

Create & Connect:

Empowering female artisan craft makers in Zanzibar through design thinking.

By Maria Hanson & Melanie Levin, Sheffield Hallam University

Introduction

This paper presents initial findings from a multidisciplinary research project instigated in 2014 that brings together researchers from tourism, craft practice and service design. Funded by a modest Sheffield Hallam University [IMAGINE - Connectivity](#) research grant the pilot project undertaken focused on female artisan craft producers and the tourist market in Zanzibar, Tanzania. The primary aims of [Create and Connect](#) were to:

- Understand the socio-cultural links and identity of crafted souvenirs and the practices of production.
- Identify barriers and creative opportunities
- Test co-creative design thinking strategies as a methodology to empower female craft makers
- Explore ways to increase links between maker and market.

This research project combines perspectives and knowledge from human geography, development and gender theory, sustainable tourism, design anthropology, design thinking and craft-making.

Previous research undertaken by the academic from tourism highlighted that the female artisan craft-makers in Zanzibar were primarily Muslim women, who had little or no knowledge and experience of the kinds of people who might be buying their craft products as most were sold through none government organisations (NGOs). As we were trying to imagine 'oneself into another person's world' (Gunn and Donovan 2012) we realised that coming into these women's world and showing them how to 'design' things better was not going to be enough, even if the designing was to be done collaboratively.

The discussion within this paper will focus on aspects connected to the notion of [design thinking together](#) and specifically addresses the first three aims of the pilot project. Using making and sharing of the designer's way of looking at things as a way of democratising design research in tourism. It was important to adhere to a participatory design approach where the design and research would be [with](#) the users and not only on [behalf](#) of them. (Spinuzzi 2005) [Create & Connect](#) uses a range of Participatory Action Research (PAR) methods, design thinking workshops, activities and toolkits in order to capture multiple viewpoints involved in the product chain from maker to market. A key aspect of this included working with Zanzibar artisans through practical co-creation strategies, and by sequencing the experiences of producers, consumers and other stakeholders. To date this project has involved two stages of fieldwork.

The pilot workshops were undertaken in Collaboration with the Zenji Foundations (Zenjifoundation.com 2016) Chako recycling workplace during the second stage of field work and explored how design thinking (and seeing) can be used in a shared, practice led research process in order to ensure that ideas are formed collaboratively. The workshops centred on meaning-making in design and how objects talk to people by the way they look and feel. Through co-creative activities participant craft-makers from Chako engaged in a dialogue about materials and objects and through design thinking they began to feel empowered to determine what an object might say based on their own, rather than others ideas.

Keywords

Design thinking - Participatory action research - Craft, Jewellery - Overseas development

Context/Background

International tourism has since the 1960s been viewed as a major contributor in the economic development for many LEDCs (less economically developed countries) (OECD 1967). Accounting for 40 per cent of all international arrivals into these countries, tourism offers huge potential for building connectivity between people across radically different social and economic settings. Women represent 70 per cent of the world's poor and the majority of women in LEDCs work in the informal sector, in small, often unregistered enterprises. The craft sector is the second largest employer, after agriculture, in many LEDCs. It represents an opportunity for women to earn a living and support families and communities. Craft production usually doesn't require literacy, but practical skills that are passed between generations.

The Zanzibar archipelago, Tanzania is a good illustration of a LEDC heavily dependent on tourism, accounting for 44 per cent of its GDP in 2007 (RGOZ 2009). While tourists buy souvenirs to retain affective connectivity to the place and the people they visit, the majority of souvenirs sold in Zanzibar are currently imported with no link to Zanzibar's rich and very distinct Swahili cultural heritage (Schrempp 2010). Although making crafts, drawing on local traditions, and sharing these with visitors can be an important source of social and economic empowerment for women, many Zanzibar women are excluded due to socio-cultural and socio-economic barriers.

Create & Connect: Case Study Methodology

Methodology is central to this project and needed to be articulated as explicitly as possible across the multi-disciplinary team. For the researchers in design and communication who had no prior experience of working in an overseas development context it was important to ensure that not only were rigorous and appropriate approaches and methods used, but that it was necessary to define the foundational values that underpinned motivation to participate. Working within a multidisciplinary team can be a challenge and as design specialists entering the established domain (tourism) of the project lead required a level of negotiation to convince all parties that designerly approaches and methods would sit well within a social scientific framework.

