support for curriculum reform in a number of countries and professional development opportunities for teachers and teacher trainers. However the question in Sida at Work (1998) reveals another dimension of this question namely – do the policies guarantee the continuation of the project? If this requires that the Programme is specifically mentioned and supported in national and regional policy documents this is extremely unlikely. The absence of this interpretation in any of the official documentation or correspondence associated with the programme reveals the reluctance of actors within the programme to engage with this issue.

Thus while the current policy frameworks at both the regional and national levels were sufficient to guarantee the continuation of environmental education this was not the same thing as guaranteeing the continuation of the SADC Regional EE Programme. This is partly what is behind the different interpretations of 'political will' or levels of political support for the programme at the national and regional levels.

Phase 3 (Second Programme Document 2001)

Policy support is now included in the 2001 Programme Document in a section entitled 'Political Sustainability of Programmes". Here it is recognised that "political sustainability has many facets" (SADC REEP, 2002: 16). It is also acknowledged that there is a great deal of political support for environmental education in the region but the document goes on to argue that "it is in the implementation of these policies, strategies and action plans that a number of difficulties as well as opportunities arise" (SADC REEP, 2002: 16). It is also noted that "the Regional EE Programme approach to policy is built on the idea that for policy development and implementation to be successful it must be an inclusive process grounded in local context" (SADC REEP, 2002: 27). The programme document encourages a "praxiological orientation to policy that de-emphasises the assumed distinction (and hierarchical nature) of policy development and implementation" (SADC REEP, 2002: 30). There is a stated recognition that the Regional EE Programme needs to work at the regional, national and local levels while at the same time acknowledging that these divisions are permeable.

Analysis

The orientation to policy expressed in the 2001 programme document creates space for the programme to both inform policy and implement it – in this way to bridging the gap between creating an enabling environment and defining the shape of the enabling environment through the work that it is doing. This has created the opportunity for diverse sites of engagement and opened up space for different actors within the programme to work on policy at multiple levels appropriate to their mandates and influence. This is evident in the recent publication of a regional position statement and presence at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, advocacy work within the SADC member states and work with schools and communities to develop environmental policies and management plans relevant to their local contexts (SADC REES, 2002).

Appropriate Technology
Phase 1 (First Programme Document 1996)

In the first programme document appropriate technology as a factor ensuring sustainability is linked to a number of processes including the role of regional expertise, the adaptation of courses and materials to local situations, the incorporation of indigenous knowledge into courses and materials, and participatory processes in all activities. (SADC ELMS, 1996: 23)

Again the emphases on these processes can be traced back to the first meeting in Windhoek where it was a recommendation that "[i]t is important for the region to develop their own materials so that they are relevant to the needs of the countries in the region and reflect their ideals" (SADC ELMS, 1994; Hertzman in *Splash*, January-April 1994: 22). It was also noted that "there is a need to search for traditional knowledge, cultural practices and beliefs, for inclusion in the formal, non formal and informal systems of education" (SADC ELMS, 1994: 4). The Deputy Director of Education in Namibia suggested that the workshop participants "build on strengths already there" (Wentworth in Taylor, 1994a) and Taylor suggests that "this less arrogant approach acknowledges the values learners may bring into EE…" (Taylor, 1994a: 2).

Taylor in his report on the meeting also highlights two presentations on resource materials development at the workshop. He expresses support for "a collaborative problem solving approach which developed field-guides for schools" and critiqued "unquestioned research, development, dissemination and assimilation (RDDA) approaches" done by outside experts for others (Taylor, 1994a).

In the conclusions and recommendations from the 1996 meeting "adapted materials for stakeholders" are identified as a need in the region. As a response it is suggested that "the regional EE centre should identify common thematic environmental issues and design them with regional representatives."

Analysis

The processes of using local expertise, adapting courses and materials to local contexts, including indigenous knowledge and creating space for participation had a strong resonance with broader discourses associated with anti-colonialism and inappropriate externally imposed development initiatives. Within Africa, and particularly with the recent overthrow of apartheid in South Africa, there was a strong sense of African empowerment. Linked to this was a disillusionment, even within the donor community, with development initiatives that were seen to be designed and implemented without a sensitivity for local conditions and had therefore failed to be sustained without substantial ongoing investment and/or high levels of coercion. Linked to these discourses the emphasis on appropriate technology in the SADC Regional EE Programme

would have had much support and would have been seen as an important factor ensuring sustainability.

However Taylor's report on the Windhoek meeting reveals the tension between this discourse and a long history of marginalisation of local expertise and traditional knowledge and of not recognising local peoples and their understandings in development projects or educational processes. This discourse underpins the dominant educational practices at the time of an 'informed elite' identifying ignorant target groups for awareness campaigns or training so that they would change their behaviour. The implications of this orientation to development and education are dealt with in more detail in the section on socio-cultural aspects ensuring sustainability. For now it is sufficient to recognise that two broad discourses were evident in this discussion and although the participants at the meetings and the final programme document reflect support for and draw on a discourse emphasising local contexts the discourses based on externally driven development remain a strong shaping influence.

*To make this discussion a little more concrete it is informative to examine more carefully what was being said about resource materials development. The one approach to resource materials development referred to is based on the development of resource materials by one group **for** another. One way of doing this is for an individual or group of experts to research, develop and disseminate resource materials with the assumption that the receiving group will adopt and use them, what Taylor refers to as the RDDA approach.*

*The other approach, that has much resonance with the notion of appropriate technology, is to develop resources **with** others through a process of collaborative problem solving. This approach is seen to provide opportunities for shared professional development through collaborative work that seeks to understand and respond to issues in the local environment.*

A number of important questions arise around 'with whom and for whom?' In the above quotes, for example, resources are collaboratively developed (with) an unspecified group for schools and the centre is to work with representatives to develop resources for stakeholders at the local level. Through the ongoing work within the programme and linked to broader international discussion more critical positions on the appropriateness of indigenous knowledge (particularly the methodology associated with its incorporation into courses and resources) and the notion of participation were to come to the fore. However, at this time they were not questioned given their association with popular notions of appropriate development and democracy and the need to build a strong discourse coalition against externally imposed development and education processes.

Phase 2 (Programme Launch 1997 to 2001)

During this phase of the project the emphasis on appropriate technology as a factor ensuring sustainability started to reveal a tension between a discourse grounded in oppositional thinking (us/them, local/foreign, indigenous/western) and a discourse based on the importance of both recognising and moving beyond narrow oppositionals.

An important component of the Regional EE Programme was to "Develop a methodology and produce a handbook for incorporating Indigenous Knowledge into environmental education" (SADC REEP, 1998)

In planning for this component it was envisaged that two kinds of booklets would be produced through participatory processes. These booklets "will compliment each other by giving examples of how Indigenous Knowledge is being used as well as exploring the orientations that inform the

how and the why we use Indigenous Knowledge in these ways. The interplay between these two types of booklets may enable us to change both the things that we do and the orientations we use in order to respond better to environmental issues" (SADC REEC, 1999).

During this phase of the programme a doctoral study focussing on ShareNet, an integral component of the SADC Regional EE Programme was published (Taylor, 1997). This thesis was based on, and captured much of the thinking in the region at the time about educational processes. The following section provides insights into how participatory processes and local involvement in the adaptation of materials for local contexts were being interpreted within the Programme.

> Instead of well-presented sessions *for* teachers, directing what they could or could not to do, workshops steadily evolved to a pattern of sharing a collection of materials *with* teachers and included discussions about the relevance and adaptability of the resources. In this way teachers are offered an opportunity to use, adapt and develop resource materials to enhance their own ongoing teaching practice. Teachers were also able to form collaborative partnerships with colleagues to develop resources still further. Needless to say these ideals of partnership were not often attained but the developing, co-clarifying and sharing was useful and engaging in many productive ways. (Taylor, 1997:172)

Increasingly the principle of responsiveness to local contexts became a guiding orientation within the programme. The following quote is taken from notes made during discussions with Sida in Stockholm. "It is interesting to note that if one relies on pre-determined objectives then the question of relevance (appropriateness) becomes something that needs to be tagged onto the programme. Whereas if one of the principles of the programme is "responsiveness" then the question of relevance becomes internalised within the programme." (SADC REEP, 1999a).

Analysis
The emphasis during this phase on Indigenous knowledge was closely linked to the discourses of equity and African empowerment. This linked to broader international perspectives such as those expressed in the Principles for Equitable and Sustainable Societies that were adopted by the International NGO Forum at the Earth Summit in 1992. Principle 7 advocates that "environmental education must recover, recognise, respect, reflect and utilise indigenous history and local cultures…" (in O'Donoghue, 2002). Based on and responding to these influences there was a strong move within the Programme to redress the marginalisation of local cultures and to recognise a pride in local knowledge and practices. Much of this activity focused on the re-telling of indigenous knowledge stories and practices with a strong emphasis on the environmental wisdom encapsulated in the knowledge/ways of old. While this certainly served the purpose of recovering indigenous knowledge and practice it also led to a decontextualisation and romantisisation of things and practices that were seen to be indigenous.

