



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-612-16488-8

Canada

Name

Collette Poirier

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

Development

SUBJECT TERM

0700

SUBJECT CODE

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
 Art History 0377
 Cinema 0900
 Dance 0378
 Fine Arts 0357
 Information Science 0723
 Journalism 0391
 Library Science 0399
 Mass Communications 0708
 Music 0413
 Speech Communication 0459
 Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
 Administration 0514
 Adult and Continuing 0516
 Agricultural 0517
 Art 0273
 Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
 Business 0688
 Community College 0275
 Curriculum and Instruction 0727
 Early Childhood 0518
 Elementary 0524
 Finance 0277
 Guidance and Counseling 0519
 Health 0600
 Higher 0745
 History of 0520
 Home Economics 0278
 Industrial 0521
 Language and Literature 0279
 Mathematics 0280
 Music 0522
 Philosophy of 0998
 Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
 Reading 0535
 Religious 0527
 Sciences 0714
 Secondary 0533
 Social Sciences 0534
 Sociology of 0340
 Special 0529
 Teacher Training 0530
 Technology 0710
 Tests and Measurements 0288
 Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language 0679
 General 0289
 Ancient 0290
 Linguistics 0291
 Modern 0401
 Literature 0294
 Classical 0295
 Comparative 0297
 Medieval 0298
 Modern 0316
 African 0591
 American 0305
 Asian 0352
 Canadian (English) 0355
 Canadian (French) 0593
 English 0311
 Germanic 0312
 Latin American 0315
 Middle Eastern 0313
 Romance 0314
 Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
 Religion 0318
 General 0321
 Biblical Studies 0319
 Clergy 0320
 History of 0322
 Philosophy of 0469
 Theology 0323

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
 Anthropology 0324
 Archaeology 0326
 Cultural 0327
 Physical 0310
 Business Administration 0272
 General 0770
 Accounting 0454
 Banking 0338
 Management 0385
 Canadian Studies 0501
 Economics 0503
 General 0505
 Agricultural 0508
 Commerce-Business 0509
 Finance 0510
 History 0511
 Labor 0358
 Theory 0366
 Folklore 0351
 Geography 0578
 Gerontology 0578
 History 0578
 General 0578

Ancient 0579
 Medieval 0581
 Modern 0582
 Black 0328
 African 0331
 Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
 Canadian 0334
 European 0335
 Latin American 0336
 Middle Eastern 0333
 United States 0337
 History of Science 0585
 Law 0398
 Political Science 0615
 General 0616
 International Law and Relations 0617
 Public Administration 0814
 Recreation 0452
 Social Work 0626
 Sociology 0627
 General 0938
 Criminology and Penology 0631
 Demography 0628
 Ethnic and Racial Studies 0629
 Individual and Family Studies 0630
 Industrial and Labor Relations 0700
 Public and Social Welfare 0344
 Social Structure and Development 0709
 Theory and Methods 0999
 Transportation 0453
 Urban and Regional Planning 0453
 Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture 0473
 General 0285
 Agronomy 0475
 Animal Culture and Nutrition 0476
 Animal Pathology 0359
 Food Science and Technology 0478
 Forestry and Wildlife 0479
 Plant Culture 0480
 Plant Pathology 0817
 Plant Physiology 0777
 Range Management 0776
 Wood Technology 0306
 Biology 0287
 General 0308
 Anatomy 0309
 Biostatistics 0379
 Botany 0329
 Cell 0353
 Ecology 0369
 Entomology 0793
 Genetics 0410
 Limnology 0307
 Microbiology 0317
 Molecular 0416
 Neuroscience 0433
 Oceanography 0821
 Physiology 0778
 Radiation 0472
 Veterinary Science 0786
 Zoology 0760
 Biophysics 0425
 General 0996
 Medical 0996

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry 0425
 Geochemistry 0996

Geodesy 0370
 Geology 0372
 Geophysics 0373
 Hydrology 0388
 Mineralogy 0411
 Paleobotany 0345
 Paleocology 0426
 Paleontology 0418
 Paleozoology 0985
 Palynology 0427
 Physical Geography 0368
 Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
 Health Sciences 0566
 General 0300
 Audiology 0992
 Chemotherapy 0567
 Dentistry 0350
 Education 0769
 Hospital Management 0758
 Human Development 0982
 Immunology 0564
 Medicine and Surgery 0347
 Mental Health 0569
 Nursing 0570
 Nutrition 0380
 Obstetrics and Gynecology 0354
 Occupational Health and Therapy 0381
 Ophthalmology 0571
 Pathology 0419
 Pharmacology 0572
 Pharmacy 0382
 Physical Therapy 0573
 Public Health 0374
 Radiology 0575
 Recreation 0575

Speech Pathology 0460
 Toxicology 0383
 Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences 0485
 Chemistry 0749
 General 0486
 Agricultural 0487
 Analytical 0488
 Biochemistry 0738
 Inorganic 0490
 Nuclear 0491
 Organic 0494
 Pharmaceutical 0495
 Physical 0754
 Polymer 0405
 Radiation 0605
 Mathematics 0986
 Physics 0606
 General 0608
 Acoustics 0748
 Astronomy and Astrophysics 0607
 Atmospheric Science 0798
 Atomic 0759
 Electronics and Electricity 0609
 Elementary Particles and High Energy 0610
 Fluid and Plasma 0752
 Molecular 0756
 Nuclear 0611
 Optics 0463
 Radiation 0346
 Solid State 0984
 Statistics 0984
 Applied Sciences 0346
 Applied Mechanics 0984
 Computer Science 0984

Engineering 0537
 General 0538
 Aerospace 0539
 Agricultural 0540
 Automotive 0541
 Biomedical 0542
 Chemical 0543
 Civil 0544
 Electronics and Electrical 0348
 Heat and Thermodynamics 0545
 Hydraulic 0546
 Industrial 0547
 Marine 0794
 Materials Science 0548
 Mechanical 0743
 Metallurgy 0551
 Mining 0552
 Nuclear 0549
 Packaging 0765
 Petroleum 0554
 Sanitary and Municipal 0790
 System Science 0428
 Geotechnology 0796
 Operations Research 0795
 Plastics Technology 0994
 Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
 Behavioral 0384
 Clinical 0622
 Developmental 0620
 Experimental 0623
 Industrial 0624
 Personality 0625
 Physiological 0989
 Psychobiology 0349
 Psychometrics 0632
 Social 0451



This document is dedicated to the staff of the Development Exchange Centre and to the rural women with whom they work in the hope that their realities are reflected within and that these pages will help to advance their struggles. It is also dedicated to my baby daughter Rosa in the hope that by the time she reaches my age the world will be a better place for women.

Abstract

Empowering Women in Rural Northern Nigeria: Towards a Framework for Feminist Participatory Development Practice

This practicum report and resource kit addresses the relevance of feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development approaches to the empowerment of rural women, particularly in the context of northern Nigeria. It is based on a staff and program development project conducted at the Development Exchange Centre (DEC), a local non governmental organization which works with rural women's groups in Bauchi state. The primary aim of the project was to enable DEC staff to enhance their work through the collective application of the concepts and principles of these three approaches to their own reality, program and methods.

The project was grounded in the self-expressed interests of the staff members. It employed a participatory methodology and emergent design, incorporating additional topics as the need arose. A total of seven staff workshops were held over a eighteen month period. These workshops were integrated into the ongoing cycle of program planning and delivery and were fed by organizational and field experiences.

This practicum report and resource kit elaborates on the theory which gave rise to this project, documents the project activities and outcomes and, reflects on the implications of this for theory development. It concludes by confirming the merits of feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development, in combination, for the empowerment of rural women but also points to a number of gaps illustrated by the project and field experiences. It calls for the articulation of framework for feminist participatory development practice which additionally addresses the totality of women's oppression, the personal and interpersonal dimensions of development, and the potentials of women's groups. Such an approach would also redefine the role of the external intervener and foster in them sensitivity to difference, skills in participatory planning and facilitation, and a spirit of common struggle.

**Colette Poirier
September 27, 1996**

Acknowledgment

I would to thank the Development Exchange Centre and CUSO for providing me with this rich learning opportunity and rural women who welcomed me into their homes and shared with me a part of their reality.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my partner Bill who sacrificed a great deal in order to be with me in Nigeria and contributed to this endeavor in ways too numerous to mention. I am also grateful to my baby daughter Rosa whose joyful disposition made the compromises I had to make a little easier and my sister Annette for always being there for me.

Many friends have made it possible for me to carry this process through to completion. In particular I would like to thank Emily for her encouragement and intellectual accompaniment; Errol and Bev for their emotional and material support, Ray and Carol for the much needed breaks, meals and laughter; and Greta and Charles for their work in editing and formatting beyond the call of duty.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my committee for their patience, prompt feedback and encouragement.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Aknowledgement.....	ii
 Section A: Introduction	 A1
Aims and Objectives	A1
Rationale: Posing the Problem.....	A2
Background and Methodology	A6
Structure of this Document.....	A8
Discussion of Terms:	A10
Empowerment	A10
Theory	A12
Praxis.....	A13
Class	A13
Section B: Background Papers	B1
1. From Popular to Feminist Popular Education	B2
2. Gender in Development: An Alternative Approach to Development	B24
3. Participation in Development Versus Participatory Development: A Paradigm Shift	B47
Section C: The Project	C1
Methodology	C2
Participatory Research.....	C2
Feminist Methods	C6
Popular and Experiential Adult Education.....	C8
The Context	C11
Political, Ecocomic and Cultural Influences.....	C11
The Development Exchange Centre (DEC)	C20
The Project Emerges.....	C26
Field Observations and Reflections	C26
The Staff Workshops.....	C41
Section D: Reflections	D1
Section E:Workshop Reports	E1
Workshop 1: Popular Education	E3
Workshop 2:Program Design and Facilitation	E11
Workshop 3: Feminist Popular Education and Introduction to Gender and Development	E19
Workshop 4: Gender and Development Two	E45
Workshop 5: Participatory Approaches	E63
Workshop 6: Giving and Receiving Feedback	E78
Workshop 7: Wrap-up Session :Action Planning	E86
Section F: Bibliography.....	F1

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Traditional versus Popular Education.....	B11
Table 2: Characteristics of Feminist Popular Education.....	B23
Table 3: Women in Development (WID) versus Gender and Development (GAD)	B46
Figure 1: Levels of Participation.....	B73
Table 4: Participation in Development versus Participatory Development	B82
Figure 2: The Reflection Loop.....	C10

Section A : Introduction

Aims and Objectives

This is a report on a participatory staff and program development project carried out with the Development Exchange Centre (DEC). DEC is a non-governmental organization which works with rural women's groups and is based in Bauchi, northern Nigeria. The primary aim of the project was to enable DEC staff to enhance their work with respect to the empowerment of rural women. This was achieved through the application of the concepts and principles of *feminist popular education*, *gender and development* and *participatory development* to their context and approach. Within this broad quest six specific objectives were defined:

- to illicit staff's current perceptions of their general social and work-related reality and their understanding of concepts and principles encompassed in three approaches listed above.
- to introduce new information (concepts, principles, strategies) as required.
- to explore the relevance of this new information to DEC's work.
- to identify aspects of these approaches DEC would like to integrate into its work.
- to plan desired changes, new practices, strategies and activities.
- to respond to other related staff and program development needs as they arose.

Since the project was intended from the outset to be participatory, open-ended and subject to re-negotiation at all times, a commitment was undertaken

to respond to related staff training needs as they were identified during the process.

In recognition of the dialectical relationship between theory and practice (theory informs practice and practice informs theory), this report not only explores the implications of feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development for DEC's work, but also considers how DEC's experience in general, and this project in particular, can contribute to theory development. Thus, this report aims to answer two central questions:

What contributions can the theory and practice of feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development make to DEC with respect to the challenges it faces in the day to day struggle to empower rural women?

How can DEC's experience of working with rural women in northern Nigeria inform the evolution and synthesis of these three approaches towards a holistic, feminist and empowering praxis?