Once initial hurdles were overcome the team were able to consider a range of quite complex issues, which brought with them questions about the core-validity and intent of the project. Agreement was reached that feminist and post-colonial frameworks were important points of reference, but that these would inform the research primarily in spirit as they were too complex and big in relation to the size of the project to be applied fully. The on-going literature review and initial fieldwork confirmed this, highlighting Zanzibar's complex history of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial rule and as a consequence it's rich and diverse social and cultural mix. (Meyer 2013)

The design researchers were absolutely committed to co-creative and participatory practices and ideally would have liked to have conducted this type of research as true participatory action research (PAR), which would have meant the surfacing of issues and research themes with all the participants' right from the beginning. However due to the limited scope and funding of the project we settled on approaches and methods which were more accommodating to such scales, and therefore situated the methods within a 'design thinking' approach. Generally referred to as the application of the designer's sensibility and methods to a given subject or problem (Lockwood 2010) design thinking enabled participatory design (PD) approaches through workshop formats in order to surface insight and collect data.

Situated within the broader territory of 'design anthropology', which has a lineage that can be traced back to PAR via PD (Kjaersgaard and Otto 2013) which encompasses designerly approaches such as design thinking enabled field work activities to be structured in real and tangible ways. PAR and its methodology of collective participation, is particularly concerned with the democratisation of knowledge making, inequalities of power and social exclusion. (Chevalier and Buckles 2013) In order to facilitate these principles required the researchers to find out about the women artisans on a human level and show a little of themselves too, both as people and as designers.

In terms of investigating the creative making practice of the female artisan craft makers it was particularly suitable in aiding the investigation of peoples' ability to create, craft and re-shape materials, systems or experiences (Smith 2015: 3). Additional to observation and documentation it allowed and called for the inclusion of co-creative methods as a means of data collection and combined ethnographic fieldwork with a critical holistic approach which informs a design process that is concerned with the uncovering of social and material relations (Kjaersgaard and Otto 2012). It also gave the scope to go further than co-creation as it included interventionist 'provo-types' in the form of workshops activities. (Smith 2015) As design anthropology also encompasses a wide range of ethnographic methods (Gunn and Donovan 2012) it provided a flexible framework to accommodate a range of methods suitable for informing the overall research focus. This can be seen in the outcomes from the scoping visit undertaken by Hanson, which materialised as a kind of ethnographic enquiry with the field work producing a range of auto, visual, textual, material and sensory data.

Field Work # 1 - Scoping Visit

The first stage of fieldwork took place during March 2014 for a period of twelve days. This was undertaken by researchers, Maria Hanson (jewellery/craft) and Dorothea Meyer (tourism). Translation was facilitated by Nelly Maliva, an academic from Dar es Salaam, on the mainland of Tanzania. The objectives of this scoping visit were as follows.

- Identification of development context. Exploring the development status of female artisan producers and barriers/opportunities for accessing the tourism market.
- Develop and build upon existing contacts in Zanzibar and explore possible pilot project partners.
- Map existing female artisans / groups / collectives which could be used as a resource for knowledge and information sharing among stakeholders.
- Identification of resources currently available to female artisans working in Zanzibar.
- Product market research.
- Identification of ICT context. Understanding what technology is currently in place and exploring the possible value of different ICT options, e.g. web sites, mobile apps, social network marketing strategies.

Hanson's main focus was on understanding craft producers, their products, materials and processes used, making skills and design capabilities. She also needed to explore and experience the different ways products made it to market. As this was her first visit to Zanzibar she not only explored these issues and contexts as a designer, craft-maker, and academic researcher, but was also able to view from a tourist perspective. Methodologies used for this research-involved observation, informal semi-structured interviews with craft makers-producers, sellers and tourists (the latter being a little limited). Data and visual records were kept in the form of still photography, detailed notes and the collection of physical artefacts. The experience of buying souvenirs; taking on the persona of the tourist; was fundamental in understanding the products and market. These souvenirs also formed an integral part of the design thinking test workshop undertaken in Sheffield following the initial fieldwork.

Buying souvenirs and building networks.

While tourists buy souvenirs to retain effective connectivity to the place and the people they visit, the majority of souvenirs sold in Zanzibar are currently imported with no link to Zanzibar's rich and very distinct Swahili cultural heritage (Schrempp 2010). Hanson's initial encounters of souvenir shopping brought her into contact with a number of very different purchasing experiences. The first related to the abundant street sellers, to be found along the many narrow lanes of the historic UNESCO world heritage site of Stone Town. All of the sellers in this context were male and each had a pitch which involved explaining that everything had been made by his father, brother or cousin somewhere on the island. Moving between sellers it was obvious that this was probably not the case as all the products looked very similar and spoke of being imported. The act of bartering was important with these sellers and it was clear that making a living from selling in this way was a challenge, which probably explained why none of the products were displayed with price tags.