In response to these processes some actors (O'Donoghue, 1997 and Masuku, 1999) associated with the programme and the process of developing the Indigenous Knowledge resources started to question the "disembedding oppositionalisation" of many of the approaches to Indigenous Knowledge. This questioning led to an increasing focus on Indigenous Knowing as a process of contextualised knowing in which the apparent discontinuities between knowledge in one context and knowledge in another context opened useful space for questioning the appropriateness of particular knowledge and practices. This has led to more responsive processes of blending and critiquing both past and present practices in our ongoing attempts to decide what is appropriate in changing and contested situations.

This orientation is also reflected in the excerpt from Taylor's thesis where workshops on resource materials shifted their emphasis from giving teachers what somebody else had decided was appropriate to their needs to processes of discussion with teachers about relevance and working together to adapt resources for/within local contexts.

The work on 'Developing Curriculum Frameworks' (Lotz, 1999) with environmental education practitioners from throughout the region and drawing heavily on international theories about education enabled a clarification of the notion of 'responsiveness'. This was translated within the management processes of the programme into a set of questions such as "how can the programme be responsive amongst environmental education practitioners in their socio-ecological context?" This emphasis on responsiveness and the growing recognition that knowledge and practices from a range of different contexts may be useful in considering options for technologies and methods became important within this aspect of sustainability.

Phase 3 (Second Programme Document 2001)

During this phase the emphasis broadens to a recognition that technologies and methods, while taking into account international developments and perspectives, need to be responsive to the regional, national and local manifestations and understandings of these issues. The focus on appropriate technology separate from the social and cultural aspects of sustainability becomes less useful and less distinct in the second programme document as the emphasis shifts to principles such as responsiveness and participation which are used to inform all aspects of the programme.

Within the section focussing on the principle of responsiveness it is noted that "environmental issues are complex, particular and diverse, and arise in a range of different contexts. The SADC Regional EE Programme must therefore be conscious of **regional needs and differences** and actively aim to respond to **changing contexts and needs**" (SADC REEP, 2002: 21). It goes on to note that the programme should seek to enable the "development, adaptation and implementation of environmental education processes that take into account their contextual situations and needs."

The principle emphasising "participation and partnerships" in responding to environmental issues within particular contexts is dealt with in the section on social and cultural aspects of sustainability later in this study.

Analysis

The original emphasis on appropriate technology begged the question "who decides and appropriate for what purposes?" There was also a strong oppositional discourse that limited the options available within the programme. The shift in emphasis to principles of responsiveness and participation opened up this aspect of sustainability. No longer was something appropriate because it was indigenous; rather the possibility to draw on both local and international insights, practices and technologies as a way of probing, in the company of others, what may be appropriate became a useful orientation within the programme. This supported both the selection of 'appropriate technologies' and the shared development of interpretive skills needed for reflexively evaluating what may be appropriate in diverse contexts.

Environmental Protection

Phase 1 (First Programme Document 1996)

The 1996 programme document contains an extremely brief, two lines, on environmental protection as a factor ensuring sustainability. The entry suggests that since the programme is "to achieve environmental protection and sustainable development it will not be further elaborated

here." Nowhere in any of the documentation associated with the build-up to the 1996 programme document is the possible negative environmental effect of the SADC Regional EE Programme mentioned.

Analysis
In looking at this entry, given its cursory nature, the question that arises is why include it at all? The answer I would suggest lies in the fact that environmental impact assessments were increasingly being requested as part of development aid initiatives. Many of these initiatives involved large scale road and dam building projects that involved substantial environmental (and social) impacts as shadow sides to their perceived economic benefits. But possibility of an environmental education project focused on environmental sustainability having a shadow side of negative environmental impacts was not considered. It was what Beck (1999) refers to as an unawareness (an unwillingness to know) since it would question moral high ground assumed by the programme document and the people who had and would work on the SADC Regional EE Programme.

Phase 2 (Programme Launch 1997 to 2001)
During this period the major events in terms of environmental protection as a factor ensuring sustainability were a number of audits of courses undertaken as part of the programme. These audits undertaken with participants on the courses resulted in an emerging recognition of the environmental impacts associated with some parts of the SADC Regional EE Programme. The *EEMail* (2001) published an article entitled "Environmental Audit for the Rhodes University/SADC 2001 EE Course." The course report for another course run in collaboration with Swedish institutions notes that "The use of venues that fit with an ethic of sustainability needs to be considered" (Scandiaconsult Nautra AB and SADC REEC 2001).

Analysis
Although these audits raised the importance of this aspect of sustainability of the programme it is still seen as less pressing than some of the other aspects and was not taken up formally within the programme.

Phase 3 (Second Programme Document 2001)
In the second programme document this aspect of sustainability of the programme is now included under a section entitled "Ecological Sustainability" where it is noted that "it is important to consider the ecological sustainability of our environmental education programmes" (SADC REEP, 2002: 17). The programme document notes that while the overall programme aim is to support more equitable and ecologically sustainable management choices (to reduce our ecological footprint) some of the activities associated with the programme may actually have negative ecological consequences. "It is therefore important to consider choices about modes of transport, accommodation and other resource use…" (SADC REEP, 2002: 17). The section on management strategies at the end of the document reinforces this point by stressing a commitment within the Regional EE Programme to reduce the ecological footprint of programme activities and provides a number of areas to consider.

Analysis
The assumption that because the programme focuses on equitable and sustainable development it will have a positive impact on ecological sustainability is no longer taken for granted. As yet however no formal environmental management processes are in place although ad hoc audits on courses, transport options and office management are increasingly being reported on in course reports.

Socio-cultural Aspects
Phase 1 (First Programme Document 1996)

The emphasis in the first programme document on socio-cultural aspects ensuring sustainability has close links to the previous section on appropriate technology and again emphasises "consultative and participatory processes" (SADC ELMS, 1996b: 24). It is argued that while the regional programme will "provide skills, increase knowledge, change attitudes, values and feelings and create commitment" it must "take the socio-cultural reality of the people as the starting point" (*ibid*: 24). In a paragraph referring to gender it is argued that since most of the participants at the Howick workshop were women and since many of these women will sit on the steering committee "the question about women in development will be ensured" (*ibid*: 24).

The educational processes that would be appropriate within southern Africa, although not detailed in the SADC ELMS report on the Windhoek meeting, were extensively discussed at the meeting as is reflected in Taylor's (1994a) report. In commenting on the Namibian Deputy Director of Education's portrayal of conventional approaches to environmental education as "solutions imposed by an informed and benevolent elite" (Wentworth in Taylor, 1994b) Taylor makes the following observation:

> This view of environmental education is very pertinent in an environmental scenario where metaphors of **target group**, and **messages to be put over** have an arrogant ring to them that assumes some sort of apparently superior knowledge that is imposed on our audience (target group) with any means (media) at our disposal so as to convert the target group." (Taylor, 1994a and Taylor, 1994b in *Splash,* January-April 1994)

In another section of Taylor's report the following paragraph reveals that the challenges to top-down approaches to education were both important and disconcerting. "If environmental education is not a simple matter of messages and target groups what is it? the workshop participants ask with a growing anxiety. After all haven't we heard from Tbilisi, Belgrade, WWF, IUCN etc. that changing people's attitudes and behaviour is the bottom line?" (Taylor, 1994a).

Analysis

A sensitivity to the particularity and diversity of societies and cultures and the environmental issues of which they are a part is highlighted here as an important component ensuring the sustainability of the Regional EE Programme. Again consultative and participatory processes are put forward as important in terms of working towards sustainability.

It must be noted however that this approach to environmental education clashed with a powerful discourse of education as being about the transfer of knowledge from those who know to those who do not know. It also challenges linear theories of knowledge in that it introduces the possibility of these diverse societies having diverse understandings and responses to environmental issues. It is therefore not surprising that the challenging of these ideas led to "growing anxiety".

On the other hand the emerging discourse associated with respect for local communities, that has been outlined in the section on appropriate technology, and a strong link between democracy and participation was resulting in support for educational approaches based on consultative and participatory processes. A number of examples of courses and resource material development processes based on collaboration were presented at both the Windhoek and Howick workshops.

The outline of the purpose of EE as being the 'provision of skills, increasing knowledge and changing behaviour" while at the same time engaging in consultative and participatory processes was and remains a particularly challenging tension within environmental education and the SADC Regional EE Programme.

The issue of gender that is introduced in this section of the programme document only appears once before in the records of discussion and events and that is in an article on the Howick workshop. In this article Barbro Gretener, at the time the Environmental Management Advisor to SADC ELMS, notes that "the workshop was attended by 31 persons, 55% of whom were women" (Splash, 1996). The inclusion of gender as a consideration has long been a policy of Swedish society and Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). Its inclusion in a Programme document that was submitted to Sida for funding support can be attributed to northern concerns. This is not to imply that it was not an issue that desperately needed (and still requires) attention in southern Africa. It is more to suggest that as the fulfilment of a perceived requirement of Sida it was superficially dealt with in the document. Other issues associated with equity, for example, race were not mentioned despite their relevance in the region.

Phase 2 (Programme Launch 1997 to 2001)

During this period of the programme the challenge to educational methods based on hierarchical and undemocratic assumptions remained an important theme in terms of being sensitive to local cultures and societal groups. In addition there is evidence of a more explicit emphasis on what is referred to in various places as "mutualistic relationships or partnerships".