Rationale: Posing the Problem

Historically speaking, the concept and practice of development has been seriously flawed by the presumption that it is possible to predict what is best for others. This phenomenon has been played out on the international scale with the modernization theories of Rostow, Gerschenkron and Rosenstein-Rodan, and the policies and strategies to which this mode of thinking has given rise. It is also evident in current neoclassical trends and structural adjustment prescriptions which, while purporting to have the right medicine to fix faltering economies in countries such as Nigeria, have reversed some of the development gains of the past with respect to access to quality education, health care,

employment and so on. For millions of poor women and men who live in such countries, it seems that the cure is worse than the disease.

A similar rationality is manifest in the belief that macro development will best address the needs of the poor, a rationality whose dominance is evident in the allocation of most foreign aid dollars to large bilateral and multilateral projects rather than local and international non-governmental organizations working at the grassroots level.¹ Agencies which work directly with the grassroots, however, have also made the same mistakes in trying to bring development to the people (Murphy, 1991, FFHC/AD, 1982).²

With respect to women development has been flawed both from this perspective and from the further presumption that gender neutral development is possible. It is not. Since Ester Boserup's (1970) ground-breaking work, the differential impact on women and men has been recognized and, throughout the UN Decade for women and beyond, remedial efforts have been adopted. Still, the improvement to women's lives has been marginal at best (Plewes & Stuart,

¹ For example, CIDA projections for 1994-1995 allocated 33.2 % of the Canadian foreign assistance budget to government-to-government aid usually directed toward large infrastructure projects, credit and balance of payment support; 16.4% to international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank; and only 10% to NGOs which work largely at the community level (CCIC, 1994-95).

² Murphy (1991) uses a three stage spectrum of the function of NGOs developed by Tim Brodhead to assess activities and roles played by Canadian International NGOs: Stage 1, "the provision of relief and welfare"; Stage 2, "funding or implementation of self-help projects"; Stage 3, "collaboration with local agents for change as a facilitator or catalyst in specific aspects of the change process" (p.177). Murphy suggests that most Canadian NGO activities can be located in Stage 2 with growing resources being allocated to Stage 1. Brodhead's framework is an adaptation of an earlier framework developed by David Korten in which Korten categorizes NGO activities into three generation types, and he (Brodhead) suggests that mainstream northern NGO's are second generation organizations (note 30, p. 208). This suggests that they have failed to make the transition from deliverers of development projects (paternalism) to partners or co-agents in the social change process (solidarity).

1991). This may be due in large measure to the failure to recognize the need to empower women to assume more control over their own lives and that this requires a corresponding change in the dominant position of men. In fact, it is largely due to women's secondary status in the social configuration that lasting changes in their material status have not been won. In other words, women do not have the power to hold on to their gains. The same may be said of other marginalized groups, but that is a topic for other works.

Current development literature contains references to the empowerment approach (Friedmann, 1992: vii, Moser, 1989 and 1993) as if it is one in a repertoire of approaches that theorists, policy makers and development workers can choose from to achieve development goals. But is the goal *development* (usually defined in economic or material terms), or *empowerment* itself, or both? If empowerment is a central goal, what then is the strategy? What kinds of principles, methods and practices are required, particularly with respect to the empowerment of women?

This report begins with two broad contentions. The first is that the empowerment of women to make choices, have an impact on their environment, and control their destinies is an urgent, undeniable goal. Secondly, if the goal is the empowerment of rural women in particular, then the definition of an approach specific to their requirements is necessary; but not a blueprint which can be imposed universally; rather an open, flexible articulation of key principles, processes and skills and practices. Such an organic approach must allow for the vast differences in women's experiences due to culture, religion, race, class, age, location and so on. Numerous approaches to grassroots development have been articulated under such labels as 'people-centred', 'bottom-up' and 'alternative development'. Of the array of approaches available, I suggest that the convergence and synthesis of feminist popular education,

gender and development and participatory development, holds the most potential to empower rural women.

The empowerment of women is a pressing concern in rural northern Nigeria. By some accounts, the status of Nigerian women ranks among the lowest in the world (Ahooja-Patel, 1993). This problem is even more severe in the arid rural north where Nigeria's crumbling economy plunges women into even more grinding poverty and traditional and conservative religious practices such as child marriage, wife seclusion and polygamy impede women's struggle to improve their lives.

The Development Exchange Centre (DEC), has been employing a group-based methodology to assist rural women to improve their standard of living and in the long term, enhance their status within their communities. Although as an organization it does not employ the term "empowerment" to describe its work (individual staff may), a close look at the organization's development (Section C) reveals a progression towards that intent. The challenges DEC faces are enormous in several ways. First, it is a women-led organization within a conservative, highly patriarchal, stratified and gender segregated society. Coupled with the constraints imposed by a ruthless military regime, challenges to the status quo are treated with suspicion and hostility. Second, it is one of very few non-governmental organizations in a government dominated service sector where there is little understanding of, or support for, participatory and empowering approaches. Finally, it must contend with a rapidly changing, volatile political and economic reality which greatly affects the lives of rural women, as well as the lives of DEC staff. Due to these factors, DEC's progress requires continuous innovation, inspiration, and external support.

Background and Methodology

In November of 1992, I began what was to become an eighteen month tenure with DEC, composed of one eight month and one seven month stay in Bauchi, broken by three months in Canada. I was sponsored by CUSO, a Canadian organization which pursues community development and social justice goals in Canada and the South by strengthening and supporting indigenous partner organizations. The provision of human resources, in the form of co-operant placements, is a major component of CUSO's strategy.³

The Development Exchange Centre (DEC) is a small organization whose program is developed and implemented by a four member staff program team, under the guidance of an advisory committee. Upon commencement of my contract I became a member of the program team. As part of this collective I was responsible for a share of the routine tasks, but my role was of necessity different from that of the Nigerian staff. Cultural/racial and linguistic differences dictated that they would continue to be primarily responsible for implementing the program in the rural communities. My role was to support them by assisting in the development of new programs and activities and providing feedback on those already in progress. I was to bring a fresh perspective to the organization through the exchange of ideas and experience. Thus, it was fitting that when we were reassigning areas of responsibility, I should be assigned that of staff development.

This is the context in which the plan to hold a series of staff training workshops was devised. It was intended to be a participatory process which

³ CUSO uses the term co-operant to refer to persons it places on a contract basis with various organizations it supports in countries of the South, as opposed to employees of CUSO.

would bring together my interests and experience with the needs, interests and experiences of the staff. I proposed workshops on popular education, feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development, as ways to look critically at DEC's work, while exposing staff to grassroots approaches with which they were not fully familiar. These were adopted as a tentative list of topics to be covered rather than as a fixed curriculum. From the outset it was understood that the agenda would change as the process unfolded. The outcome of one session would inform the content and design of the next. New themes could be added and others dropped or adapted.

The essence of needs based, participatory adult education is that the participants themselves determine what it is they need to know, and have input into the design of the educational process. This approach can best be described as emergent. The only thing that is fixed is the point of departure. Each successive phase is subject to evaluation and re-negotiation as emerging needs and interests of the participants continue to point the way forward. Thus, changes from the original program are more than accommodated. They are anticipated and welcomed. So it was with this project. While all four original topics were covered, popular education and feminist popular education were explored in separate workshops; feminist popular education was blended with gender and development; gender and development was explored at greater length than other topics; and two new topics were added — giving and receiving feedback and program design and facilitation.

Although this project is first and foremost a participatory adult education project, it can also be considered research, in that it explores the extent to which theory holds up against the extensive experience DEC staff have accumulated in

working with women in the context of rural northern Nigeria.⁴ As a research project it draws heavily from the participatory research school. It also shares characteristics of feminist research with respect to the valorization of women's perspective and of subjective knowledge.

Structure of this Document

This document is designed as both a practicum report and a resource kit, providing both theoretical and practical 'hands-on' information. It is divided into six sections, present section included.

The remaining five sections fully discuss the issues introduced in this section and together provide a holistic picture of the concepts, ideas and circumstances which led to and influenced the project, what actually took place during the project and, the meaning drawn from this experience.

Section B establishes the theoretical foundation for the project. It identifies the central concepts and ideas from feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development which make up the conceptual framework for this project, and from which the content of the staff workshops is drawn. This material is divided into three background papers devoted to each of these approaches respectively.

⁴ It is important to note here that my perspective and agenda differed somewhat from that of the DEC staff. While they were primarily interested in a staff development project (adult education) I, as a student of International Development Studies, was also interested in theory development (research). Since, in a participatory project, the needs and interests of the participants remain paramount the research aspect of my agenda is largely met through post project reflection and analysis contained in Section D of this document.

The project itself is the subject of Section C. This section begins by discussing the methodological orientation of the project and identifying the principals and tools drawn from participatory research, feminist method and popular and experiential adult education which the project employed. It then situates the project within its geographical space and historical moment by mapping out the broad social, economic and political issues which impact on the lives of women in northern Nigeria, and providing a profile of DEC in terms of its history, program and structure. Finally it documents what actually took place within the time frame of the project, from conception to completion. This includes both events that were planned and incidents that occurred during the course of DEC's work with rural women which had a bearing on the project. In this section, the staff training workshops are discussed in terms of the general process, overall intent, key activities and significant outcomes only.

Section D assesses the overall impact of the project on DEC and addresses the implication of this experience for theory development. It should be noted that opportunities for collective reflection and evaluation were built into the project design and the insights and conclusions drawn from this process are shared as workshop outcomes in the preceding sections and again, in full, in Section E. This section is devoted to my reflections on the theory in relation to reality revealed through implementing this project and through working within the Development Exchange Centre.

Section E includes a detailed review of the seven staff training workshops in a manual format, describing each and every activity and listing responses and conclusions. In keeping with my commitment to DEC, this format provides a complete record of what took place as well as "how to" information to DEC staff and others doing similar adult and popular education and gender training work.

Finally, Section F contains a list of literature and documents upon which this work has drawn.

Discussion of Terms

Within any debate, a shared understanding of concepts and terms is very often taken for granted. Yet, any one word can be assigned various meanings depending on the perspective of the user. Therefore, an accurate understanding of any argument requires an understanding of the proponent's use of key words. Before moving on to the main body of this document I think it important to elaborate on the meaning I assign to the words *empowerment*, *theory*, *praxis* and *class*, and to explain the significance of these concepts in this practicum report.

Empowerment

The development and related literature abounds with references to "empowerment", but little effort is made to define what it means. Some writers use this term to connote internal (perceptual, psychological and emotional) changes on the part of the oppressed which enables them to engage in liberating acts. (Gatt-Fly, 1983; Freire, 1985) . Others emphasize the attainment of concrete structural or material changes in power relations between advantaged and disadvantaged sectors of society (Hasan, 1991; Culbertson, 1995). These two concepts of empowerment are not mutually exclusive, however. Rather, they are integrally related in that the achievement of the latter is highly predicated upon the former. Stromquist contends that " Empowerment seeks to combine both

consciousness raising and participation so that individuals not only understand their society and the place they currently have in it, but that they undertake efforts to modify social relations" (1988:12). With specific reference to the empowerment of women she suggests that it includes cognitive, psychological and economic components. The cognitive component entails the development of critical understanding of our subordinate position. The psychological component involves the development of self-confidence and self-esteem. GATT-Fly (1983) also cites the development of a belief in one's ability to take effective action as a distinguishing feature of empowering education. Stromquist views the economic component of women's empowerment as the attainment of some degree of economic independence, which suggests that it also involves the development of new skills.