Textiles and woven products can also be seen in quantity in Zanzibar and these included the traditional African Kanga, a colourful printed cloth often worn as a garment wrapped around the body or stitched into clothing. Due to delayed luggage, Hanson decided to purchase a Kanga and have it stitched into a dress.

This experience felt very authentic, despite suspecting that the Kanga itself had been imported from the mainland. Buying the cloth and then going a few lanes further into the town, meeting the dress-maker, being measured, choosing a method of construction and then having the garment delivered to the hotel was incredibly memorable. The anthropologist Tim Ingold speaks of how reductionist the term user or consumer is and that even in a world of available ready-made things, we practice and we make (Ingold 2012) . In contrast to this authentic experience (even though most products were imported) was a visit to the largest souvenir shop in Stone Town aptly named Memories of Zanzibar. (Memories-zanzibar.com 2016) This store was in a prominent location and could only be accessed by tourists.



Figure 1: Memories of Zanzibar. The Souvenir Emporium, Stone Town, Zanzibar, 2014

Security guards on the door, air conditioning, music, price tags on products and female sales people gave this establishment a completely different feel. Where many tourists might feel uncomfortable about purchasing from a street seller, Memories of Zanzibar, with its branded packaging provided an easy environment to shop even though many of the products did not have their origin on the island.

Although the sharing with visitors of local traditions of craft-making can be an important source of social and economic empowerment for women, many Zanzibar women are excluded due to the laws of Islam being the predominant faith. However there are exceptions and having experienced the typical souvenir shop Hanson and Meyer visited some of the smaller boutique style outlets established mostly by NGOs that were selling locally produced products made primarily by local artisans and craft makers with (generally speaking) local resources. A number of these individual groups are marketed as 'Made in Zanzibar' (Madeinzanzibar.com 2016) and through a web presence and physical leaflet state they are A producer's network promoting quality products from Zanzibar to support the local economy. However 'Made in Zanzibar' is no more than an advertisement. They are not an formally organised group with collective aims, objectives or structure even though through informal interviews with individuals suggested there was motivation and desire for this but no infrastructure or mechanism to progress it. Boutiques such as Dada and Moto provided opportunities to meet the artisans who made products, such as woven baskets and soaps and to understand more about the opportunities Muslim women have for making a living.



Figure 2: Craft maker from MOTO. Hurumzi Str. 416, Stone Town, Zanzibar, 2014

Links were made with key people within these organisations and enabled the team to expand upon the contacts established by Meyer's previous research. This provided opportunities to visit many female groups and collectives around the whole of the island and in the following days contact was made with 16 different organisations. These ranged from established groups, charities and NGOs such as VSO, Sanzani Associates and UPENDO to smaller initiatives such as the KIDOTI and UKUMBOZI women collectives. Expanding on the dialogues and outcomes of these is outside of the scope of this paper but the breadth and diversity of these encounters provided a great source of knowledge with which to be able to move forward with in terms of a pilot project that would use co-creative design thinking.

Towards the end of the scoping trip a significant connection was made by Hanson with the Zenji Foundation an NGO established by a Dutch woman and her Zanzibar husband. In 2010 this organisation started its own bead making project with local women in a small workplace underneath the Zenji Hotel and operated in accordance with fair trade principles. (Zenjifoundation.com 2016) Products were sold in the hotels small boutique and other hotel shops around the island and within 3 years created the need for more space and products. Zenji established the CHAKO recycle workplace in 2013 just outside Stone Town, and works according to the Tourist2Tourist initiative. CHAKO makes souvenirs for tourists, out of waste material generated by the tourism industry on Zanzibar. The buying of original, innovative souvenirs for friends and family offers tourists a way to reduce their negative impact on the island. The Zenji's philosophy and approach was of particular interest to Hanson who had been working on other projects that related to material sustainability and waste (Hanson 2014) and having witnessed the huge social and economic problem connected to waste packaging as she had travelled around the island, she felt this could provide many creative opportunities.