The support for constructivist and critical orientations to educational processes is evident in *Developing Curriculum Frameworks* (Lotz, 1999) and many of the courses developed through the programme. From *Developing Curriculum Frameworks* we note that "through courses and curricula which reflexively examine approaches to knowledge construction and education in relation to the environment crisis, we may be able to equip ourselves with the attitudes, skills and commitment (action competence) and locally relevant knowledge to address socio-ecological issues as they arise and change in the different contexts in which we live and work" (Lotz, 1999: 51). This sentiment is echoed in the introduction to a course that was collaboratively developed with environmental educators in Sweden and conducted partly in Sweden and partly in South Africa.

> "In line with current trends in education and development this course has tried to find ways of moving beyond the hierarchical assumptions that often underpin the transmission of knowledge and the development of another's capacity. There is a particular risk of these assumptions when a country such as Sweden (which is perceived to be highly "developed") organises courses for countries in "underdeveloped" countries. Some of the ways of overcoming these assumptions include:
> - Close co-operation between Swedish and southern African institutions in the development and implementation of the course
> - Inclusion of Swedish course participants (this was particularly important in terms of making the shift from seeing the course as a course "for" others to a course "with" significant others)
>   (Scandiaconsult, 2001)

In Taylor's thesis and other documentation closely associated with the programme (*EEMail*, 1998) the notion of participation was carefully reflected on. Taylor notes that "while sceptical of grand scale top-down initiatives, we also started to question the popularist preoccupation with participation where this participation did not represent a rupture from the earlier social

engineering dispositions that people claimed they were trying to overturn" (Taylor, 1997: 171; Taylor and Janse van Rensburg, 1998). Particularly problematic here were paternalistic assumptions associated with 'empowerment' and specifically situations in which one group sought to empower others.

In addition to the focus on the understandings and meaningful participation of diverse groups within the programme's courses and resource materials development processes there is also evidence of a more explicit emphasis on mutual relationships among the partners in the programme.

In notes prepared for a meeting with Sida in Sweden it is noted that "Commonly the role of the donor is limited to the contribution of funding and possibly the monitoring and evaluation of a programme…The most valuable aspect of Sida's involvement in the SADC REEP since its early beginnings in 1993 has, however, been the input, guidance and support received from Sida personnel. This has enabled the programme to be shaped in a productive manner …and it is important that this aspect of Sida's input is sustained into the future" (SADC REEP, 1999b). The report on this meeting starts with the following paragraph: "Perhaps the lasting impression of the visit will be the hospitality of all Sida staff…filled with caring and a genuine interest in our well being. This commitment made the visit very special and enabled an open and trusting relationship that supported meaningful discussions on the many topics that arose during the week together" (SADC REEC, 1999a).

These kinds of relationships were also built between the Regional EE Centre and the National Network Representatives. "We are not asking for funds…the benefit is the connection. If the project continues or not we will still be linked to Umgeni [home of SADC REEC]" (Angolan representative in Parker and Murray, 1999).

Another example of this explicit recording of these growing relationships is an email sent to Sida during the development of the new programme document. "It is this confidence and trust in the SADC Regional EE Programme that has grown over the past four years that is invaluable in terms of the sustainability of the programme. If these relationships did not exist it would be impossible to secure funding through the SADC structures and more significantly even if we did secure funding it would not make the programme "sustainable". It is the relationships that sustain this sort of work not only the funding" (REEC email, 01/06/13).

Analysis
During this period there developed within the programme a deeper understanding of the importance of shared development of capacity- and relationship-building as important factors contributing to the sustainability of the programme.

A shift towards constructivist orientations to teaching and learning were evident in the formal education policies of many of the southern African states during this period. In addition the notion of participation had become a very popular idea in work with communities. These trends were closely linked to the discourse of democracy and plurality which in turn gave them a powerful social currency.

There was however a risk in this broad acceptance of participatory approaches and this is highlighted in the quote from Taylor above. With participation universally viewed as a good thing there was a risk of many different educational and development processes being simply cloaked in the rhetoric of participation. This was particularly so in situations where the urge to 'get the message across' was still strong and participatory processes were manipulated in ways that predetermined or influenced the outcome in favour of particular groups.

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In the programme a subtle difference was brought into view: the difference between sharing and growing together, and seeking to empower others with the underlying assumption that you knew best thus creating a knowledge/power differential within which you seek to make the other aware or empower them. This has led to significant attempts to create situations in which partners work together within education processes including course and workshop development and implementation and work on/with resource materials. This is not to imply that knowledge/power differentials are ever absent but rather that by being sensitive to them and seeking to work more equitably within them we may support the kinds of consultative and participatory processes needed to sustain an environmental education programme that supports environmental education processes.

The idea of 'intangible human shaping processes' developed in Taylor's thesis (1997) alerted the staff at the SADC Regional EE Centre to the importance of human relationships in the ongoing struggles to develop the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. These relationships are not built into the planning mechanisms of development programmes (thankfully) and as a result are often overlooked in the ongoing reporting on programme activities and efforts to work towards sustainability. While formal relationships receive a great deal of attention the friendships, trust and shared commitment of colleagues are seldom made explicit. However as Bray argues "... community management and financing is less a science than an art. Above all, it depends on the personalities of the participants, and on their relationships with each other" (Bray in Taylor, 1997). These relationships, often referred to as informal partnerships, within the programme have been an important part of the work of many of the partners and needs to be made more explicit in the ongoing discussion on sustainability.

Phase 3 (Second Programme Document 2001)

Under a section entitled 'social sustainability' in the 2001 programme document it is argued that the programme should enable meaningful participation that emphasises working 'with' others rather than 'for' or 'on' them. Close links are made between working with others in ways that build the capacity of all involved to respond to local and regional environmental issues. "It is this relevance and the focus on involving people as genuine partners that ensures that the programme is firmly located in the social milieu of those involved. This in turn supports the ownership and engagement that can help sustain environmental education processes" (SADC REEP, 2002: 17). In other places in the programme proposal the partnership and participation are seen as "prerequisites for democratisation" (*ibid*: 22).

The programme document also places an emphasis on poverty and equity. The section on poverty notes that "SADC gives priority to the poor majority in its overall goal to protect the health, environment and livelihoods of the people in southern Africa. While it is arguable who contributes more to environmental degradation – the poor majority who use fewer environmental resources per person or the rich minority who use more resources per person – the poor certainly stand to benefit more from ecologically sustainable and socially just environmental management" (*ibid*: 18)

Analysis

It is informative to note that in 'Sida at Work' the word 'partner' is used repeatedly throughout the text. However in every instance it is used as 'the other' to Sida, for example, "the cooperation partner and Sida". Nowhere in the document is the term "partnership", with its connotations of Sida and "the partner" working together, used. Thus although the term "partner" appears it is used in a "them and us" orientation. This contrasts significantly with the use of the term in the SADC Regional EE Programme Documents and other documentation

associated with the programme. In the second programme document the words partners and partnership is used 56 times. In all but four instances it is used as an inclusive term – referring to a group of partners.

In many places in the programme document the term 'partnership' is used to capture the spirit in which the actors within the programme seek to work together in environmental education processes. To some extent it is an attempt to move beyond the problematic discourses underpinning terms such as 'target group' or 'beneficiary'. In this sense it has enabled the programme to move towards new ways of working with others. However there is a danger that the term is used to smooth over the very different kinds of relationships within the SADC Regional EE Programme. This is particularly evident in the next section on institutional capacity and the relationship between the different actors in the management of the programme.

The emphasis on poverty in the global debate on sustainable development as well as the very stark levels of real poverty in southern Africa make this an important issue for the SADC Regional Environmental Education programme. However there are a number of risks associated with this focus. Within the programme there are emerging challenges to definitions of poverty that focus on levels of income or possession of certain consumer goods thus limiting our perspective on the many non-economic factors that contribute to the quality of life. This serves to emphasise that people who have few economic resources are not necessarily poor in terms of morals, spirituality and pride; family, community and cultural values; survival skills; environmental knowledge and aesthetic appreciation.

Professional, Institutional and Management Capacity

Phase 1 (First Programme Document 1996)

This is the longest section of the 1996 programme document dealing with aspects ensuring sustainability of the programme. Within this section it is argued that SADC ELMS who will have the overall responsibility of the programme have "a lot of experience and competence" based on running regional projects since 1985. In addition the environmental education focal points (later to be known as the National Network Representatives) will have substantial experience in the fields of environmental education, environment and pedagogy. Much emphasis is also placed on the Regional EE Centre where it is argued that the staff have a high level of competence and experience. It is also notes as important that the centre has close links to an international research network. The Wildlife and Environment Society is recognised to have a long history, professional management and "clear policies and a strategy to stand independent and self sustaining."

In the report on the Windhoek meeting the workshop suggests that "EE activities are not coordinated in the region." The report goes on to suggest that there be a coordinating body in the region. It is significant to note that the workshop recommended either identifying an existing institution in the region to take on the coordination role or if no such institution existed to establish another coordination body (SADC ELMS, 1994: 3).

Following substantial discussion among delegates at the 1996 meeting it was agreed that "the facilities that exist at Umgeni Valley are appropriate for EE programmes" (SADC ELMS, 1996a). However the delegates also "stressed…that the 'EE Centre' is not conceived as a place that is central and developing at the expense of the region. Rather, it is a place that can develop regional capacity through facilitating networking, training and the opportunity of sharing educational resource materials" (SADC ELMS, 1996a). It was also noted that "it is essential that member countries contribute to the regional centre" (*ibid*).