Another avenue to a clearer understanding of the dimensions of empowerment is to examine the concept of power itself. Conventional wisdom conceives power as a property which exists in limited quantity (Benjamin & Walters, 1994), and which can be possessed, controlled, given and taken away. Thus, individuals and groups can be seen to be either powerful or powerless. Benjamin and Walters refute this simplistic and dualistic notion. Drawing on postmodern theory, they argue that the meaning of power rests not in who possesses it, but in how it is exercised. Accordingly, they identify four types of exercised power; "power over" (control over others), "power with" (collective power), "power within" (inner strength) and "power to" ("a person's capacity to act"). Starhawk (1987) provides an elaboration on the first three types. "Power-over", the form which is traditionally understood as power, is exercised through authority, coercion or manipulation, is deeply imbedded in hierarchical society and is essentially one of domination. Like Benjamin and Walters, she sees "power-with" as social, collective power but points out that "... it can only exist

among those who are equal and who recognize that they are equal." It is potentially "the seedbed of empowerment (Starhawk, 1987:10)." "Power-from-within" on the other hand, is tantamount to empowerment itself. It has to do with the awakening of individual potential, a sense of connectedness with the universe, the power to create and the willingness and strength to act.

The concept of empowerment embodied in this project, and more generally in my world view and practice, is most closely akin to the notions of "power with" and "power within", both of which imply an increased ability to undertake liberating acts. This is derived from a clearer understanding of one's reality (consciousness raising), a belief in one's inherent abilities and potential, and strength in unity with those who experience a similar reality. It may also involve the development of skills, analytical or vocational, necessary to affect change. Ultimately, it infers a new power dispensation as empowered groups and individuals no longer accept their subordination.

Theory

The word 'theory' is for many an intimidating term. It conjures up notions of complex and abstract formulations, somehow separate from, or above, the reality we live. Put simply, however, theories in grassroots development in particular, are, at their best, sets of generalizations derived from practice - from reflection on and analysis of, experience. Such theories are constantly being revised or transformed through application to new situations. It is problematic when theory becomes dogma, over-generalized or universally applied and used to develop standardized programs and strategies which do not take into account local conditions and local aspirations. Theoretical formulations of grassroots approaches are only meaningful if they inform the practice of those who are doing the work, and must be transformed through concrete application. The

staff at DEC have a great deal of experience to offer to the evolution of theory, as does my personal experience conducting and reflecting upon this project. In carrying out this project, new insights were gained not only with regard to the relevance of these approaches to DEC's work, but more generally to the appropriateness of, and gaps within, the conceptual framework (the convergence of feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development) which gave rise to the project in the first place. Thus, it is hoped that the experience gained in this project will contribute to theory development.

Praxis

'Praxis' is a term commonly used in popular education circles to denote an intimate and dialectical relationship between action and reflection, and between theory and practice. As human beings, we act upon the world and we consider the outcome of these actions before choosing a new course of action. By reflecting on and taking meaning from the first experience, we are creating or revising a theory which will guide us into the future. Thus, theory is created through praxis (action and reflection). 'Praxis' is featured in the title of this report to reflect the role that this project plays in the ongoing pursuit of effective strategies for social change and theories which inform them.

Class

There are a number of ways to conceptualize class differences. In Marxist materialist terms, the individual or group's relationship to the means of production is the defining characteristic. More popular conceptions consider income and education levels to be two of the key indicators. Some of the literature reviewed in subsequent pages tends to discuss class in bipolar terms

— the ruling class versus the masses, or its equivalent in the Hausa language of northern Nigeria, the *Sarakuna* versus the *Talakawa*. Each of these has their merits for explaining social organization, but the task of understanding the class position of individuals is rife with complexities and contradictions. This is especially true in today's rapidly changing world, where individuals may move quickly up or down the economic ladder. Does an unemployed university professor, for example, belong to the same class as an unemployed daycare worker? Clearly, a more comprehensive set of criteria is needed. Far be it from me to propose a precise definition of class. I will suggest, however, that for the purposes of this document, it is best understood in terms of greater or lesser privilege in society, and that this can be determined along several overlapping and often contradicting dimensions. In the economic dimension, the basic class divisions pertain to whether or not the individual has sufficient access to the means of production to make a decent living or whether or not s/he has access to meaningful and secure employment. On the educational level, those who have access to institutions of higher learning generally have more options open to them for meaningful employment, although this is not always true in Western society today. A third important dimension of class is access to formal political power. Generally speaking, the less privileged are alienated from decision making structures and their political power rests in the potential of organized protest. Finally, the psychological dimension of class relates to the class with which one identifies, as well as how one is socialized to see one's place in society. Because of these complexities, an individual can manifest characteristics of more than one class at the same time and can move back and forth across class lines.

Section B: Background Papers

This section reviews what I consider to be the main contributions of the three approaches which have influenced my current thinking and practice, led to the conceptualization of this participatory staff and program development project, and formed the basis of its content. These contributions are identified mainly from the literature, but I also draw upon my personal experiences prior to departure for Nigeria, both as a participant and as a facilitator in social change adult education.⁵ In some ways this section follows the trajectory of my own pursuit for a clearer understanding of, and skills to promote, meaningful social change. It began with early exposure to popular education and grew to encompass my emerging feminist perspective (feminist popular education). This led to an interest in gender and development, which again expanded to a consideration of the broader issue of the meaning of participation (participatory development). At this juncture I am currently seeking clarity on the ways in which these approaches converge and complement each other, and thus could be articulated together to form a more holistic, feminist, truly participatory and empowering grassroots praxis.

⁵ I use this term here as a catch-all phrase encompassing popular education, development education and other consciousness raising adult education projects.

1 From Popular to Feminist Popular Education

In this document I have chosen to discuss popular education and feminist popular education together, rather than as two entirely distinct approaches, because I have come to view feminist popular education as no more and no less than popular education approached from a feminist perspective. Accordingly, it retains its popular class character but brings new issues, insights and practices to the program. It may or may not involve working exclusively with women (of the popular sector), but always keeps their interest central. In terms of content, it may or may not focus exclusively on gender issues, but treats the incorporation of gender issues and analysis as a touchstone for appropriate *praxis*. The feminist perspective has enhanced and transformed the theory and practice of popular education in the interests of marginalized or popular sector women, but also (potentially) in the interests of popular sector men. In the context of intensifying economic and moral crisis, combined with a heightened awareness of women's issues resulting from the feminist movement and the U.N. decade for women, feminist popular education is emerging as a hybrid in grassroots conscientization and mobilization. There are those who may take exception to the definition I propose here (Lehmann, 1991 and Doerge, 1992), and their perspectives shall be debated in due course. In the following pages I will identify the origins and definitions of popular education, outline its main concepts, review feminist critiques of mainstream popular education and discuss the emerging articulation of the feminist approach.

What is Popular Education ?

The roots of popular education can be traced to the struggle in Latin America against poverty, authoritarianism and elitism, and to the requirement for an educational approach which would accompany and strengthen the popular movement. It has been advanced as an alternative education and grassroots mobilization approach which serves the interests of the dispossessed classes of society and ultimately leads to their liberation. It proposes a radical methodology which engages oppressed peoples in a collective process of naming their own realities, analyzing the structures which oppress them, and acting to transform them. It expands the parameters of education beyond the classroom to include the experiences and struggles of daily living.

Paulo Freire is widely considered a key figure in popular education thought and practice. In the early sixties Freire began to develop an innovative approach to literacy training in his home country, Brazil. Although this particular project came to an abrupt end with the military coup of 1964, when Freire was forced into exile, he continued to build on his practice while in exile and to put his thoughts and experiences in writing. In his seminal work, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (first published in 1970 and still widely quoted in the literature) and in subsequent publications, Freire sets down ideas on society, oppression, change and education which form the bedrock of popular education philosophy and practice today. Numerous thinkers and practitioners from all parts of the globe have reworked and expanded upon his theories and methods, but there remains a central core of concepts and methodological implications which are central to an understanding of this approach.

Freire sees traditional education as part and parcel of the dominant oppressive system which maintains the subordination of the poor and powerless majority in the interests of preserving the privileges of the dominant class. This occurs through an authoritarian, hierarchical approach in which students become passive recipients of the knowledge and skills which the dominant class wishes them to acquire. Freire refers to this as *banking* education. Popular education on the other hand, is horizontal, collaborative, and utilizes a problem-posing approach in which the educator and participants collectively investigate issues which are relevant to the participants' lives.

Popular education theory recognizes that oppressed peoples are not necessarily aware of their oppression. In fact, Freire (1983 a.) and others maintain that the popular class has internalized the consciousness of their oppressors. Traditional education has played an instrumental role in creating a false consciousness among the masses which prevents them from seeing that their interests lie in working to transform the status quo. Education institutions, as part of the oppressive state apparatus, alienate marginalized peoples from their own class and cultural identity. It reinforces the values of the ruling class, creates dependency and passivity, and robs the popular class of their authentic voice, resulting in dehumanization and what Freire terms a "culture of silence". Popular education aims to enable people to recover their values, their voices, and to develop skills and critical consciousness to participate in personal and social transformation. This results in humanization.

Consciousness raising is a crucial aspect of any popular education program. Freire coined the term *conscientização* (conscientization) to denote the process by which participants (oppressed) become progressively aware of the causes of their condition and their potential to contribute towards transformation (Freire, 1985 and 1983 a. and b.). Freire identifies three levels of consciousness in

which individuals may be located (Freire, 1983 a), each related to the extent to which they grasp the causality and temporality of their condition. In the first level, — magical consciousness — oppressed individuals accept their lot in life and attribute their condition and status to some form of natural or divine order. At the second level — naive consciousness — the oppressed begin to understand why their conditions exist, but they see these factors as beyond their control and hold out little hope for change. Those who reach the third level — critical consciousness — begin to understand the causes and circumstances of their reality and to perceive the possibility of intervening in it. In other words, they discover their own agency in the historical process. Reality is not seen as static but rather as a problem to be solved. Through conscientization, the oppressed cease to act, and to allow themselves to be treated, as objects for manipulation by elites, but become subjects in the making of their own history.

Conscientization takes place through *praxis*.

Praxis can be defined as intervention in the world based on "...the dynamic integration of action and reflection, or work and word" (Arnold, et. al., 1983). As discussed earlier, it denotes an integral relationship between theory and practice, between knowing and doing and the unfinished character of all learning. New knowledge is continuously being created through putting theory into practice, reflecting on the outcome and creating new theory on that basis. Praxis is absolutely crucial to the authentic participation of the popular sector in the process of social transformation.

Critical consciousness is brought about, not through an intellectual effort alone, but through praxis — through the authentic union of action and reflection. Such reflection cannot be denied to the people. If it were, the people would be no more than activist pawns in the hands of leadership that reserved for itself the right of decision making. The authentic left cannot fail to stimulate the overcoming of the people's

false consciousness, on whatever level it exists, just as the right is incapable of doing so (Freire, 1985:87).

Popular educators frequently connect consciousness raising and empowerment. The literature, however, does not fully address the relationship between these. Does critical consciousness constitute one of the conditions necessary for empowerment or does the achievement of critical consciousness represent empowerment itself? As Doerge (1992) and Young (1988) point out, awareness of the potential to act (critical consciousness) and the ability to act (empowerment) are not necessarily one in the same. The consequences of engaging in liberating acts may be too great at any given point in time. Other conditions, such as the possession of necessary resources and skills or sufficient group solidarity may not exist. Clearly, however, consciousness raising through praxis is an important component in the empowerment process, regardless of whether or not empowerment is seen as an internal (cognitive, psychological, emotional) or a structural (social, political) shift.

The popular education method emphasizes dialogue with and among participants as opposed to the lectures and standardized curriculum characteristic of *vanguardista* and *paternalista* approaches (Cadena, 1991:67). Genuine dialogue requires a fundamental respect for, and trust in, the people's abilities to know and to act. In true dialogue everyone teaches and everyone learns. Freire (1983) warns against the tendency of well intentioned educators to assume that they know what is best for the people. Such an attitude would serve to reinforce domestication rather than contributing toward liberation. He argues that just as no education is neutral, neither is the educator, but this fact should not imply manipulation of the people towards ends that are not of their own choosing. Genuine dialogue can only take place among equals.