Design Thinking - Test Workshop

Reflecting on the ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in the scoping visit it was crucial to test out possible structures and activities as a pilot. The design researchers decided to structure a workshop that centred around meaning-making in design and how objects talk to people by the way they look and feel, known as 'embodied or tacit knowledge' (Polanyi 1958) The aim was to engage participants in a dialogue about how this tacit knowledge is embedded in objects and how designers can have a certain amount of control over what an object is 'saying' if they know who will be 'reading' it.

The aim was to explore how the process of embodying values in objects through design could be made visible to none or untrained designers. During initial field work feedback had been received from some of the NGOs involved in craft initiatives, related to the difficulty they had in getting the women to produce items of consistent quality and in a way that maintained traditional aspects whilst also appealing in style, colour and design for the intended tourist market. The researchers had a hunch, based on their experience as designers and design educators that some of the reported inconsistencies of quality and style in the production of these artefacts were possibly down to the following issues experienced by individual makers:

- Feeling removed from the craft-process in terms of agency and or ownership.
- The craftsperson not having enough knowledge of their intended audience
- The craftsperson not being fully aware of how they could manipulate material in order for their artefact to appeal to the intended audience.

The test workshop took place in April 2014 with participants invited from the international student cohort and academic staff from Sheffield Hallam University from a range of disciplinary groups. Anne Ndeke an MA student from Kenya studying tourism was one of the participants as she would be involved in co-delivery and translation during the second stage of fieldwork.

The workshop was constructed in a way that would facilitate the co-creating of meaning by manipulating the context specific objects were placed. The objects used had been collected by Hanson during her scoping visit and represented a range of tourist souvenirs that were produced by female artisan makers in Zanzibar. These included jewellery, hand-made soap, decorative objects and woven items.

Part one: This centred around an exercise based on the 'making the object talk' concept. It involved all participants (including researchers Hanson and Levick-Parkin) looking at different objects presented on a table and writing down on a post-it note what they perceived an individual object was saying about itself. These were shared and discussed enabling reflection on the participant's different cultural backgrounds and personal knowledge. Some of these readings were descriptive, some emotive and some wrapped up with personal stories.

Part two: Eight pre-prepared mini-contexts, consisting of paper, fabric, natural materials and man-made objects of different colour, texture and style were then revealed. Each was designed so that it would 'speak' differently from the others. Then each participant took one object from Zanzibar on a journey through the different contexts and made notes on how they thought this changed what the object was saying to them. For example one of the mini-contexts was made up of brush coloured polyester fabrics, fragments of plastic and bright artificial fur whilst another was based on textured cream papers, natural and wooden elements.



Figure 3: Mini-contexts - Test workshop, Sheffield, 2014.

All the participants noted that the first context made them perceive their chosen object as something throwaway whilst the muted context enhanced the sense of its value. Subsequent discussion revealed how our readings were obviously influenced by our particular understanding of value. Hanson recounted how she had observed a group of Zanzibar artisans make the most beautiful woven bags out of natural materials, but would then spray with a high-gloss varnish rendering the object less valuable in her eyes. However for the women it made sense that in the tropical climate the gloss offered protection against decay and they liked the aesthetic, but from a western perspective the object was not necessarily being seen in the same way.

Part three: The final part of the workshop required participants to work in pairs to create their own mini-context for an object of their choosing. The aim was to create a context which they felt re-represented Zanzibar as well as enhanced the aesthetic reading of the product. Team members discussed, negotiated, tested, discarded and re-arranged numerous materials until they were happy with their outcomes.



Figure 4: Co-creative test workshop, Sheffield, 2014.

During feedback the non-designers commented on how these activities would now make them look at objects they owned and used in a very different way and the opportunity to play, experiment and make made them feel able to make creative decisions.

Field Work # 2 - Design Thinking workshops at the CHAKO recycle workplace.

Hanson's second field trip took place during late June early July 2014 and coincided with the start of Ramadan. She worked with a group of female artisans at the Zenji Foundation's Chako recycle workplace just outside of Stone Town. Between the initial scoping trip and the second stage of field work, Hanson and Levick-Parkin engaged in lengthy discussion with the director of the Zenji Foundation and the project manager at Chako in order to establish shared objectives and structure appropriate and realistic activities. There was very positive support for the proposed design thinking workshops as previous interventions by external volunteer designers had focused on developing for rather than with the craft makers.