Analysis

At the first meeting the diversity of environmental education processes in the region is interpreted as a lack of coordination in the region and the response proposed is to identify or establish an institution to provide the required coordination. The notion that things have to be coordinated is based on a discomfort with plurality and uncertainty; however, as was noted in an earlier reference to Bauman "there are powers behind the plural forms of life and plural forms of truth that would not be made inferior" (Bauman, 1987: 141).

In the second meeting, as it became apparent that one institution would coordinate EE activities in the region the language shifted to diffuse the notion of central control and the word 'coordination' is replaced by 'facilitation'. The underlying discourse is one associated with "centre/periphery" and the intuitive discourse analysis in the second meeting is to recognise the risk of the 'Regional EE Centre' developing at the expense of the implicit binary opposite the 'regional periphery'. This led to the notion of a 'Centre that is not a centre' a supportive structure responsible for building capacity in the region while at the same time not drawing resources towards itself. The tension between these two roles or requirements remains an ongoing issue within the programme.

Phase 2 (Programme Launch 1997 to 2001)

In the second phase of the programme two questions from *Sida at Work* became central to the ongoing discussion about the sustainability of the SADC Regional EE Programme. They were "Is it realistic to count on management and institutional capacity and financial resources being available to run the project without development assistance?" and "Is the cooperation partner willing and prepared to take on responsibility/ownership of the activity in the long-term?"

In terms of capacity Grönvall's review (1997) of the first programme proposal challenged the claim about the capacity within SADC ELMS to take on overall responsibility of the SADC Regional EE Programme pointing out that "its experience in the field of environmental education is limited." The review goes on to suggest that "in order to co-ordinate and follow-up activities in the Region there is a need for professional staff trained in the field of environmental education and communication" and that "none of [SADC ELMS staff] are trained in the field of environmental education."

The Mid Term review on the other hand placed substantial emphasis on the institutional capacity at the SADC REEC. "Staff are putting in long hours for low salaries with few holidays, undertaking a vast array of tasks that require a broad range of knowledge and skills. Staff are subject to demands for a broad range of competencies and the performance of a variety of roles. This increases the stress on staff. There is an urgent need for more staffing" (Parker and Murray, 1999: 21).

One of the recommendations of the research into sustainability was that the "REEC played an important function and should be enhanced – it should ensure that it had the institutional capacity to support the REEP and take on additional staff" (Bakobi and Russo, 2000).

The following selection of comments have been selected as illustrative of a large area of discussion concerning notions of responsibility and ownership within the SADC Regional EE Programme.

The mid-term review undertaken by Prof. Ben Parker, Mr Steve Murray and three assistant researchers built many of their recommendations on extensive interviews with the National Network Representatives. In these interviews it emerged that:

"The challenge of sustaining the REEP initiative in the future raised some serious concerns. Many [National Network Representatives] felt that sustaining the benefits would not be easy given that the chances of governments taking over the funding of national activities would be slim. This concern related to the fact that representatives indicated that REEP activities had not been placed within the internal budgets of the countries concerned since there was no contractual commitment by countries with SADC ELMS for this to take place. Others were hopeful that despite this, if government was unable to provide funding, NGO partners would find the money" (Parker and Murray, 1999: 28).

Throughout this meeting the relationship between key players was raised continuously. Particularly the relationship between key SADC institutions and the SADC Regional EE Programme. This is evidenced in such statements as "Further clarification is needed on the role of SADC structures, including National Network Representatives, in ensuring ownership of the programme" (SADC REEP, 1999a). In the notes there is also a record noting that "[i]t was agreed that SADC ELMS will encourage ownership of the programme in the member states" (SADC REEC *et al,* 1998).

The terms of reference for the Sustainability Research, jointly negotiated between the Regional EE Centre, SADC ELMS and Sida in 2000, state that "[t]he research was to focus on: management and institutional capacity available in the member states to support the programme; reporting and monitoring procedures necessary to ensure key institutions are informed of Programme activities; extent to which key institutions are prepared and willing to take on responsibility/ownership of the activity in the long-term; the financial contributions the member countries are prepared to make to the programme; suggestions for the development of the new programme document. (SADC REEP, 2000)

During the discussions on the structure and purpose of the Sustainability Research process the following interaction took place between Sida and the SADC Regional EE Centre. A number of important tensions are evident in this interaction.
Sida -"Our view is that to ensure sustainability and commitment of the member countries there is a necessity of high level dialogue with key stakeholders in the member countries. Therefore it is of main importance that the consultants have a knowledge and a status to ensure that there could be commitments already during the discussions/dialogue during the research" (Sida Project Officer, email 00/02/10).
SADC REEC - "The difficulty that we have is evident at the recent meeting of the Ministers of Environment where promises of support were vague and very difficult to follow through. I am not sure what level of commitment you would expect from this consultancy. If it is signed documentation from Ministers, key NGO's and National Curriculum Centres I suspect that it would be difficult for any consultant to get governments to commit in this way" (SADC REEC email, 00/02/10).
Sida - "The study can be looked upon as a first step to achieving financial commitment from the SADC member states, which in itself is a process that needs to be carried out by SADC-ELMS" Sida Project Officer email 00/02/15). In the same email there is recognition of the importance of broad consultative processes: "a broad consultation with the different stakeholders is very important for the programme as this makes the programme anchored in SADC-member states" (*ibid).

Analysis
The capacity of key institutions as an important factor ensuring sustainability focuses attention on SADC ELMS, the SADC Regional EE Centre and the National Network Representatives. Grönvall's comment about the capacity of SADC ELMS needs to be seen against the background

of Scandiaconsult Natura having a long history of providing long term consultants to support SADC ELMS. Having said that both the capacity and influence of SADC ELMS has been questioned in the region (Rukato, 2002) however this is not often admitted in a context where the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme gains its credibility as a regional programme through its location within SADC ELMS.

The emphasis on the SADC Regional EE Centre's capacity reveals the ongoing tension around the role of the Centre. The Centre was tasked with both coordinating and enabling the numerous programme activities and at the same time there was an assumption that these activities would be undertaken by professionals and institutions in the region. What this did effectively was to create a situation in which the Centre needed to and was increasingly drawn on to work with a wide range of partners in the region. While this fitted closely with the educational and development orientations emerging within the programme (consultation, participation and shared professional development and capacity building) it placed increasing strain on the one full-time and one-part time employee at the Regional EE Centre. The tensions involved in being accountable to SADC ELMS and Sida for predetermined activities and budget categories while at the same time working in a responsive way with partners in the region emerged alongside the orientations to appropriate technology and a sensitivity to diverse contexts in the region.

The design of the programme around participatory orientations has resulted in the situation where there were numerous partners in the programme interpretation and implementation processes. The shared responsibility within these partnerships opened up an interesting discussion around the notion of ownership. While the question asked in 'Sida at Work' ("Is _the_ cooperation partner willing and prepared to take on responsibility/ownership of the activity in the long-term?") is based on a singular partner many situations were now based on multiple cooperation partners each with shared and overlapping responsibility/ownership of activities. While the questions and discussions above reveal assumptions about hierarchical and clearly defined lines of communication and responsibility the reality was that these lines had come to represent a 'tangle' of interacting actors. In attempting to reintroduce some control into this situation Sida focused on the formal commitments of 'member countries' again assuming that these were represented by some clearly identifiable entity. The email correspondence quoted above reveals the tension around these different interpretations of the form of the programme and the relationships between/among different role players. This situation is exacerbated by SADC ELMS's inability to get SADC member states to follow up on financial commitments made to the SADC Regional EE Programme.

Increasingly the focus came to reside on the capacity of institutions and the relationship/s between/among these institutions. There is evident within both the questions and correspondence from Sida that relatively linear assumptions were still prevalent. This was not the perception of many of the partners working in southern Africa. The different dimensions of these partnerships were also given different emphases by different partners. Thus Sida increasingly focused on the formal commitments of member states while the reports and notes being generated in southern Africa reveal a bigger focus on the informal collaboration among partners. This tension although simmering at this stage is to some extent smoothed over by the use of the words 'partners' and 'partnerships'.

Phase 3 (Second Programme Document 2001)

The focus on capacity in the second programme document is found in two main areas. The first is in the shared capacity-building of actors working together in environmental education processes. The second is in a section focussing on the role of the SADC Regional EE Centre. Here the tension between the capacity needed at the Centre in order to fulfil its role and the

building of capacity in the region remains. "[The Centre] collaborates with individuals and institutions in the region, and beyond, to strengthen environmental education processes. Underpinning the collaboration are the mutual requirements of strengthening the capacity of environmental education practitioners and institutions in the region, and ensuring that the Regional EE Centre has the capacity to enable, facilitate, support and be a part of ongoing regional cooperation" (SADC REEP, 2002: 24).

Much of the emphasis on the relationships between and among institutions related to the SADC REEP is now contained in a new section of the 2001 programme document entitled 'management strategies'. A substantial part of this section discusses 'integration and sustainability'. At the formal level it is noted that "the REEP will actively work towards improving its integration and sustainability at a government and ministerial level" (SADC REEP, 2002: 45). This section also highlights the need to clarify responsibility in terms of implementation of the programme and activities associated with it as well as the responsibility for contributing to the programme financially by formal partners. This is linked to a section outlining roles and responsibilities of SADC ELMS, SADC Member states and the SADC Regional EE Centre. "The SADC EE Programme cannot be implemented by any single institution or organisation. Because of this, formal and informal linkages and partnerships are central to the achievement of the SADC Regional EE Programme's objectives" (SADC REEP, 2002: 46).