Critics argue that a contradiction exists between the theory of consciousness raising and the notion of equality embedded in dialogical methodology (Rahnema, 1990). On the one hand, the assumption that the oppressed exist in a state of false consciousness which the educator assists them to overcome implies that the educator has attained a higher level of consciousness. On the other hand, Freire and others place a great deal of emphasis on valuing the experience and wisdom of the people. How can this dichotomy be resolved? One way is by recognizing that all of our minds have been colonized in some way. Another is to assume a posture of respect for the different kinds of knowledge that are brought together in a popular education encounter. Although the educator may have had the opportunity to study social theory, s/he cannot presume to understand the complex realities of people's lives and the rationality behind their survival strategies. This s/he must discover through an open-ended non judgmental exchange, which leads both the educator and the participants to an ever higher level of consciousness.

Generally speaking, popular education involves at least three circular steps; naming oppressive reality /the problem, reflecting on and analyzing the causes, and engaging in transformative action. In this process *generative themes* are often identified. They are central issues, problems or words (in the case of literacy education) around which analysis of the structures of oppression can be built. The themes chosen should be indicative of the struggles of the participants in a particular locality, class or situation. Some practitioners have suggested additional steps such as adding new information or theory to that which the group currently possesses and rehearsing strategies (Arnold, et al., 1991). This does not detract from the essential components of beginning with, validating and analyzing participants' experiences.

It should be emphasized that popular education does not attempt to offer a blueprint for others to follow. This would be antithetical to its philosophy. While some educators may bemoan the absence of a specific step by step model and standardized curriculum, others applaud its flexibility and adaptability to various cultures and contexts. Cadena (1991) points to the necessity of understanding the relationship between the context and effective practice. Freire invites us to rework his theory by analyzing it through the lens of our own experience and adapting it to the requirements of our particular environment.

In any context I speak about my own practice, and upon reflection I articulate my practice theoretically." From here on, I have to challenge other educators, including those in my own country, to take my reflections as objects of their own reflections and analyze their context so they can begin to reinvent them in practice" (Freire & Macedo, 1987: 135)

In doing so, we make the theory and practice of popular education our own.

Popular education has expanded well beyond its application to literacy training to labour organizing, community development, skills training, cultural revitalization and human rights, environment and women's movements. It encompasses a variety of techniques and mediums including radio broadcasting, popular literature, community or group animation, popular theatre and participatory research.

Much of the literature on popular education focuses on how it is practiced. An equally important question is for whom it is intended. In Latin America, the cradle of popular education, it is seen as much more than an alternative methodology. It has become the pedagogy of the popular movement— peasant organizations, labour unions, civil rights organizations, opposition political parties, cultural movements, community development initiatives, Christian base communities and so on (Jara, 1984). The popular class and popular

organizations have been, and continue to be, empowered through political consciousness raising and mobilization skills. Ocsar Jara (1984) of Alforja, a popular education network in Central America, argues that popular education,

... cannot be fundamentally defined, neither by the nature that it assumes as an educational process (extra-curricular or not), nor by the methods, techniques, or didactic procedures that it uses (seminars, workshops, group activity, audio -visual means, etc.); it is defined by its class character, by the class interests it caters to. The term 'popular' is no more than a reference to the definite class character that identifies popular education as a process linked to the requirements, necessities and interest of the popular classes (p. 6).

Many others accept this original class orientation as at least one of the principal foundations of popular education (Fink, 1992; Picon, 1991; Hope & Timmel, 1984; GATT-Fly, 1983; Arnold & Burke, 1983). Still others place less import on which sectors or groups it takes place with, than on the process or goal of the program. MacKenzie (1992), for example, states, "...if the process is participatory, where people are looking critically at power relations and are supported in organizing to change their situations, it can be called popular education" (1992:49). Proulx (1993) suggests that popular education could also play a role in sectors unaffected by poverty by assisting them to develop the necessary tools to face the challenge of citizenship in an increasingly complex reality.

Differences in the interpretation of popular education can be, in part, attributed to differences in the class structure and the configuration of social forces in any given country or region. Proulx, for instance, refers specifically to popular education challenges in Quebec. Nevertheless, the historical roots of popular education — the merger of Freirean inspired practice with the struggles of the popular movement — suggest that the class identity of participants is an essential defining characteristic. It is the "popular" movement which has given

this approach its name. Furthermore, to divorce popular education from the class interests from which it was derived, opens it up to all manner of manipulation and co-optation by those who serve the status quo (Kidd & Kumar, 1981). This is not to suggest that participatory education — within the middle class for example — which questions power structures is an illegitimate activity. My purpose, rather, is to question whether or not such activity can be accurately titled "popular education".

The following table summarizes the main characteristics of popular education and contrasts them with those of mainstream education as seen from a popular education perspective:

Table 1. Mainstream Education versus Popular Education.

Mainstream Education	Popular Education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - society as just - maintains status quo - static reality, a-historical - education system is domesticating/ alienating - banking education - students as objects - top down, vertical - passive - intellectual, verbal - teacher as expert - preset curriculum - a-critical - division between life and classroom, between knowing and doing - individual - competitive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - society as oppressive - social change in the interest of the popular class - world ever changing, participants are agents of change - education as liberation, transformation of oppression, empowerment - problem posing, knowledge creation - participants as subjects - horizontal, dialogical - active, participatory - involves whole person - teacher as facilitator/ everyone teaches, everyone learns, people's experiences - curriculum contextually bound, investigate experience, generative themes, culturally appropriate - conscientization - practice/theory, action/reflection, praxis - collective - cooperative

To complete this overview of popular education it is appropriate to acknowledge the implications its expanding theory and practice have for society

extending well beyond the realm of education. Proulx (1993) and Ellis (1993) emphasize the role of adult and popular education in achieving and maintaining democracy. Proulx writes, "Popular Education approaches reflect the citizen's desire to escape from seclusion as well as their lawful desire to participate in democracy" (p.36). Prajuli (1986) argues that popular education constitutes a counter-discourse of modernization development theory, by challenging the trickle down theory, and by stressing a bottom up approach, local initiatives, self-reliance and participation. In practice, he sees it as the creation of a counter-hegemony, in as much as it refuses to accept the dominant ideology or political practice, strengthens popular organizations, revitalizes popular culture and stresses collective popular knowledge.

The creation of popular hegemony is an important goal of popular education. Related to it, and equally important, is the emphasis that popular education places on human agency. This is the notion that the world is constantly being created and recreated through human action, and that the critical individual and the collective exercise of agency by the popular class will create a more just and equitable society. The direction of social change — the object of transformation — must be collectively determined by the people who are engaged in the process, those who are victims of an unjust system. It cannot be determined by external leaders who do not share the same experiences or cultural and class background, or by anyone who does not have to live with the consequences of the transformative action, whether positive or negative. The knowledge of the people who live and survive their oppression must be respected and validated. Knowledge created for and with the people, with their active, critical and full participation, must be the vanguard ideas that lead, if ever so slowly, to revolutionary change.

The Emergence of Feminist Popular Education

What potential does popular education theory hold for the liberation/empowerment of women? I argue, along with other feminist scholars and popular educators, that both promise and limitations are embedded within its theoretical framework. Weiler (1991), O'Neil (1989) and Butterwick (1986) draw attention to significant parallels between Freirean and feminist theory with respect to Freire's notions of oppression such as the internalization of the values of the oppressor resulting in distortion of reality, subjugation of people's knowledge and culture of silence; and of liberation through the valorization of the subjective and of experience, and through naming the world, conscientization and praxis. They argue that these concepts can, and indeed in many ways have been, applied to the struggle for the women's equality, albeit with some important differences. Butterwick, for example, in discussing the similarities and differences between the processes of feminist consciousness raising and Freirean conscientization, argues that while feminist consciousness raising highlights the creation of women-centered knowledge and the awakening of sisterhood, it fails to move beyond personal problem solving to collective political action. Freire's theory, on the other hand, neglects the specific oppression of women, but more fully integrates reflection and action in the ongoing pursuit for greater understanding and broader change in social relations.

Weiler (1991) critiques Freire on the basis of a false dualism, implied by his division of the world into the oppressed and oppressors. She contends that such universal claims hide "... the multiple and overlapping forms of oppression revealed in 'reading the world' of experience" (p. 469). Freire has been widely criticized for his singular focus on class contradictions, although in later works

(1985) he acknowledges other contradictions such as race and gender as bases for oppression. Weiler calls for struggle against all forms of oppression, but argues that this is complicated by the fact that one can simultaneously embody both oppressed and oppressor, as in instances where an economically disadvantaged man oppresses his equally poor wife. These contradictions may be present within individuals, and among members of any grouping; a fact which calls into question the assumption of common experience and thus common interest. She sees new and promising directions for feminist pedagogy in the emerging recognition of difference arising from the influence of postmodern theory on feminist thought. Accounting for difference requires all persons engaged in transformative work, including educators and participants, to situate themselves in the social structure, acknowledge privilege, and claim their histories and subjectivity. bell hooks (1984), an African American feminist, Weiler (1991) and others comment on Freire's use of sexist language, in particular, his exclusive use of the male referent in Pedagogy of the Oppressed. hooks writes that in this text, "... which has helped many of us to develop a political consciousness, there is tendency to speak of people's liberation as male liberation. While the sexist language does not negate the message, it does diminish its value and perpetuates sexist oppression" (hooks, 1984: 4). Nevertheless, taken together, the arguments of hooks, Weiler, O'Neil and Butterwick suggest a natural affinity between the two schools which underlies a capacity of each to enrich the other. But the marriage of feminism and the broader theory and practice of popular education (as opposed to that of Freire in particular)⁶ has been anything but

⁶ It is perhaps useful at this juncture to distinguish between Freirean practice and theory and that of popular education in general. Much of what is known as popular education today had been inspired by Freire but the two are not synonymous. When I refer to popular education in this document I am referring to a broader body of theory and practice that has its roots in Latin

automatic. A number of women theorists and popular educators have identified serious flaws in its theory and practice.

First, popular education is based primarily on a class analysis of society, and fails to give adequate consideration to gender as a basis of oppression. Cebotarev (1987) argues that popular education is "unisexual in its conception", and tends to assume that the interests of all members of the popular class are identical. Lehmann (1990) echoes this view and claims that "... traditional popular education is gender blind in its practice, and amalgamates men and women and the realities of their daily lives" (p. 60). Further, Pineda (1987, no page number) suggests that popular education "has been strongly prejudiced against the focus on gender, feeding gender prejudices with its taboos and almost always considering feminism as petty bourgeois, if not totally bourgeois and deviationist."

A number of theorists and women popular educators (Lehmann 1990, Cebotarev 1987, Yantz 1990, Doerge, 1992, Fink, 1992) contend that the shortcomings of popular education for women are related to the fact that popular education, both in theory and in practice, is still firmly in the hands of men. As Lehmann and Doerge point out, almost all the published literature on popular education is written by men. Positions of authority in organizations which implement or promote popular education programs are still largely held by men whereas women tend to be relegated to supportive roles such as fund-raising, cooking or taking minutes (Fink, 1992). This is true of local or regional organizations as well as large international networks. Yantz (1990) points out that (as of 1990) on the executive committee of the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE), an organization which has been a strong promoter of popular

America and had been practiced and adapted in to many contexts across the globe.

education, only nine out of the thirty-six members were women. She sees this as evidence that insufficient progress has been made toward integrating women into all levels of decision making within the popular and adult education movement as a whole. The rectification of this imbalance would entail "... among other things, relinquishing the power that derives from established male networks and communication patterns. " (cited in Gayfer, 1992. p. 23).

The absence of women's input into theory and planning has serious repercussions on the number and type of programs for women. Many women claim that programs for women have tended to reinforce traditional roles and stereotypes, maintaining the subordination of women and limiting their choices (ICAE Women's Program 1988, Cebotarev 1987, Pineda 1987, Rosero 1987, 1988, 1993, Stromquist, 1988, Fink, 1992). This problem has been exacerbated by economic crisis in Latin American countries and elsewhere, which has forced programs to focus on basic needs and survival skills, rather than conscientization and emancipatory skills (Fink, 1992).