Over a five day period a series of co-creative design thinking workshops were delivered alongside product awareness activities that relate to both the global souvenir market and possible opportunities for how reclaimed / recycled materials can be used more broadly within design. These workshops were undertaken collaboratively with Ann Ndeke an MA intern from Sheffield Hallam University, who is a Kiswahili speaker.

Hanson and Ndeke worked with a group of seven women in total during the five days and the design thinking workshops were broken down into fifteen separate activities which included some initial co-creative product development work on the final day. As a result of the test workshop in Sheffield, Hanson and Levick-Parkin had prepared a series of visual presentations to facilitate these activities. The simple texts and image captions had been translated into Kiswahili, which enabled participants to connect immediately with the content and context. These were presented as physical printed documents and were left with the organisation at the end of the workshops. Ann's sensitivity to the women's cultural background and in-depth understanding of the project enabled her and Maria to quickly build confidence and rapport with the women.

It is not possible in the scope of this paper to detail all the activities but the following texts highlight some of the most important.

Activities:

In order to introduce herself, Hanson had prepared a visual portfolio that showed the multiple roles she had in her own life. This included images of her family, workshop and jewellery, being a teacher and exhibition curator. She had taken some recent jewellery that had been designed and made as a result of her first visit to Zanzibar, which used reclaimed waste material and the women were able to try on and ask questions. This proved to be incredibly important in connecting with the women, building confidence and creating empathy. The rest of the first day was spent working with the women making the beaded products that were a mainstay of the organisation. This provided an opportunity to become immersed within the women's world and to understand the rhythm and pattern of their usual activities. It was also empowering for them to assume the role of instructor and to be amused when the person they had perceived to be the 'expert' messed something up.

The second day started with a discussion about design thinking and participatory action research. Using diagrams with Kiswahili captions Hanson and Ndeke explained what these terms meant and that the activities that were to follow would be about working together and sharing knowledge. It was stressed that within this process there were no right or wrong answers. It was also explained that Hanson and Ndeke would participate in all activities, strengthening the notion of working together. In order to create active participation, two drawing activities had been structured in order to break the ice. Although this is a well-established method within a western culture, the idea of drawing is not common within this kind of context. All participants were given a sheet of paper with a series of squares with a circle inside. All circles were the same size and positioned in the same place within the square. The task was to create drawings of as many different things as possible incorporating the circle. The 'SUN' was given as an example. At first when explained there were some audible sounds of anxiety. It was important to reinforce that there were no right or wrong answers and emphasise that drawing skills were not important. The quiet contemplation and concentration within the room for the period of this activity was amazing and the subsequent sharing and discussing produced much laughter.

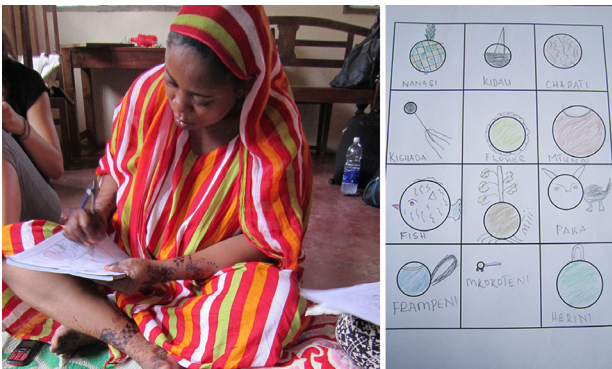


Figure 5: Drawing activity, CHAKO Recycle workplace, Zanzibar Town, 2014.

The second drawing activity required the women to work in pairs. Each pair was given a pack of picture cards with images of universally recognisable things such as flowers, baskets, spoons, bottles etc. One person had to describe the picture without saying what it was whilst the other had to draw what they thought it was from the description. They then swapped roles and repeated before sharing outcomes with the larger group. Although some of the women found these tasks challenging, the discussions revealed that it was a new experience to do something where they had to think for themselves as opposed to following a set of instructions.

In order to ‘Share what we do and who we are’ the women had been asked to bring 3 personal objects from their homes that could be placed on the floor. The objects requested were categorised as follows:

- Something useful
- Something special
- Something identified as being from Zanzibar.

These ‘things’ were used as ‘cultural probes’ (Gaver et al. 1999) in order to stimulate experimental design thinking in a responsive way. The objects brought needed to enable the participants to share something with each other about themselves, their values, their culture and identity and acted as the catalyst for thinking, revealing and talking. Drawing upon earlier work by Hanson and Wood which explored how certain key-pieces (of craft making) could be used as probes to create critical dialogue (Hanson and Wood 2010) it was hoped that the ‘things’ brought by the women would enable them to feel confident that their thoughts and opinions had value.