Analysis
Much of the emphasis in the build-up to the second programme document had focused on staffing at the Regional EE Centre. The lack of capacity at SADC ELMS, besides Grönvall's comments had not been addressed. This has led to a situation in which almost no mention is made of the ongoing development of capacity in terms of the management of institutions. Although the ability to use and develop interpretive tools for probing tensions between alternative knowings, and the use of open process models of learning are mentioned in the document (and have been alluded to in this study) these are not specifically addressed to developing management capacity. This is an area of the programme that will require ongoing attention as multiple actors, often with very different levels and kinds of capacity work together to implement the programme.

The growing concern with the lack of integration at governmental and inter-governmental level is a shared concern of both Sida's and key actors in the programme. While the issues during phase two had been somewhat obscured by the loose term of 'partnership' without defining the nature of these partnerships this is no longer evident. The exact nature of this institutionalisation is, however, not discussed in the programme document. Nor is the impact that it will have on other important processes associated with the sustainability of the programme such as participation of multiple actors and responsiveness to diverse contexts.

Economic and Financial Analysis
Phase 1 (First Programme Document 1996)
The final factor seen as necessary for ensuring sustainability is access to adequate funds. It is significant, given the subsequent emphasis that has come to be placed on economic sustainability, that the programme document states that "no formal economic and financial analysis of the programme has been undertaken" (SADC ELMS 1996b: 25) Despite this the budget in this document was drawn up in three columns (Total Cost, Local Contributions and Donor Contributions) with no clear explanation on how these figures had been reached. It is suggested that "in the best case [the programme will] achieve self-sustainability. During the period of the project (three years) this is rather unlikely to happen but steps towards this will be initiated from the beginning." Of the steps suggested five involve charging user fees and one mentions seeking funding opportunities within SADC. (SADC ELMS, 1996c: 25)

In the conclusion of the 1996 programme document it is also noted that "the programme will need initial help from a donor. But mechanisms are built in so that it can be self sustaining, more quickly than many other projects" (SADC ELMS, 1996c: 27).

The importance of funding was highlighted early on in the development of the SADC Regional EE Programme "funding is definitely one of the limiting factors in the development of environmental education programmes" (Hertzman in *Splash,* January-April 1994).   Two recommendations were made at the Windhoek meeting with regard to the financing and economy of the SADC Regional EE Programme. Firstly that "SADC ELMS creates a fund for EE" and secondly that "member states of SADC should solicit for funds from the donor community, the private sector and individuals in EE" (SADC ELMS, 1994: 6).

In the subsequent report back at the Howick meeting SADC ELMS state that it will in fact "not be possible for SADC to establish a separate fund as suggested" (Segeros in SADC ELMS, 1996). This report goes on to state that "it is reasonable that SADC ELMS takes on the responsibility for identifying and securing of funds for the regional centre. But this shall be seen as a temporary solution and support until the centre is established and can function on its own" (*ibid*).

In a report back on SADC ELMS's review of institutions in the region Hertzman states that " no regional centre can be placed within an institution lacking stability and a sustainable economy. Institutions depending on one single donor were therefore judged less sustainable compared with those using a multitude of sources to cover their costs"(in SADC ELMS, 1996: 19).

In the preamble of the Howick (SADC ELMS, 1996a) proceedings it is noted that "[t]hrough the workshop there was a strong commitment to any EE initiatives being sustainable, rather than being dependent on outside funding or expertise."

Analysis
Financial and economic aspects of sustainability are recognised as being important considerations within the SADC Regional EE Programme. However the lack of a financial analysis and the subsequent agreement of funders to fund the programme despite the absence of a financial analysis reveals that other dimensions of sustainability were, certainly at the outset of the programme, more important. In terms of processes that enhance sustainability the move from avoidance of dependency on a single funding source to a diversification of funding options is strongly supported. The contrasting of dependency and sustainability and the linking of sustainability to diversity underpin many of the positions taken by different groups during this phase.

One of the first suggestions for the funding of the programme was that it would be done through SADC. This is based partly on an expectation that government has a responsibility to provide services associated with education and the environment. This funding would have been created within the SADC region through taxation at the national level and been made available to the region through SADC structures. The emphasis on SADC at the regional level also had much to do with a deep suspicion of donor agendas as is evident in the quote from the preamble of the Howick (SADC ELMS 1996a) meeting. The risks associated with dependency at this point in the discussions are seen to lie with external donor funding. Again the underlying discourse of African nationalism and pride are important shaping influences.

This reliance on a single source of funding was balanced with the suggestion that at a national level diverse funding options be pursued. When the report back at the subsequent meeting in Howick revealed that SADC were reluctant and/or unable to provide the funding necessary for the programme the emphasis shifts to diversification of funding options based on local initiatives. This shift is supported by reference to WESSA's Umgeni Valley as a role model however this reference overlooks the relatively small-scale, low-cost nature of the work done at Umgeni.

All of the documentation prior to the 1996 programme document were produced for the workshop participants predominantly from southern Africa. Given this audience it is understandable that the dependency on external donor funding is marginalised as is an emphasis on user fees for a service that is seen as a governmental responsibility. However with the recognition that regional governmental funding was not forthcoming, and the possibility of donor funding existing, the emphasis in the 1996 Programme Document (which was developed as a proposal for Sida) shifts to create space for the involvement of an external donor. At the same time there is a shift in emphasis to charging user fees and a de-emphasis on SADC's role as provider of funds.

In the approach to funders the programme document writers would have been aware of the need to show that the programme would become financially sustainable over the longer term. The shared discourse of supply and demand, and development as a process that needed a 'kick start' after which it would become self-sustaining, can be observed. The underlying assumption is that if the programme can be supported to supply the necessary services, the demand would also grow and would then provide the user fees needed to sustain the programme. This option proved to be popular with all concerned particularly SADC ELMS off whom the pressure had been taken to finance environmental education in the region. As will become apparent, however, this shift towards user fees, while supporting some aspects of the programme was to prove problematic in the ongoing development of the programme.

Phase 2 (Programme Launch 1997 to 2001)

Many of the options related to the financial aspects of sustainability were pursued during this phase of the programme. Funding options that were highlighted were, local contributions by member states to activities within their countries, alternative funding sources from international donors and private institutions and charging fees to support cost-recovery. While many of these options seemed to be possible, the contribution of SADC to the SADC Regional EE Programme became an important issue during this period.

One of the suggestions of the Mid Term Review was that "SADC ELMS and REEC pursue other funding agencies and governments to diversify the funding base of the project. This suggestions was highlighted by Grönvall and Sida and suggested as a topic for discussion at the meeting in Sweden in 1999.

At this meeting it was noted that "To date both Sida and SADC ELMS have asked that any reporting on the programme focus only on those aspects of the programme that are directly funded by Sida. As a result of this narrow reporting there is a misconception that all that is happening with regard to the programme is what is being funded by Sida – the very reporting structures have created the illusion of unsustainability" (SADC REEP, 1999d).

In notes produced (by Regional EE Centre staff) for discussion at the meeting in Stockholm the sustainability of the SADC REEP was divided into:
1) the internal economy of the Centre as a facility supporting the region. "This is currently being addressed through the Centre Staff doing wider consulting work in Environmental

Education, through commercial printing and through the sales of books and educational resources from the Centre. Currently 40% of the running costs of the Centre are being recouped in this way, however, the balance of funding support is still urgently needed. As stated in the mid-term review (Parker and Murray, 1999: 31) it is critically important that the Centre's capacity is not jeopardised through a lack of human resources and support" (SADC REEP, 1999b: 2-3).

2) The other part of the sustainability of the programme was seen to lie in the regional (country) economy. "At a regional level, or country level, it is important that the economic sustainability and ongoing environmental education courses and capacity building processes continue in an appropriate, responsive and sustainable manner. This is currently being achieved to some extent by government and NGO support in some countries but commitments need to be enhanced considerably in the future" (SADC REEP, 1999b: 3).

One suggestion at the time was "using external funding to purchase capital equipment to generate income rather than using the funding for running costs" (SADC REEP, 1999b).

The following extract from an annual report illustrates the way in which fundng was used within the programme. "The first workshop was organised in such a way that all participants both benefited from and contributed a great deal to the workshop. It was thus felt that it would not be necessary to pay honoraria…The initial workshop was held at the Regional EE Centre thus reducing accommodation and food costs. The money saved could be used to run a year-long course in one of the SADC countries" (SADC REEP, 1999c).

The subsequent research into the sustainability of the SADC Regional EE Programme made two suggestions in this regard: "the SADC REEC should work at financial sustainability by charging for courses and resources and by taking on consultancy work in the region…SADC member states should be urged to raise funds for the REEP" (Bakobi and Russo, 2000).

Although many of the above funding options were explored and put in place to a greater or lesser extent SADC contributions to the SADC Regional EE Programme remained extremely low. This issue came to dominate all discussion on sustainability leading up to the development of the second proposal.

The next step is thus to send in the application in which the activities are specified and SADCs financial contribution to the programme is stated (Sida email, 01-03-26).