Pineda (1987) contends that serious problems such as physical and sexual abuse, and abandonment and authoritarianism in the home, are ignored by mainstream popular education programs. The neglect of issues such as these, which profoundly influence women's lives, inevitably affects participants and programs. Rocio Rosero, of the Women's Education Network of the Consejo de Education de Adultos de America Latina (CEAAL), comments that despite the growth and strength of the popular education movement in Latin America, and the fact that women have begun to participate in larger numbers, "...this participation has many difficulties and limitations as a result of the contradictions present both in the home and in the popular organizations where traditional mechanisms of subordination of women to men are being reproduced" (Rosero, 1988). For example, women commonly encounter

resistance from male family members (husbands, fathers, grown sons) to their participation in popular education programs, to the extent of violence and abandonment (Fink, 1992; Lehmann, 1990). Cebotarev (1987) demonstrates through four case examples how the structure of patriarchy within the movement and in the family constrains the quality and frequency of women's participation. These constraints include; heavy domestic responsibilities, unsupportive and resistant husbands, and women's difficulty being taken seriously by program planners.

These problems indicate an inability or an unwillingness of popular education programs to address the so called "private sphere" of people's lives. Mainstream popular education focuses on bringing about structural change in the "public sphere" and considers domestic issues to be too personal (Lehmann 1990; Cebotarev 1987; Pineda 1987). In 1976, Deborah Barndt conducted a participatory research project on the conscientization of migrant women in the ALFIN popular literacy program in Lima, Peru. As part of the study, she organized a series of socio-dramas in which women acted out relationships and situations in their daily lives. Family conflict (e.g., with drunken husbands, with in-laws and with children) featured most often in these dramas. Yet, there is no evidence that the generative themes which were chosen as a basis for discussion and literacy development reflect these issues. More current literature suggests that almost two decades later, little has changed (Rocero, 1993; Fink, 1992; Doerge, 1992). The mainstream of popular education is still gender blind and avoids incorporating issues which are of paramount importance to women, particularly where these pertain to private or family life. Yet "... the restructuring of the 'private sphere' is just as indispensable as that of the 'public sphere' if we wish women to attain full autonomy and unencumbered participation in social transformation, as self-conscious, responsible agents" (Cebotarev, 1987).

As Bhola points out, gender oppression is unique in that at the end of the day women must go home to their oppressors. They may love and be loved by them.

The woman does not have her own castle on the hill to which she can retreat after doing battle to regroup and to fight for another day. She has no space of her own. Both resistance and confrontation must happen in common space, a space dominated by man and marked by the perpetual vulnerability of women.
(Bhola, 1994: 45).

For this reason a fundamental change in the structure of relationships between women and men is imperative, but this also requires a shift in the values on which these relationships rest. Bhola asserts, "Without change in the prevailing superstructure of values, plans and strategies for change will do nothing to improve women's lives" (p. 43). The arguments of Bhola and Cebotarev suggest that until relationships are structured in such a way as to allow all members of the popular classes to achieve their full potential, the popular struggle cannot be won. One way these changes can be affected is through consciousness raising processes, involving both women and men, which treats gender oppression, in all its manifestations, as a central concern. A number of attempts have been made to develop and implement programs in these areas. Some examples include; a gender consciousness raising program among male community members in St. Vincent (the Rose Hall experience, Ellis, 1983), an analysis of gender roles with entire families in Colombia (Cebotarev, 1987), a gender and popular education training program and handbook for community workers and educators in South Africa (MacKenzie, 1992; Walters, 1992), and a popular education resource manual on gender based economic injustice in Canada and the countries of the south (Culbertson, 1995). These projects can be located within an emerging feminist popular education

approach. On the whole, however, a gender neutral (thus male biased) popular education is the norm rather than the exception.

Thus far I have established that in the view of many women scholars and activists, mainstream popular education fails to adequately empower because it ignores the central issue of gender oppression, and among other things, fails to address problems which significantly impact on women's lives and their participation in popular organizations and programs. What then, can feminist popular education offer? What is feminist popular education in terms of ideological orientation, goals, strategy, content, design and so forth? It is difficult to answer these questions definitively because this approach is still emerging out of a feminist critique of mainstream theory and practice and as yet, no broad consensus has been reached. Some (Lehmann, 1990) consider feminist popular education to be separate and distinct from traditional popular education. Others (Rosero, 1988) see it as an addition to the existing popular education theory and methodology. At a minimum, it can be agreed that feminist popular education represents the confluence or "creative synthesis" (Doerge, 1992:7) of feminism and popular education. But the two can be synthesized in various ways and the manner in which they are combined implies a certain ideological bent which may or may not be true to the philosophical or ideological roots of popular education.

In North America in particular, popular education methods and techniques have proven to be very compatible with feminist projects and women's organizing, but often in such endeavors, a class analysis is absent or incomplete. The North Vancouver Women's Self-Help Network, for example — a self-help education and training program — was inspired by an analysis of the effects of poverty and isolation on the mental health of rural women, but an invitation to participate was extended to all women in the area regardless of

their socio-economic status (Women's Self-Help Network, 1984). In the training manuals which were developed as a final product of this three year pilot project and based extensively on the project experience, there is no evidence to suggest that class differences among participants or between participants and facilitators were addressed.

When one uses a gender analysis as the sole basis of feminist popular education, theoretical and practical contradictions arise. One can no more amalgamate the interests of poor and privileged class women than those of women and men, because the latter derive privilege from the subordination of the former. When one attempts to bring them together in projects, feminist or otherwise, it is often those with the most education, financial resources, and self confidence, whose voices are heard and whose interests are served. Thus, programs which fail to address or even acknowledge class differences among participants, may result in further marginalization of poor women if they participate at all.

Doerge further defines feminist popular education as, "... a process of conscientization that seeks to transform the world from where women stand" (1992:7). By this she implies that all women stand in a similar place. Weiler, hooks and postmodern feminists refute this notion and argue that our individual perspective and interests are highly determined by our experience of class, race and other societal contradictions such as age, nationality and sexual preference. In my view, feminist popular education is best conceptualized and formulated as a transformative process which is based on the experience and requirements of poor women. It draws on a socialist feminist framework which sees an analysis of both class and gender as crucial to an understanding of women's oppression. But through the contribution of Weiler, Doerge and others, it is developing the capacity to take into account numerous societal

contradictions which form a complex web of oppression and impact on each individual differently. Feminist popular education takes class/gender analysis as the point of departure, and from there it is enhanced by incorporating a deeper understanding of difference based on the specificities of the constituency in which it operates. Such an approach assumes however, that poor women, despite their differences, have some common experience and interests.

Feminist popular education is not popular education with women, per se. Indeed, many such programs reinforce traditional gender roles and perpetuate women's subordination. Lehmann (1991) insists, however, that women's needs and concerns are best addressed through a women's only feminist popular education model. Such programs and organizations represent autonomous spaces where women can learn from each other, challenge androcentric knowledge, build skills and self confidence and gather strength through friendship to participate in larger arenas. Nevertheless, there are a number of strategies to pursue the interests of poor women and tackle gender oppression apart from women's only programs. Mixed gender programs which raise the consciousness of men regarding gender inequalities, such as the Rose Hall experience and the family based analysis of gender roles in Colombia mentioned above, can also make a valuable contribution to gender transformation.

It is also important to note that feminist popular education does not dismiss the experience of poor men; because, indeed, poor women may have more interests in common with their men than with women of more privileged classes. General speaking, however, feminist popular education begins by focusing on the daily lived experience of poor women. This is important from both an analytical and a programmatic point of view. First, the daily experience of poor women is the unit of analysis on which feminist popular education must be based, precisely because the patriarchal and capitalist system rests on their

subordination through low and unpaid labour and, by illuminating and analyzing these experiences (homework, for instance), we may uncover hidden workings of the system which are essential to understand before it can be effectively challenged. Second, since the women who are most affected by class and gender oppression generally have the fewest resources to resist, the issues which are paramount to their day to day struggle for survival must serve as a springboard for challenging the wider issues. As Lehmann states, "Lives which are structured by the everyday demands of poverty and by the doors of the household, begin to change in precisely those spaces" (1990:47).

I have stated earlier that feminist popular education is popular education approached from a feminist perspective. It is not entirely distinct from mainstream popular education nor a negation of it. Feminist popular education, as I interpret it, is an expansion and enhancement of popular education theory and practice to encompass the experience and requirements of poor women. Those who suggest that it is distinct by its focus on gender as opposed to class, also imply that it can and does cross class lines to encompass the interests of all women. I suggest that where it does so, it departs from the parameters of popular education whether feminist or mainstream. The ambiguity in the literature on this point clearly reflects the emergent nature of this school of thought and practice. This document is part of that emergence. As such, and as a closure to this subsection, I offer below a preliminary summary of additional characteristics of feminist popular education derived from the literature reviewed above.

Table 2. Characteristics of Feminist Popular Education.

Feminist Popular Education:

- is in the interest of economically marginalized women
- includes consciousness raising on gender oppression
- may include gender consciousness raising with men
- begins with women's daily lived experience
- addresses the private sphere
- makes women's reality visible
- strengthens women's identity
- sees the personal as political
- strives for democratization of daily life
- seeks to achieve a restructuring of relationships between women and men
- allows women to claim their reproductive capacity, sexuality
- addresses whole person, (mind, body and spirit)
- challenges male-centred knowledge
- legitimizes other ways of knowing beyond the rational
- proposes a redefinition of power
- accounts for difference based multiple and overlapping forms of oppression
- requires us to declare our personal identities with respect to race, class, gender, religion, ethnicity and other societal contradictions

Gender and Development: An Alternative Approach to Development

The concept of 'international development' can be traced to the post- World War II era, at which time the success of the international reconstruction program in Germany gave rise to the belief that similar approaches could be applied to economies and societies in the so called 'Third World' to propel them into modern, industrial times (Carmen, 1991). In the four decades or so since the birth of the modernization approach, development theory and practice has undergone considerable evolution and proliferation. Similarly, approaches to research and practice related to 'Third World' women have emerged and diversified over the years. Several conceptual frameworks have been articulated representing very different views of women's relationship to development processes. These are, *Women in Development (WID)*, *Women and Development (WAD)* and *Gender and Development (GAD)*. GAD is the newest of these three to emerge and is considered by many, including this author, to signal a major advancement in development theory and practice. This subsection briefly reviews the history of thought and practice regarding development and women, particularly with reference to these frameworks and their concomitant policy approaches, strategies and practices.⁷ It then focuses on GAD, defining its main concepts, identifying its approaches, strategies and tools, and discussing debates within it.

⁷ In this document I refer to WID, WAD and GAD as conceptual/analytical frameworks or perspectives, in order to distinguish them from specific approaches to development practice or strategies such the equity approach, the efficiency approach and so on. The literature, however, does not make this distinction and refers to WID, WAD and GAD variously as approaches, theories, analytical frameworks, etc. I believe that they are best understood as frameworks or perspectives from which spring various approaches to development, depending on conditions.

Women in Development (WID)

The modernization model which formed and gathered strength in the 1950's and 1960's saw modernization of traditional cultures, societal values, institutions, infrastructures and economic processes as both possible and desirable. It was the embodiment of a world view, known as the modernization paradigm, in which change/growth was seen as a linear, imitative and somewhat inevitable process. It remains the dominant development paradigm today, especially among large northern bilateral and multilateral organizations such as CIDA and the World Bank.

Early development theory was gender blind, and women were rarely treated as a separate unit of analysis (Rathgeber, 1989). In practice women from vulnerable sectors were viewed primarily as mothers and caregivers and treated as recipients of food aid, family planning and other social welfare programs. This has been labeled the Welfare Approach and is still widely practiced today (Moser, 1993). Generally speaking however, it was assumed that the benefits of development, (modernization and economic growth) would eventually trickle down to all sectors of society and would impact on male and female members equally (Rathgeber, 1989). This assumption was first challenged in 1970 by Ester Boserup's ground breaking book, Women's Role in Economic Development. In it she examines the sexual division of labour in rural Africa and demonstrates that women's status has actually deteriorated as a result of policies aimed at transforming traditional subsistence agriculture systems into modern, commercial, export-oriented enterprises. Subsequent research supported the argument that, far from realizing benefits from development programs, the conditions of women's lives had not improved and in some cases had worsened. It is in this context that the WID perspective emerged.