The interaction and conversation stimulated by the personal objects was captured by using hand written post-it notes, a methodology used throughout activities to capture ideas and discussion. This alternated between text written in English and Swahili. This process of revealing and sharing provoked a rich layer of storytelling and again much laughter. It was informed by ideas proposed by the anthropologist Daniel Miller who suggests that people express themselves through possessions, stating that ‘the best way to appreciate objects is to consider them as signs and symbols that represent us’ (Miller 2010)

Building upon the responsiveness to the first interactions the following two days were spent on the activities tested in the Sheffield workshop connected to meaning-making in design and how objects talk to people by the way they look and feel. The mini-contexts created combined things gathered from the local environment and markets alongside material fragments, cloth, paper and other elements from the UK. The women choose an object from the Chako product range to work with during these activities and recorded through simple words and photography. When the women worked in pairs to create their own contexts, there was evidence of very thoughtful consideration in their creative manipulation of materials and decisions relating to composition, colour, textures and symbolism.



Figure 6: Co-creative activities, CHAKO Recycle workplace, Zanzibar Town, 2014.

During the five workshop days, Hanson interspersed the interactive co-creative activities with a number of presentations that used visual sensory stimulus in order to feed the brain. The following are some of the topics covered:

- Zanzibar: A western view: Exploring whether the western view of the women's island, culture and identity was one they recognised. This was created from photographs taken during the scoping trip and images sourced from the web. Many of the women did not recognise the beautiful tourist images of sandy beaches, the turquoise Indian Ocean and luxury beach hotels.
- Jewellery and products that use waste and recycled materials: The jewellery and products shown in this presentation were varied and quite radical in places and it was surprising how well received this was and the excitement it generated. The women were amazed that items perceived as waste could be made into such beautiful things.
- Made in Zanzibar: This was a documentation of all the organisations, NGO projects and women collectives visited during the scoping trip. It showed their products and indicated where on the island they were situated. The aim was to find out if the Chako women were aware of these groups and products and if they would like to share knowledge with and learn from each other's experience.

Following on from the presentation that showed creative ways to reuse discarded and waste material the women were asked to spend fifteen minutes in their immediate local environment outside of the workplace and to bring back three items of waste materials and or found objects. The only other instruction was for them to collect things that they felt had beauty and could be revalued.

This collecting activity was very successful and yielded some great finds. However it's unlikely this would have been as fruitful without the earlier visual presentation. Fuelled with ideas and possibilities the women embraced this task and responded with enthusiasm and once again much laughter. During the discussion about why they had selected the things on the table, they talked about material characteristics, forms, surfaces, colours patterns and textures. One woman even said she'd brought back the cow bone found in the lane because she loves meat and felt it would make a great pendant if cleaned up.



Figure 7: Material collecting activity, CHAKO Recycle workplace, Zanzibar Town, 2014.

There was further discussion about how these characteristics could be exploited and what methods could be used to change the materials and their forms. Although the women were able to imagine possibilities, they also recognised that without the knowledge of making skills and the right tools transforming the waste materials would be difficult.

Conclusion

The aims and objectives of this project were upon reflection very ambitious given the nature and geography of the research activities undertaken. However bearing in mind that this was a pilot project a great deal has been achieved in relation to how design thinking can be used to empower female artisans in less economically developed countries. The feedback from the women at the Chako recycle workplace was very positive. They were able to articulate their desire to learn new things stating that they already felt more empowered by the experience of being challenged to think and how much they had gained from the visual presentations and workshop activities they had participated in.

It is important to consider the theory of Social Capital in the context of this project; As John Field suggests building relationships matters (Field 2008). The result of people connecting with each other and sustaining these connections can enable them to achieve things they either could not do alone or would find incredibly difficult to do.

As a result of the workshops undertaken at Chako, Hanson contributed to a UNESCO funding bid written by the Zenji Foundation that would enable this pilot project to be taken to the next stage. Unfortunately this was not successful and progress has been suspended for now. However connections have been made and relationships have been established.

Within many overseas development contexts there is often resistance to knowledge sharing especially from craft producers that are trying to be more innovative in product development as there is such a big culture of copying from each other. It was recognised by the Chako group that developing design thinking skills alongside other kinds of material and making skills would empower them to be innovative in their creative design activities and could provide a more sustainable future for such a group.

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