In the approval process of the second request to Sida to support the programme it was suggested that an agreement needed to be signed in which Sida would "require SADC-ELMS to report to Sida on the progress achieving financial commitment, otherwise Sida would need to revise its decision on support to the programme." (Sida email, 01-06-18; Sida, 2001)

The issue of SADC contributions to the SADC Regional EE Programme has caused enormous uncertainty in the Programme (SADC REEC email, 01-06-25).

Analysis
With Sida agreeing to fund the vast majority of the SADC Regional EE Programme the perception of being dependent on one external donor was simultaneously acknowledged and rejected. The word 'dependency' disappeared from any official documentation and correspondence while the word 'diversity' becomes very prominent.

As pressure to show the sustainability of the programme in financial terms came to dominate the discussion on sustainability, the SADC REEC responded by trying to open up the discussion (see, for example, the sections on social aspects of sustainability in this study) and to show that in fact the Programme was already characterised by a diversity of funding. The counterpart funding being received from international and local donors was relatively easy to quantify and report. So too was the income from consulting work, commercial printing and the sale of educational resource materials. However the time and effort contributed by a wide range of actors associated with the programme was extremely difficult to quantify. More importantly, it was considered external to the reporting on the use of Sida funds. Norman Uphoff (1995) notes that this is a common problem in development programmes: "People will minimise and even exclude externalities (positive and negative) in order to make rigorous (replicable) comparisons of benefits and costs, reckoning that these benefits and/or costs lie beyond the boundaries of the programme." The importance of accounting for contributions that were extremely difficult to quantify and viewed as external to the Sida reporting procedures became an important focus for the Regional EE Centre and actors in the region as did reflections of cost-effectiveness in term of funds used.

Having said this, there was still a recognition that there was a substantial gap between the local and counterpart contributions and what was required to sustain the Regional EE Centre and the programme more broadly. It was this gap that the actors associated with the programme sought to emphasise as an appropriate site for external funding. While Bakobi and Russo (2000) suggest that the centre increase its income generation through further charging of user fees this suggestion has not been taken up as it is in tension with the conception of the Centre as a supporting structure for the region. There is also the sensitivity to consider surrounding the Centre drawing resources towards itself linked to the centre/periphery discourse mentioned earlier in this study.

Based on these positions Sida again shifted the emphasis to SADC as the governmental organisation responsible for providing the services of education and environmental protection in the region. While none of the actors involved in the programme have disputed this SADC ELMS's inability to mobilise funds through SADC for the programme was noted at the Howick meeting in 1996 and continues to the present.

Phase 3 (Second Programme Document 2001)

Although included specifically in a section entitled 'Economic Sustainability' in the 2001 Programme Document reference to financial and economic sustainability is found throughout the document and particularly in a section on 'Management Strategies'. There is a strong emphasis on funding being raised at national and local levels. There is also a growing recognition of the larger financial and economic context in which the Regional Environmental Education Programme functions.

The following excerpts from the 2001 Programme Document refer to funding, finances and cost recover and deal specifically with the aspect of financial and economic sustainability.

"Many of the SADC countries are raising and allocating money at a national level for environmental education in the formal and informal sectors. It must be noted however that structural adjustment, rationalisation and poor economies often limit the funds that countries invest when responding to environmental issues. Given the limited funds allocated to environmental education in the majority of the SADC member states, the Regional EE

Programme provides expertise and training opportunities that greatly enhance national initiatives." (SADC REEP, 2002: 16)

"The SADC Regional EE Programme is a broad programme that cannot be implemented by any single institution or organisation… In the past three years a number of funding partnerships have been entered into… Many of these partnerships have been entered into with national initiatives in the region. These collaborative funding initiatives will be encouraged…" (SADC REEP, 2002: 51).

"The SADC Regional EE Programme supports environmental education processes in the region at a fraction of the cost of imported expertise, and is committed to developing and building the capacity of local expertise." (SADC REEP, 2002: 16)

"Another means of working towards economic sustainability for the Regional EE Programme is to explore mechanisms for cost recovery for various aspects of the programme. However, this needs to be balanced with the requirement for equitable access to the opportunities offered by the programme." (SADC REEP, 2002: 16-17)

"Financial considerations are important when it comes to resource production. Where possible and appropriate inexpensive production of materials will be undertaken. Resources will where suitable, be sold on a cost-recovery basis, as this will contribute to the economic sustainability of resource producing projects and activities." (SADC REEP, 2002: 38)

"It is particularly important that SADC support for the programme is sought by SADC ELMS" (SADC REEP, 2002: 51).

Analysis
While financial and economic aspects of sustainability are highlighted in the 2001 programme document much of the emphasis has shifted away from regional funding towards national and local initiatives. The only mention of SADC supporting either the SADC Regional EE Programme or the SADC Regional EE Centre is now placed under management strategies. It is difficult to work out how this has happened and may well surprise many of the people who worked on the document over the space of almost two years.

Since many of the people involved in the writing of this programme document were working at the national and local level they would have wanted to reflect both their commitment to and shortage of funds at these levels. These are also the levels at which the SADC Regional EE Programme had been able to engage best with environmental education processes and to involve environmental education practitioners. It is therefore not surprising that this level of engagement is highlighted. However the programme also provided substantial opportunities at the regional level, including training opportunities and access to expertise that are not (usually) covered by national or local funding. The emphasis on cost-effectiveness emerged from a disillusionment with the use of foreign consultants in the region often commanding high costs and not sustaining activities over the longer term. It is, however, interesting to note that the new 'Sida at Work' currently being developed within Sida includes 'cost effectiveness' as one of the main criteria for assessing programme proposals. It is therefore likely that this strength of the programme will be emphasised in the years to come.

The issue of user fees or cost recovery has now been linked to the notion of equitable access. In discussions with Sida associated with this research, the programme officer made a number of

references to education as a basic human right that should be provided for by government (Vähämäki, pers com 2002). This perspective is in line with recently published position paper within Sida that states: "the model of financing education has a bearing on the equity and efficiency of the education system. In this context, public finance is crucial for basic access to education" (Sida, 2002).

The implications of the tension between the charging of user fees, a method that has been explored by the SADC Regional EE Centre, and the human rights discourse will have substantial implications for the programme in the years to come. Particularly in the light of continued lack of financial support from SADC.

Discussion

The theoretical framework of this study has enabled a reading that sought firstly to question and open up what may have appeared certain and to recognise that within the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme different actors have emphasised different notions of what aspects of sustainability are important and what processes may be useful for working towards the realisation of these aspects.   The following discussion is divided into three sections: a discussion on the theoretical framework and method; a discussion on the analysis; and finally a discussion on sustainability and development initiatives.

Discussion on the Theoretical Framework and Method

Although not always clear or accepted by all actors as binary opposites the distinction between policy development and policy implementation or practice alerted me to possible hierarchical assumptions about policy. A useful reading 'against' this discourse was provided by reference to some of the authors that informed the development of the theoretical framework. Bauman (1991) suggests, for example, that the responsibility for policy has shifted away from the state and has dissipated "into a plethora of local or partial policies pursued by localised or partial (mostly one issue) agencies" (in Beilharz, 2001: 182). This insight alerts us to the idea that policy-making is not simply a matter of one unified group outlining a policy for the implementation of environmental education. Rather it is an "interpretive activity" (Hajer, 1997: 22) in which different groups make, often competing, claims regarding the appropriate content, methods and processes of environmental education. Understanding and engaging with policy in this way will result in policy that is adopted, reinterpreted or rejected by different interest groups based on the extent to which their interests are represented by the policy. A further point is that, given the diversity of environmental issues and educational systems in the SADC member states, it is highly unlikely that policies developed in these different countries could usefully be turned into a regional EE policy. These insights developed during the background reading for this study provide some insight into how the theoretical framework and flexible tools for discourse analysis have enabled a re-look at what appeared familiar.

Other binary opposites that were evident in the ongoing clarification of the programme's sustainability were Indigenous Knowledge/Western Knowledge. Although originally an implicit opposition it became more explicit in the second phase of the programme. The challenge to this opposition and how to move beyond it was also enhanced by non-linear understandings of knowledge and the importance of discontinuities (Bauman, 1993) or tensions that could be usefully probed for new insights. The center/periphery opposition, again implicit, helped to identify and interpret some of the positions taken by different actors. More recently the notion of 'poverty' has become a dominant theme in development aid initiatives and will no doubt start to have an influence on the nature of the SADC Regional EE Programme. In terms of sensitivity to

socio-cultural aspects of programme sustainability it will be important to probe this discourse of poverty and the implications that it has for how we work responsively with different groups.

Key themes, phrases and metaphors that were usefully identified, and helped to probe the different positions of various actors, were the notions of responsiveness, participation, relationships, partnerships and ownership. Each of these themes could now be usefully explored in further research associated with the programme. It is the aim of this current study to highlight these themes and begin to open them up for developing more sophisticated understandings of how they are used and the effects that they may have in terms of the sustainability of the programme.

The third tool used to identify and reflect on discourses operating within the texts was the focus on the subjects being spoken about. A careful re-look at the use of the term 'target group' to refer to the societies and communities that the programme worked with, opened up considerations about the nature of development and education. Particularly problematic are 'us' and 'them' orientations associated with this term where it is assumed that 'we' know and that 'they' need to be made aware and change their behaviour. In a similar vein the use of the term 'partner', particularly by Sida, as a way of positioning the institutions that they work with in 'developing' countries is opened up for reflection. The apparent similarity in positions between Sida's use of 'the partner' and the use of the term 'partners' or 'partnerships' in the 2001 programme document obscures significant differences. A careful analysis of where the different uses of the term have come from within the context of the programme helped to bring into view the notions of 'mutual relationships' in contrast to 'Sida and the partner'. This difference in the positioning of the subject will need to remain in focus if the similarity of the terms 'partner' and 'partnership' are not to blind us to important differences and power asymmetries.