First coined by the Women's Committee of the Washington Chapter of the Society for International Development, the WID perspective was the first to recognize the differential impact of development on women and men and focused attention on incorporating women into the development process. Within this framework, women have been variously viewed as an unfortunate oversight of an otherwise sound approach, the missing link to successful development, and an underutilized economic resource. Firmly rooted in the modernization paradigm, WID oriented approaches were framed by the parameters of orthodox development theory and policies. Thus, as international donor agencies moved through several phases in their approach to development, WID approaches, to some extent, followed. It is important to note, however, that these approaches did not appear in a clear linear fashion, but overlap significantly in terms of their life cycles.

The equity approach was the earliest and most challenging of the WID approaches. Influenced by an active women's movement in the West and gaining momentum from the UN Women's Decade, the equity approach emphasized women's economic independence and sought to remove barriers to women's equal participation in the market and public life through state-led, top-down intervention such as legislation change, legal reforms, and education programs. Considered as Western feminist interference in internal affairs, this approach encountered much resistance from Southern governments and major bilateral and multilateral agencies, and still has limited popularity today (Moser, 1993).

By the early 1970's it was widely acknowledged that the gains of economic development had not trickled down to the very poor. Thus, the new policy catch phase for this decade was 'growth with redistribution.' The World Bank and the ILO set about implementing its 'basic needs strategy' aimed at eradicating

absolute poverty. The second WID approach, 'anti-poverty', was based on findings that women were among the poorest of the poor and on the recognition that they play a crucial role in meeting the basic needs of the family. Moser describes the anti-poverty approach as a "toned down version of equity" (1993:63). Implicit is the assumption that underdevelopment rather than subordination explained the persistent relative poverty of women (Plewes and Stewart, 1991; Moser, 1993). Income generation projects were the principle strategy associated with this approach. These have been widely criticised as being under resourced, poorly planned and executed, and for increasing women's already heavy workload (Poirier, 1992; Mosse, 1993).

In the 1980's and 1990's the dominant policy prescription for countries in the South has been economic structural adjustment. In order to receive development assistance, governments are required to reduce the role of the state and promote market-led development by liberalizing trade, floating their currencies, removing consumer subsidies, and reducing public spending. The negative consequences of such structural adjustment programs on the poor are well documented elsewhere. For poor women in particular, drastic reductions in social programs such as health care and education, rising unemployment and rapidly declining real incomes, means that they are required to fill in the gaps. The third WID approach —'efficiency' — focuses on enabling women to play this role more effectively and efficiently . Rather than reducing the burden of poor women, this approach actually relies heavily on their unpaid labour both in the home and the community and on the 'elasticity' (Moser, 1993) of women's time. Needless to say, the equity approach is favored among governments and multi-lateral agencies and severely criticized by women's organizations, NGOs and other social movements.

Despite significant differences among the WID approaches described above, a number of commonalities can be discerned which from a GAD perspective (discussed later) are viewed as weaknesses.

First, WID is informed by a liberal feminist analysis which tends to view the struggle for women's equality as a linear process of catching up to men. When this view is set within a modernization framework and transposed to societies in the 'Third World', women appear as an all the more backward sector requiring remedial assistance. WID fails to acknowledge the existence of power and conflict rooted in patriarchal and capitalist institutions and ideology, which create and maintain women's subordination. Thus, it implicitly views women, rather than the structures which have given rise to these inequalities, as the problem (CCIC et al, 1991). Furthermore, the singular focus on women as a category (as opposed to gender relations) suggests a universal experience of womanhood and denies profound differences based on class, race, culture, religion, ethnicity and so on (Mosse, 1993).

Plewes and Stewart (1991) argue that within WID, the lack of analysis of root causes of women's oppression has resulted in faulty strategies. One such strategy is to promote women's economic independence through incorporation into the paid labour force. However, under the current neo-liberal economic model imposed in much of the South through structural adjustment, women's incorporation, to the extent to which it has occurred, has been fraught with contradictions. For example, free trade zones in developing countries provide opportunities for Northern based multi-national corporations to move their operations 'off-shore', replacing well paid, perhaps unionized, jobs, with low-paid, unorganized, often female workers in the South. The exploitative and hazardous conditions under which women are employed in these zones has been well documented (see the film *The Global Assembly Line*). Ironically, in

macro-economic terms, these developments are viewed as progress. The WID analysis fails to acknowledge or challenge the exploitative nature of this type of incorporation and therefore cannot effectively challenge women's oppression.

The current international economic and political system depends for its continued existence on the exploitation of women's time, work, and sexuality.... Since the system is inherently exploitative of women, further incorporation into the system cannot be the solution. Equality of opportunity can never occur within the current structure: a radical transformation of capitalist patriarchal society is required for women to gain equity (Plewes and Stewart, 1991:121).

Income generating projects for women in the informal economy, such as petty commodity production, is another common WID strategy. The weaknesses of these projects as peripheral, and poorly planned and implemented, have been identified above. It is also important to note, that as with formal employment strategies, income generating projects focus on the so called 'productive sphere' or activities which produce an exchange value. This common WID emphasis serves to minimize the multiple and crucial roles that women play in their homes and communities, and avoids the complexities of these roles in terms of women's power to make independent decisions regarding time and resource allocation.⁸ By basing programs and projects on an incomplete understanding of women's lives, WID proponents avoid some questions critical to their success and impact, such as; how are decisions made regarding what activities or employment a woman undertakes, who replaces the woman's labour in the home and community when she becomes employed or begins a new income generating activity, and who controls the income women generate (Poirier,1992)?

⁸ This is a theme which became particularly salient in the course of my work with DEC. See page C 34.

WID is considered by most accounts to be a Western conceptualization of, and solution to, the problems of women in the South. It is not generated within the countries and communities which experience the problem (A. Bandarage in Plewes and Stewart, 1991:118) but within faraway Western institutions and by those whose authority vis-a-vis the South is based not on common experience but on relative privilege. This long distance relationship (A. Anand in Plewes and Stewart, 1991:118) has numerous consequences, some of which have been referred to above. Additionally, it leads to top down approaches which tend to be in the nature of technological fixes, and treats women as passive beneficiaries rather than as agents of change.

These weaknesses spring from the fact that WID is fully and firmly rooted in the modernization paradigm, which accepts Western values and lifestyles as inherently good, desirable and duplicable. Plewes and Stewart write, ".... the present development paradigm is rooted in a particular view of the world that is linear, hierarchical, economistic and male. All problems, relationships, and actions are understood within the context of this world, and yet that world view is largely outside the scope of analysis because it is all-pervasive" (1991:127). WID does not question the legitimacy of Western economic models or the moral or intellectual authority of Western scholars, agencies and governments to impose their blueprint on countries of the South. Nor does it question the causes of such great global inequalities which necessitate development assistance, not to mention the assertion among opposing schools of thought that Western development models actually serve to create and maintain these inequalities. WID proponents accept orthodox development theory and strategies as correct and view women's inequality in development as an aberration in an otherwise just order (Plewes and Stewart).

Women and Development (WAD)

By the mid 1970's, a challenge to the modernization paradigm was taking shape; and, parallel to it, an alternative to WID. The Women and Development perspective (WAD) emerged as a Marxist feminist critique of mainstream development theory and practice. It draws some of its theoretical basis from Dependency Theory, pertaining to the unjust international economic order in which countries and regions in the periphery are maintained as suppliers of raw materials and cheap labour for the centres of wealth and power in the West. WAD acknowledges that women have always played an important economic role both inside and outside the household and analyzes their exploitation in terms of the local and international division of labour. It recognizes that women of various identities are affected in different ways by capitalist penetration, but relies heavily on class analysis to explain women's position. Thus, it downplays the impact of patriarchy and unequal gender relations within classes and implicitly assumes that more equitable international relations will produce correspondingly positive changes for women.

In keeping with Marxist feminist tradition, WAD proponents tend to see women's emancipation in terms of incorporation into the paid labour force, access to the means of production, and socialization of domestic and child care responsibilities (Burton, 1994). Programs oriented by a WAD perspective tend to focus on productive activities such as income generation projects and in practice differ very little from WID approaches. On the whole, however, WAD has had little impact on development policies outside socialist countries, and in the West has remained primarily within the realm of research. Thus, although it is important to acknowledge the existence of WAD as a theoretical framework, the two main influences on development practice with women are WID and GAD.

Gender and Development (GAD)

The term Gender and Development has been in use for more than a decade. Yet, a precise definition of GAD remains illusive, since the literature reveals some differences of opinion as to its origin and scope. Some attribute GAD to a socialist feminist analysis of development (Jacquette, 1982; Rathgeber, 1988). Yet, many of the initiatives most frequently described as examples of GAD in practice, such as the work of The Self Employed Women's Association in India, were begun by women who do not necessarily adhere to a socialist feminist ideology (Burton, 1994), and may in fact distance themselves from the term, 'feminism' on the basis that it is a Western and largely white women's preoccupation. Other authors (Mosse, 1993, CCIC et al. , 1991) suggest that GAD springs primarily from the experiences of Third World women's movements organizing around issues which affect their lives, whether they be rooted in gender inequalities or broader political and economic processes. It is worth noting however, that many of the analytical concepts which mark the GAD framework (described below), were first coined by Western feminist scholars such as Caroline Moser, Kate Young and Maxine Molyneaux.

GAD is often associated with bottom-up organization strategies at the grassroots. Such strategies with marginalized women in particular, are sometimes referred to as the empowerment approach (Moser, Mosse). The empowerment approach is in turn connected to the Alternative Development Paradigm which rejects Western economic development models and seeks to legitimize a genuine Third World people's development, encompassing all aspects of life; respecting processes as well as goals (Plewes and Stewart). Mosse

(1993) equates GAD with the empowerment approach entirely whereas Moser (1993) is less clear. She describes the two separately and does not cross-reference one to the other, thereby implying that, unlike WID and the equity approach, for example, which she cross- references extensively, GAD and the empowerment approach are unrelated.

This contradiction is perhaps related to the question of scope. Some authors (CCIC et al.) tend to describe GAD as an entirely distinct approach to development, connected to the alternative development paradigm; development which is in the interests of marginalized women and men and which encompasses both an analytical framework and specific approaches and strategies to address identified problems. Proponents of this view emphasize the unique perspective of poor Third World women as a vantage point from which to assess the impact and relevance of conventional development approaches and from which alternative approaches that are truly in the interests of marginalized women and men can be created (Mosse, 1993). Other scholars such as Mosser and Rathgeber tend to describe GAD as an analytical framework for examining more fundamental issues around women's equity and equality than had been previously addressed by WID. These same authors suggest that because of the difficulty of implementing an approach which challenges the very gendered fabric of society, GAD has remained primarily a research framework. Yet at the NGO level, much work has taken place to reorient programming in the field towards a GAD perspective. For example, the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC), MATCH International Centre and the Association québécoise des organismes de coopération internationale (AQOCI), the umbrella organizations for Canadian international NGOs, along with the MATCH International Centre have produced a GAD training manual for Canadian development workers, Two Halves Make a Whole: Balancing Gender

relations in Development.⁹ The staff and volunteers of many Canadian NGOs have participated in CCIC sponsored GAD training workshops, and CUSO is an example of one Canadian NGO which has undergone an internal GAD analysis which produced a gender policy (Plewes and Stuart, 1990).

Another point of contention is whether the GAD perspective supports the notion of working with women only or with mixed gender groupings. For some, GAD, by definition, involves working with men since its focus is on gender rather than women alone. Most of the initiatives derived from a GAD perspective, however, are women's only initiatives (see numerous case studies in Mosse, 1993). There is general consensus that GAD's principle goal is to challenge oppressive gender relations, but there may be a number of ways to reach this goal. Projects and programs with women are of necessity the most important, because women in all societies and communities must develop the capacity to challenge their own oppression. Some would argue that consciousness raising on gender issues may also make a valuable contribution to women's emancipation (Turner, lecture, SMU, January 31, 1992). Others believe that men will not willingly give up power and will resist adopting ideas which challenge their advantage in the social construction of gender. According to this view, women once collectively strengthened, will find ways to challenge gender relations and thus, it focuses on building autonomy, self-confidence and skills. On the other hand, there is the perception that a policy to work with women only is an indication of a WID perspective. However, as elaborated below, there are significant differences between WID and GAD with respect to process, content and design.

⁹ I used this manual extensively during this project, particularly for workshops 3 and 4. See Section E.

With respect to all the above issues, the view of GAD which one accepts is ultimately a question of preference or compatibility with one's own orientation. In my view, GAD is a holistic approach to development which is primarily concerned with poor Third World women, but has implications for all marginalized sectors. The GAD analysis supports working with men only in as much as this work advances the empowerment of women, but has the capacity to enrich all development work. It derives from a number of sources; it built on the WID approach while challenging its assumptions; its touchstone is the experience and perspective of Third World women's organizations, particularly those composed of, or working with, marginalized sectors; and it is informed by Western feminist scholarship on Third World women, especially those writing from a socialist feminist perspective, as well as the alternative development school. GAD provides both an analytical perspective for examining the problem and challenging the dominant ideology around it, and a framework for program planning and implementation. The empowerment approach may come under its rubric, but GAD is not limited to it, as other approaches and strategies, such as the pursuit of top-down legislative change, may also meet its transformational objectives.

Beyond these generalities, there are a number of specific concepts which define GAD. The differences in interpretations identified above notwithstanding, it is widely accepted that the notion of the *social construction of gender* is the cornerstone of this perspective. Extensive anthropological and sociological research points to the fact that gender roles are not static but vary over time and space, to the extent that the only immutable role that women alone play is that of child bearers — not necessarily care givers(Mosse). Thus, the roles and responsibilities of male and female members of any given society are socially assigned in accordance with a complex set of rules, norms,

traditions, conditions and power dynamics. The fact that today, and in recorded history women are frequently found in positions subordinate to men points not to biologically determined differences in the behavior of males and females but to a set of historical conditions — such as the overthrow of matriarchy (Starhawk, 1987) and the rise of capitalist patriarchy (Mies in Plewes and Stewart, 1991) — under which these gender differences and inequalities were produced. GAD proponents argue that since gender roles are socially constructed, they can be reconstructed on the basis of equality between women and men. Many of the additional concepts associated with GAD hinge on these central assumptions. “Two Halves Make a Whole: Balancing Gender Relations in Development”, (CCIC et al., 1991) condenses much of the GAD literature and proposes eight analytical tools to guide development practice. In the following paragraphs, these tools will be identified and used as points of departure to further discuss and define the GAD approach.

The first of these tools is the *Sexual/Gendered Division of Labour*. Until recently, the sexual division of labour was a widely accepted sociological term. Today, most adherents of GAD prefer to use the term, ‘gendered’ instead of ‘sexual’ because as argued above, these divisions have little to do with biological attributes of men and women and more to do with socially constructed norms and beliefs. The gendered division of labour is one of the pillars of women’s oppression. It is one of the key ways in which patriarchy appropriates women’s labour power, since the gendered division of labour almost always favors men. The notion of separate but complimentary and mutually beneficial roles is shown to be false when one considers global statistics. For instance, according to United Nations figures, women perform 67% of the world’s working hours, but earn 10% of the world’s income. This is related to the *public versus private sphere* divide raised by feminist popular educators earlier in this document. Much of

women's labour is expended in the private sphere, or within the confines of the home, where it is unremunerated, undervalued and considered economically insignificant. Men dominate the public sphere the world over and women's entry into it has been fraught with difficulty, including the double and even triple day syndrome, lower pay for equal work, resistance from men and violence (the Montreal Massacre). This divide is clear in Muslim Hausa culture in northern Nigeria, where married women of child bearing age are traditionally kept in seclusion behind the walls of the family compound, where they must carry out all their domestic as well as income generating activities (Callaway, 1987). In many cultures gender roles are seen as the natural order of life and even sanctioned by religion, and thus, are very difficult to challenge.

The CCIC et al. framework asks planners to document all the work that women and men, boys and girls do in the community, both paid and unpaid, and then to consider how the division of labour will affect the project/program and how the project/program will affect it. There are several benefits to this type of analysis. The first is to ensure that the project/program is culturally appropriate. For example, in traditional Muslim Hausa culture, women do not farm except perhaps to tend household vegetable plots inside the compound. Thus, an agricultural project designed to include them is likely to fail. At the same time, such an analysis may allow the project/program to challenge the frontiers of what is considered women's work. If women seldom repair shoes for instance, but it is not culturally prohibited, then this is a sphere that they may move into with a little support. An analysis of the gendered division of labour also allows planners to avoid increasing women's already heavy workload, or perhaps to set project objectives and strategies so as to decrease the burden of women. Finally, it may be appropriate to conduct this exercise with the participating community, thereby raising consciousness of

women's inequality while validating their contribution to their families and communities.

A second part of this activity, tool two, is to place all of the tasks identified into three categories— *Productive, Reproductive and Community Work*. This categorization constitutes the second of CCIC's eight analytical tools.¹⁰ Productive work involves the production of goods and services which have an exchange value — including all forms of wage labour, artisanal activities, trading, and commercial agricultural production — as well as those activities which have use value or potential exchange value such as subsistence agriculture. Both women and men do productive work, although in many societies these activities are sharply divided on the basis of gender. In most countries of the South, the formal economy is dominated by men. Much of women's productive work takes place in the informal economy, and may go unrecognized because it is often carried out within the household. Hausa women, for example, undertake petty commodity production within their compounds, while their children sell their products in the market or street (Callaway, 1987).

Reproductive work includes both biological reproduction (pregnancy, childbirth and lactation), and human reproduction (activities related to the care and maintenance of the household and family, such as cooking, shopping, and caring for the sick). Only women can accomplish biological reproduction. Although in theory, human reproductive work can be carried out by either sex, it remains largely the domain of women and girls, and is seldom considered real work even though it is essential to human survival.

¹⁰ These categories were originally developed by Moser although there are slight differences in the way they are interpreted by CCIC et al.

Slight variations exist in the manner in which the third category, community work, is delineated. Moser uses the term, 'community managing' to denote "... the work undertaken at the community level, around the allocation, provisioning and managing of items of collective consumption." (1993:34). Much of this takes place through voluntary, unpaid labour. Women often fulfill community managing functions as an extension of their reproductive role, for example, cooking for community functions or raising funds to improve water supply. Moser makes a sharp distinction between this role and that of 'community politics', which is largely the domain of men and for which they are usually rewarded in the form of wages or an increase in power and status. CCIC et al, take 'community work' to comprise all roles and activities related to organizing social, political, and religious functions, participation in community organizations, the provision of volunteer run social services, and the provision and maintenance of communal resources such as water supply, schools, roads, and churches. Whatever the precise terminology may be, the point to be made here is that although women play a large role in the community, much of their work takes place behind the scenes, and is seldom considered economically significant, or socially valued. In addition, women are frequently excluded from arenas where decisions are made.

This segment of gender analysis is important for several reasons. When women's roles in all three categories of work are identified, the picture of women's triple burden emerges. Appropriate development strategies will avoid increasing this burden. It may also become clear to what extent women are relegated to the private sphere where they are unremunerated and perhaps isolated and vulnerable, and to what extent public roles and their rewards are allocated to men. This is especially true in rural northern Nigeria where the tradition of wife seclusion, or *kulle*, prevails. Sound development planning will

avoid reinforcing such a pattern. On the flip side, the efficiency approach relies heavily on women's role as community managers to fill in the gaps left by structural adjustment, and is highly exploitative by design. Just and authentic development for women must also avoid falling in line with this approach.

The third analytical tool, *Access and Control Over Resources and Benefits*,¹¹ has several parts. First it asks the development agent to name the productive resources that women and men each have access to; then to identify which of these resources each has control over; and then to consider the implications of this pattern for the project in terms of increasing women's access to, and control over, resources. It then looks at the benefits which are reaped from productive, reproductive and community work, and the use of resources; asks which of these benefits men and women each have control over; and how the project can improve women's access to, and control over, these benefits. In my view, this profile is one of the most important GAD tools because it begins to reveal the material basis of the inequalities between genders. Moreover, this analysis challenges assumptions around the household and family as a single, egalitarian, consensual unit. Members of a family or household do not necessarily share the same interests with respect to the allocation of resources and benefits. Given the strength of the patriarchal system, and the tenacity with which those who have power and resources hold on to them, it is unlikely that the actual interests of male and female members of a family are identical, regardless of whether or not they realize it. As Moser (1993) and Roa (in Roa, Anderson and Overholt, 1991) point out, family and household are not necessarily synonymous. Numerous forms of family organization exist. In polygamous marriages, for example, one family may be composed of several

¹¹ Footnote, adapted from Harvard Analytical Framework, Overholt, (1985)

households. Most often differences in interest are divided along gender lines, but members of the same sex — co-wives for example — may have competing interests, although the CCIC et al. framework does not address this complexity.

The fourth tool is *Influencing Factors* . No set of social relations is static. They change over time and space due to political, social, economic and environmental conditions. Some conditions, such as economic instability, constrain progressive change in gender relations and may even roll back gains which had been won. Others, such as strong social movements or the spread of education, present opportunities . Sometimes opportunities for changing gender relations exist within crisis. During the war in Tigray for example, women broke with tradition and assumed numerous roles as fighters and leaders in the TPLF, roles which they are determined to hang on to in post-war society (Henriques, 1995). CCIC's GAD analytical framework asks, in a given society, what past, present and future factors influence or change gender relations, particularly the gendered division of labour and access to and control over resources and benefits; and, " What constraints and opportunities do these factors present for promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women?" (p. 28).

The first four tools are particularly useful in assessing gender relations within the community prior to the commencement of projects and programs, in order to assist planners to devise appropriate strategies and designs. Thereafter, this information can be used as a baseline against which the impact on gender relations can be measured. The remaining four tools are most useful for setting criteria or goals during planning and for evaluating the design and impact of any given program. Tool five is *Condition and Position*. The framework asks development agents to consider the impact of the project or program on both the condition of women's lives and their position within their society. Condition refers to their concrete, material state, with respect to access to essential

resources, income, education, health, etc. Position refers to women's status in society as compared to men; for example, their relative control over resources, relative access to education and employment opportunities, participation in decision-making bodies, etc. It is important to ask how an intervention will impact on the condition of women's lives, especially when the target group is composed of both sexes, because all projects and programs impact on women and men differently, due to their differential access to and control over, resources and benefits. This is fundamentally a question of position. Such a disparity would not occur if women and men occupied equal positions in society.¹² The goal of GAD is to achieve lasting change to women's material status and to their relative position in society vis-a-vis men.

Tool six, *Practical Needs and Strategic Interests*, is a key GAD concept and was first developed by Maxine Molyneaux in her analysis of the impact of the Sandinista Revolution (Molyneaux, 1985). It is closely related to the distinction between condition and position. Practical needs are those pertaining to concrete necessities, such as food, shelter, clothing, clean water, income, health care, etc. Moser describes 'practical gender needs' as "... the needs women identify in their socially accepted role in society." They are "... a response to an immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context." and "... do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although arising out of them." (1993:40). Strategic interests pertain to addressing women's subordinate position within society. They are long term, incremental, and not as easily identified as practical needs. Examples of strategic interests include; increased involvement in decision making, greater economic

¹² This problem is exemplified by the difficulty DEC participants expressed in resisting pressure from their husbands to hand over money they received as loans or profits from their income generating projects. See page C.35

independence, reduced vulnerability to domestic violence, increased control over a women's own fertility, changes in the gendered division of labour, and stronger women's organizations.¹³ CCIC's framework asks development agents to assess the extent to which programs and projects meet both practical needs and strategic interests for several important reasons. Practical needs are immediate, and are experienced as urgent concerns by women. When asked, women living in poverty are most likely to identify practical needs as priorities. Awareness of their strategic interests may only emerge over time, through a consciousness raising process which accompanies strategies to meet practical needs. (consciousness raising is also a strategic need). WID approaches, on the whole, address the women's practical needs or the conditions of their lives and are reformist in nature (Burton, 1994). Moreover, addressing women's practical needs alone may actually be conservative with respect to gender relations and contradict women's strategic interests. Income generation projects, for example, which are understandably popular among poor women, are often based on traditional gender roles such as cooking and sewing, and perpetuate oppressive gender stereotypes (Burton, 1994). GAD holds that women's practical needs and the strategic interests of the entire community must be simultaneously addressed in order to avoid this contradiction, and to bring about the empowerment of women and marginalized communities.