Discussion on the Analysis

In the analysis section of this thesis a number of aspects that are considered important for the sustainability of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme have been outlined. However different aspects have been emphasised by different actors at various times in the development of the Programme. In addition there have been different understandings of how best to work towards ensuring that these aspects of sustainability are in place. This section will focus on a discussion of the insights developed through the analysis.

Policy as a factor ensuring sustainability of the programme was originally emphasised by SADC ELMS and national governmental representatives. This emphasis was based on assumptions that policy, once developed, would guide and monitor environmental education processes in the region. In addition, policy would provide an enabling framework within which the Programme could function. This orientation to policy was not supported by WESSA that, as an NGO, was sceptical of governmental power and the hierarchical assumptions about policy development and implementation. However, as policy came to be approached in ways that challenged the assumed distinction between policy development and policy implementation, the Regional Environmental Education Centre and other non-governmental organisations began to engage with policy processes. This led to a growing recognition that policy may be a useful site for supporting environmental education processed in the region. Sida's emphasis on policy, however, reveals a different orientation to the policy as a means of ensuring the sustainability of the programme. Here the emphasis was on policy as a vehicle for ensuring the institutionalisation of the Programme. This approach to policy has not as yet been taken up strongly within the Programme.

The use of **appropriate technology** as a factor ensuring the sustainability of the programme was originally focused on the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledge and the importance of participation. The emphasis on these dimensions of appropriate technology had a strong link to the independence movement in southern Africa and to the discourse of democratisation that was linked to this. The documentation analysed for this study revealed no questioning of the initial emphasis placed on Indigenous Knowledge or participation as appropriate to ensuring that the equipment and methods adopted by the Programme would be appropriate. As the Programme developed however the focus shifted towards an emphasis on developing the skills to probe what may be appropriate in different contexts. It is this ability to make considered choices that has come to be seen by some actors as more important in terms of choosing appropriate technology than the unquestioned selection of Indigenous Knowledge. In addition the emphasis on participation has resulted in the focus on appropriate technology as an aspect ensuring the sustainability of the Programme becoming closely linked to socio-cultural factors. In the 2001 programme document there is no specific reference to appropriate technology separate from the section on social sustainability.

The inclusion of **environmental protection** as an aspect ensuring the sustainability of the Programme was not supported by any of the discussion prior to the 1996 programme document and has not formed a significant part of the subsequent discussion on sustainability of the programme. Although a number of environmental audits have been undertaken within courses conducted as part of the programme, the links between environmental sustainability and the sustainability of the programme remain obscure. This is particularly significant given that ecological sustainability is again highlighted in the 2001 programme document as an aspect of programme sustainability.

The **socio-cultural aspects** of the sustainability of the programme reveal an important tension around how to approach and work with societies and communities. This tension is deeply grounded in underlying assumptions about development and education. While all of the documentation read in connection with the programme emphasised the need to recognise diverse cultures and social groups and to work 'with' rather than 'on' or 'for' them, the point keeps being made. This is based on the importance placed on responsiveness to local contexts and the need for consultation and participation if these responses are going to be grounded in diverse socio-cultural understandings and realities. However, within the 2001 programme document there is also a growing questioning of the nature of these participatory processes. As the many actors associated with the programme take up participatory discourses there will be a need to guard against a false sense of security and semblance of improving orientations if the underlying discourses of 'changing the behaviour of others' still shape programme activities. Similar tensions are evident in the emerging emphasis being placed on relationships by actors in southern Africa and the language of partners and partnerships that reveal different understandings by different actors. There is a very real risk of smoothing over asymmetric power relationships by using terms of inclusivity.

Professional, institutional and management capacity as an aspect of programme sustainability reveals a number of different dimensions each with different processes considered to be important. The capacity of key implementing institutions including SADC ELMS, the SADC Regional EE Centre and the National Network Representatives has been the focus of the documentation analysed for this study. While the capacity of SADC ELMS and the National Network Representatives has tended to be glossed over, the capacity of the Centre has been the focus of substantial discussion. Evident within the documentation is a tension between the requirement by actors in the region that the Centre does not draw resources towards itself while at the same time requiring that the Centre be a resource for institutions and individuals in the region.

This tension is less evident in the second programme document where the emphasis has shifted to ensuring that the Centre has the capacity to respond to the requests for joint work with institutions and individuals in the region and beyond. Other processes of institutional and management capacity building that would enhance the sustainability of the Programme are currently absent from the documentation reviewed.

The links between the different actors engaged in the programme has become an important topic in terms of their contribution to sustainability. While documentation closely associated with the SADC Regional EE Centre has tended to emphasise less formal mutual relationships and partnerships (discussed above), documents that were produced in close collaboration with SADC ELMS and particularly Sida reveal an emphasis on formal institutional links and the notion of ownership. There is a lack of clarity about what these institutional links would entail or what is meant by the term ownership. This is discussed in more detail below.

The economic and financial aspects of the sustainability of the programme have attracted increasing attention through the development of the programme. While there is evidence of a general consensus that a diversity of funding options is the most appropriate process for ensuring sustainability, the broader context within which this Programme operates has had profound implications for how to achieve this. The inability of SADC ELMS to access funds through the SADC structures has resulted in a strong dependence on external donor funding. Parallel to this donor funding have been increasing contributions by government and other institutions to environmental education processes at a national and local level. The difficulty of reporting on these contributions, particularly when they are in the form of time, transport, office facilities, etc., has resulted in these contributions being treated as external to the programme. An increasing emphasis on recognising these contributions as an important aspect of sustainability is evident within the documents and particularly in reports from the region. Without access to governmental funds the SADC Regional EE Centre has needed to place an emphasis on charging for services offered including the sale of resource materials and consultancy fees. This approach has needed to be balanced with access to the services offered through the Centre. Sida's approach to education as a basic human right will also have implications for how acceptable this method of raising funds is within a programme that they support. This has led Sida to place much emphasis on governmental funding at the regional level as the basis for a sustainable programme. Given the low priority accorded to environmental education in the budgets of most of the countries in southern Africa many of the actors in the region have tended to focus on multiple donor agencies, limited user fees and working within national initiatives as the most promising way of avoiding high levels of dependency on a single donor. Different actors view the successes of these approaches very differently. While Sida is concerned that the Programme is "over-dependent", the actors contributing time, limited resources and commitment to the many initiatives in the region are confident that many of the programme activities would continue without outside funding.

Discussion on Sustainability and Development Initiatives

Evident within much of the above discussion is a change in the way that development initiatives are being conceptualised and implemented. The international aid system was initially premised on the notion of underdevelopment as a 'deficit' in capital, knowledge and technology. The transfer of such resources from developed to undeveloped countries, it was believed, would enable or speed up economic growth, leading to an improvement in the material circumstances and well-being of poorer strata within recipient societies. It was also assumed that aid delivery processes are analogous to a linear chain that links a donor government to the ultimate recipients via various intermediary organisations. (Fowler, 1995; Ostrom *et al*, 2002)

There are a number of areas in which these linear theories of development and development aid have been challenged. One is alluded to in the following quote taken from a critique on the idea of progress. "The ideas of limitless linear progress blinded us to the complexity of the social world – to diverse forms which operate side by side without being accidental or transitory" (Shanin, 1997). Development conceptualised as the transfer of western ideas to the undeveloped world has been critiqued by a number of authors (Rist, 1997; Sachs, 1992). This has opened up the possibility of multiple forms of development and thus development aid. In the context of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme this is evident in the emphasis on responsiveness to diverse situations, communities and societies and the recognition of the importance creating opportunities for the meaningfully involvement of these communities and societies in every aspect of the programme development/implementation.

Another area in which the linear conception of development aid has been questioned is in the way in which aid is implemented. Putting project development into practice requires action by a number of organisations and those intended to benefit. Thus the analogy of the chain of implementers does not reveal fully the varied institutional contexts within which the multiple actors in development cooperation link, in practice, to each other. Nor does it take into account the perspectives and sets of interests of these different actors. These increases in contingent factors on project processes give rise to greater levels of uncertainty and unpredictability than are acknowledged in linear conceptions of implementation.

The SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme reveals the effects of these different conceptions of development aid. Officially, in terms of signed agreements, SADC ELMS are according to Sida both 'the cooperation partner' and 'the owner' of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. According to *Sida at Work* the owner is defined as the party which "requests support and which is responsible for the planning and implementation of the programme, by having, for example the organisation and staff for the task. The project owner finances part, often a large part, of the costs of the project" (Sida, 1998: 15). SADC ELMS as the 'owner' of the programme have according to this conception of the programme contracted the Wildlife and Environment and Society of South Africa as the 'implementing agents' and the environmental education practitioners in the region are the 'beneficiaries'. This would form the more traditional linear implementation plan. Within this conception of aid implementation the issue of sustainability could be dealt with at different levels of implementation. Thus for example Sida and SADC ELMS could discuss and agree on what aspects of sustainability are important to consider and how best to achieve them with the assumption that the other actors would accept and implement them. Having decided on these issues it would simply be a case of monitoring if these processes are in place.

However Sida have expressed a desire for 'popular ownership'. In *Sida at Work* it is stated "[s]ida's staff has the task of actively promoting …support which promotes ownership by the target group and other interested parties" (Sida, 1998: 19). In an internal Sida publication it is noted that "as it is used in *Sida at Work,* 'popular ownership' is a near synonym for 'popular participation'" (Molund, 2000). There is thus a tension between the singular owner implied in Sida's definition of ownership and the multiple owners implied by Sida's notion of 'popular ownership'. There is however much synergy between Sida's notion of popular ownership and the emphasis placed on participation within the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme. This has led to situations of non-linear programme development/implementation processes by multiple actors/owners within the programme. This in turn has led to the complex and contested understandings of sustainability revealed in this thesis. It is also the basis of the importance of finding ways to make the different understandings of what is needed to ensure the sustainability of the programme more explicit through interpretive techniques such as the

approach adopted by this study. Thus rather than seeking to play down conflicting knowings or seeking to resolve them this study has sought to focus on and reveal the multiplicity of component discourses evident in the Programme's documents as sediments of broader dialogues based on alternative understandings and knowings.

It should be noted however that this is not the only way to approach the issue of sustainability of development programmes. In a recent study commissioned by Sida into sustainability of development programmes, Ostrom *et al* (2002) also take the non-linear interaction of multiple actors/owners as a central feature of development aid. However, by focussing on one of the processes identified within this study, namely ownership, particularly collective ownership in multiple party non-linear situations, Ostrom *et al* adopt an approach based on institutional analysis.   In the context of the Ostrom study institutions are defined as "the formal and informal rules that are followed by most affected individuals" (Ostrom *et al, 2002)*.   These rules it is argued structure the incentives or "rewards and punishments that are perceived by individuals to be related to their actions and those of others" (*ibid).* In some circumstances individuals may lack motivation or information when making decisions on how to behave in collective action situations. This lack of motivation or information is described as 'perverse incentives', and these it is argued lead to the collective action problems that undermine the sustainability of development aid initiatives.

The report concludes that ownership and sustainability are central themes in development cooperation. However it concedes that the application of these concepts is extremely difficult given the complexity of aid. While Sida may seek to weaken 'perverse incentives' and enhance 'proper incentives' it needs to do this in the context of changing conceptions of development aid. In this context it will not be possible for Sida to impose its understandings of 'proper incentives' on actors within development programmes while at the same time honouring the principle of popular ownership. It will therefore be important to seek out, with programme actors, the range of different knowings that represent current understandings of incentives within particular development initiatives.

I would argue that an understanding of different actors' assumptions about what aspects of a programme ensure sustainability and how to enable these aspects would be an important component of the 'informal and formal rules' that shape various actors' incentives in particular situations.   Thus, for example, if some actors felt that the development of a regional policy would ensure the sustainability of the programme, they would be inclined to work towards the realisation of that policy. Other actors may not work towards the realisation of such policy. It could be argued that the incentive to realise that policy is lacking because of a lack of motivation or information. In other words there are perverse incentives that need to be weakened or replaced by proper incentives. However, this argument misses the point that the other party may not believe that regional policy development is an appropriate area of activity given other priorities. This decision may have nothing to do with a lack of motivation or information. It may be an alternative knowing and rather than legislating that the person or institution having this position 'get into line' it may be more appropriate to find ways of interpreting this position and working with it in situations of meaningful engagement. A similar argument could be made about support for the SADC Regional EE Centre. The decision by national governments not to support the Centre may or may not be based on perverse incentives. It would therefore be important to carry out a study similar to this thesis in conjunction with an institutional analysis focussing on incentives. It is certainly my intention to continue working with the insights that I have developed into the SADC Regional EE Programme through this study linking these insights to the approach used by Ostrom *et al*, particularly given the emphasis on participation and the emerging emphasis on ownership within the Programme.

Conclusions

This study has, through the careful analysis of texts associated with the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme, made apparent and interpreted key assumptions that various actors within the programme have made regarding the sustainability of the Programme. While some broad trends exist it is the differences between positions, what has been referred to as 'discontinuities', that hold much scope for further engagement and clarification within the Programme. This conclusion outlines some of these emerging trends and discontinuities more as an open-ended framing of meaning possibilities than a closure that seeks to legislate in favour of a particular position.

In this study a number of aspects that are useful for ensuring the sustainability of the SADC Regional EE Programme have been outlined. These are: policy support; the selection of appropriate technologies; environmental protection; sensitivity to socio-cultural realties of diverse groups; professional, institutional and management capacity and the importance of formal and informal links between actors; and diverse funding options. The methods of supporting these different aspects of programme sustainability are revealed by this study to be contested, temporal and emergent. A summary of the various and changing positions adopted by different actors associated with the programme is given in the discussion section of this study. Any attempt to further summarise these many positions risks privileging particular viewpoints and closing meaning and understanding possibilities that need to remain open within the ongoing discussions associated with the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme.

There are however a number of issues that have been illuminated by this study that would benefit from ongoing careful consideration and discussion. These include the slippages in meaning of terms such as 'relationships' and 'partnerships' used to create space for more equitable work with others; and use of the terms 'partner' and 'partnerships' as a way of smoothing over asymmetric power relationships. Similar caution needs to be exercised with the emerging notion of 'ownership' and the imperative to enhance 'proper' incentives with the risk of ignoring the various understandings of multiple owners. As these and other terms come to be closely associated with the notion of programme sustainability it will be important to keep opening up space for their review and critique. If we do not do this, these discourses and the effects that they have may undermine the sustainability of the very initiatives we seek to support.

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Appendix A: Key institutions involved in the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme

Southern African Development Community (SADC): is an intergovernmental organisation comprising 14 member states. SADC is structurally organised into several development sectors whose respective coordination is entrusted to the government of a specific member state. SADC is currently restructuring the way in which it works, the exact nature of this restructuring is still unclear.

SADC Environment and Land Management Sector (ELMS): is currently hosted by Lesotho. An important part of the Sector's programme is to increase public information, education and participation on environment and development issues in southern Africa.

National Network Representatives: are official country representatives nominated by country governments (usually Ministries of Environment) sit on a steering committee of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme and to guide and support all aspects of the programme.

Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA): was founded in 1926 and is the oldest and largest non-governmental, membership-based environmental organisation in South Africa. The mission of the Society is to "promote public participation in caring for the Earth."

Umgeni Valley Project (UVP): is a project of the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa and is one of the oldest and most established environmental education centres in the country.

Environmental Education Practitioners: refers to anybody working with educational processes with a focus on environment. Environment is understood broadly to include a number of interacting dimensions which all relate to the bio-physical world. These include social, economic and political dimensions.

Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida): is a Swedish Government Agency responsible for the administering approximately three-quarters of Swedens total appropriations for development cooperation. The overall goal of Swedish development cooperation is to "raise the living standard of poor people."

Scandiaconsult Natura AB (SCC Natura): is a leading international consulting company focussing on sustainable development issues. Scandiaconsult Natura AB has been involved in supporting SADC ELMS since the early 1990's.

Appendix B: Outline of SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme activities

The Four Components Of The SADC Regional Environmental Education Programme Are Listed Below.

1. RESOURCE MATERIALS
Development of relevant resource materials
The objective of this component is to support the development of capacity within the SADC region to access, use and develop appropriate environmental education resource materials.
Activities include:
- support to environmental education practitioners to develop their own materials
- development of a data bank of EE materials and expertise in the region
- development of relevant materials such as curriculum development guidelines, indigenous knowledge case studies and teacher support packs

2. NETWORKING
Strengthening and broadening the regional environmental education network
The objective of this component is to support environmental education processes through enabling decentralized networking of EE practitioners in the region.
Activities include:
- strengthening and broadening existing networks such as the Environmental Education Association of Southern Africa (EEASA)
- newsletter: the *EEmail* is produced as a hard copy twice a year and as a monthly electronic newsflash and is distributed throughout the region
- NGO support: a sub-component aiming to strengthen the capacity of NGOs for environmental education
- coordination among bilateral projects: intending to promote 'cross-pollination' among 3 bilateral Danish funded EE projects in Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa
- hosting and supporting visitors at the Regional EE Centre (over 500 in the past 4 years)

3. TRAINING
Development and strengthening of training capacity in environmental education
The objective is to support the development of capacity within the SADC region to respond to environmental issues through improved environmental education processes and training activities.
Activities include:
- Support for national workshops and the development of national courses
- Rhodes University/SADC course: a 2-month professional development opportunity
- Swedish/SADC course: a 5-week professional development opportunity in Sweden and South Africa
- Attachment Programme: an opportunity for EE practitioners to spend 10 days working with others on the development of resource materials and programmes
- Course developers network: aims to support the development of contextually relevant courses and materials through a network of institutional partners and local practitioners

4. POLICY
Support for policy processes
The objective is to create an enabling environment for regional and national policy and to support the development and implementation of local level environmental and environmental education policy within the SADC region.
Activities include:
- Regional policy support: to assist SADC ELMS to implement the SADC REEP by supporting and integrating policies on environmental education at a regional level. Member governments, other SADC sectors and stakeholders will be supported.
- Support for national policy processes: including national workshops and training programmes