Levels of Participation is the seventh tool. In essence this framework suggests that there is a continuum of participation in development along which target groups are variously treated as beneficiaries of development or as agents of change. CCIC et al, draw on CIDA's Social/Gender Analysis Handbook.

¹³ Moser makes a distinction between 'interests' and 'needs'. An interest is a "prioritized concern" whereas a need is the "means by which concerns are satisfied" (p.37). This distinction is not made by Molyneaux, nor is it used here.

which describes four stages of participation; to be passive recipients, to take action prescribed by others, to be consulted, and to be empowered (Coady International Institute, 1989, in CCIC et al., 1991). The goal of GAD is to empower women and marginalized communities. Thus, in any given situation, GAD proponents promote the highest possible level of participation/treating women as agents of their own development. The framework asks development workers to analyze the nature of women's participation in the designated project or program and to assess the extent to which women are active agents at each stage of the process. Although these are useful concepts to include in the framework, the issue of participation is much larger and more complex than presented in the manual. The subject of participation is discussed extensively in the subsection below.

The final tool is *Potential for Transformation*. This segment returns to the broader and fundamental questions of social change and asks:

- "How does or how will the program/project contribute to the transformation of gender relations?"
- "How does or will it contribute to the transformation of relations between the disadvantaged and the advantaged?" (p.41)

Together these questions drive home the point that GAD is not only concerned with women or gender. Although, in its analysis, it isolates gender relations as a particular concern, it acknowledges that all relations based on inequality are wrong and can, and must, be challenged. Clearly GAD is a more radical perspective than those which precede and coexist with it, both in terms of gender relations and other inequalities based on class, race, nationality, and so on. Finally, GAD sees change as a slow incremental process. Development interventions may not have immediate results with respect to transformation

goals but may sow the seeds for change over the long term, by building women's self-confidence for example, or strengthening their organizations.

Long term growth of expertise and self-confidence within women's organizations and their increasing effectiveness in the public domain are key to the process of structural change. Gender inequalities, institutionalized at all levels of society reaches from the bottom to the top of society.
(Mosse, 1993:183).

To complete this discussion, I include below a table taken from Two Halves Make a Whole: Balancing Gender Relations in Development (p.76) summarizing the main differences between WID and GAD.

Table 3. Women and Development (WAD) *versus* Gender and Development (GAD).

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID)	GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD)
1. The Approach	
An approach which views women as the problem.	An approach to development.
2. The Focus	
Women.	Relations between women and men.
3. The Problem	
The exclusion of women (half of productive resources) from the development process.	Unequal relations of power (rich and poor, women and men) that prevents equitable development and women's full participation.
4. The Goal	
More efficient, effective development.	Equitable, sustainable development with women and men as decision-makers.
5. The Solution	
Integrate women into the existing development process.	Empower the disadvantaged and women. Transform unequal relations.
6. The Strategies	
Women's projects. Women's components. integrated projects Increase women's productivity. Increase women's income. Increase women's ability to look after the household.	Identify/address practical needs determined by women and men to improve their condition. At the same time, address women's strategic interests. Address strategic interests of the poor through people-centred development.

Participation in Development versus Participatory Development: A Paradigm Shift

The concept of participation entered the mainstream development debate in the early 1970's, at which time it was widely acknowledged that the first two decades of development had failed to raise the status of the world's poorest sectors. Participation was held up as the newest hope for reaching the poor. By the late 1970's the principle of participation had gained wide acceptance among development agencies and policy makers, yet there was little clear definition, much less consensus, as to its meaning, implications and implementation strategy (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994). In response to this problem, the UNRISD launched a broad inquiry into participation, known as the Participation Program, which heralded a decade of intensified discourse, and led to an unprecedented number of panels, research projects, conferences and counter-conferences on the topic. Throughout this debate, participation was variously touted as a mechanism to correct the mistakes of the past, and as a radical alternative to conventional, colonizing approaches. It was also critiqued on the one hand as inefficient, and time consuming, and on the other hand as a new instrument for manipulation and exploitation of the poor. The only firm conclusion to emerge from the decade was that participation means different things to different actors, depending on their position, interest, experience, location and ideological orientation.

The literature on participation is vast, diverse and complex, and does not readily lend itself to summary and classification. In any case, it is beyond the scope of this essay to review such a corpus. There are others who have taken up this task (Oakley, 1991; Manoukian, 1989). My purpose in the paragraphs below

is to distill some of this information and provide a broad framework for understanding approaches to participation, particularly as they pertain to development at the grassroots, micro or local level, and to summarize the main trends that can be discerned. In so doing I make a clear distinction between *participation in development* and *participatory development* as two ends of a spectrum. In brief, *participation in development* represents the side of the spectrum located in mainstream development theory and practice, which is reformist in nature and seeks to correct the mistakes of the past by incorporating participation as a new and more humanistic element to existing approaches or, in its more callous form, as a more effective way to achieve old goals. On the other end of the spectrum, *participatory development* can be understood as a much more radical approach which sees participation in all facets of life as a right; views the lack of participation as a cause of poverty, underdevelopment and social decay; and seeks to create a more humane, participatory, non-authoritarian society.

In a similar vein, Oakley (1991) proposes that the theory and practice of participation can be divided into two distinct schools.¹⁴ Rahnema (1990) implies that there are two separate but converging historical origins of participation, one representing a co-optation by mainstream development institutions of an earlier concept and practice of bottom-up, endogenous rural development. In fact, seeds of *participatory development* can be found in the work of Paulo Freire in the 1960s. Whereas these scholars present valid and perhaps accurate points, it is prudent to be cautious of any attempt to dichotomize the theory and practice of

¹⁴ In his book, *Projects with People: The Practice of Participation in Rural Development*, 1991, Oakley frequently uses the terms, participation in development and participatory development in a similar manner to which I use them here, but in at least one instance (pp. 270-271) he assigns them opposite meanings. I can only conclude that the latter is a result of an editing error, and I assume that his usage of these terms coincides with my own.

participation into two distinct and opposing camps. To do so risks oversimplification and misrepresentation as overlaps exist which are too significant to ignore. The spectrum or continuum concept is useful since it allows that no one defining characteristic is mutually exclusive. So too is the concept of an emerging paradigm. Manoukian (1989) argues that *participatory development* represents a paradigm shift, encompassing values, world views and dimensions of life which are generally considered outside the parameter of conventional development theory and practice. As in any fundamental shift of this nature, conservative and vanguard elements are perhaps the most visible, but the vast majority are found somewhere between the two. Thus, all approaches to participation may be located at different levels or stages of overall paradigm emergence.

Goulet (1989) purposes four axes along which all approaches to participation or 'participatory' projects can be classified. These are:

- (a) whether participation is treated primarily as a goal or a means;
- (b) the scope of the arena in which it operates
- (c) participation originating agent; and
- (d) the moment at which participation is introduced.

I suggest three additional axes:

- (e) who participates;
- (f) where the decision making power rests; and
- (g) the underlying paradigm to which it belongs.

The body of this subsection is devoted to sorting out the differences between *participation in development* and *participatory development*, in their composite polar forms. The axes are used as points of entry to discussions of

broad theoretical and philosophical distinctions as well as more concrete issues of methods and practice. While bearing in mind the pitfalls of such reductionism as mentioned above, I believe this exercise is necessary in order to separate the wheat from the chaff. Calls for participation have arisen from diverse quarters, and the common terminology may obscure very different agendas. Indeed, a resurgence of interest in participation in the 1990's (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994) may mask a neo-liberal program which seeks to shift the burden for social welfare, health, education and job creation, on to the backs of the poor, all in the name of popular participation.

Before proceeding, a final personal disclosure is necessary. In completing this undertaking, I make no attempt to appear objective. Part of my explicit agenda is to make a case for *participatory development* as holding a clear and authentic promise for empowerment of the world's excluded sectors.

Participation as a Goal or Means

Participation as a goal or a means is arguably the most significant axis because it encompasses some of the most fundamental and philosophical questions which underlie any particular theory or practice of development and which gives it its ultimate meaning. Many further distinctions follow suit.

The initial question posed here is whether a particular approach assigns value to participation as an end in and of itself, or as a means to reach other ends; or to use Denis Goulet's terms (1989 b.), according to its teleological or instrumental quality. It should be noted that although the spectrum and axis concepts may necessitate treating these properties as polar opposites, in reality, the two are not mutually exclusive. Rather, it is a matter of emphasis.

The answer to the above question depends on how the problem is defined. With respect to the persistent relative and absolute poverty in countries of the South, particularly in rural communities, if the problem is seen as a set of characteristics or material conditions (ie. , backwardness or lack of education, skills and productive resources) and where the failure of conventional development strategies to alleviate poverty is viewed as a lack of compliance or cooperation of the poor, or lack of knowledge of local conditions on the part of the development experts, then participation is treated as the “missing ingredient” (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994: 27) or a new tool or element put in place to achieve the same preset, quantitative, measurable, goals. If on the other hand, poverty is seen as highly related to deliberate exclusion of the masses from economic, political and social power, or to use Friedmann’s term, “(dis)empowerment” (1992), and conventional development strategies are seen to be part and parcel of this systemic exclusion of marginalized sectors from meaningful participation, then participation is treated as a goal in and of itself, as well as a means through which additional objectives, material and otherwise, can be met. In this case, participation is tantamount to restoration or establishment of people's autonomy, through which other achievements will follow. It is both an object of organized activity and the process through which it will be achieved.

These two perspectives mark the distinction between *participation in development* and *participatory development*. The emphasis placed on the instrumental or teleological value of participation, as well as the implicit assumptions about development and social change, can be discerned in the definitions of participation advanced by various actors. By comparing these, the spectrum comes into sharper focus. Five definitions are presented below. The order in

which they are presented and discussed is intended to reflect the general sequence in which they may be located on the continuum.

First, Samuel Paul of the World Bank defines community participation as:

... an active process whereby the beneficiaries influence the direction and the execution of the development projects, rather than merely receive a share of the profits. "
(in Bamberger, 1986: vii).

This definition was used as a point of departure during a policy seminar of the Economic Development Institute (E.D.I.) of the World Bank on its role in promoting community participation. Despite the fact that participation is described as "an active process" , clear evidence of the treatment of participation as a mere element or tool, and of development as an economic formula, is found in the choice of words; beneficiaries as opposed to agents, influence rather than control, profits as opposed to empowerment. The instrumentalist perspective, however, is more explicit in the five objectives of community participation Paul proposed to the seminar participants.

These are:

1. project cost sharing
2. increasing project efficiency
3. increasing project effectiveness
4. building beneficiary capacities
5. empowerment

(pp. 5-6)

Similarly, E.D.I. cited the following reasons for their interest in promoting greater community participation:

1. evidence that participation improves efficiency, cost recovery and sustainability.
2. governments incapacity to effectively manage growing numbers of projects and programs.
3. a moral obligation to listen to the people who are being affected
4. a concern over gender issues — that women's particular needs and potentials are incorporated .

If the order in which these reasons are presented can tell us anything about the assignment of priority, it is evident that the E.D.I.'s motives relate primarily to the enhancement of compliance, shifting of costs and burden of responsibility on to the backs of the poor, and the privatization of development. Indeed, from an instrumentalist point of view, participation can just as easily be seen as a liability; for example, when intended beneficiaries become too empowered and demand real control. The seminar report blatantly states: " The risk of this happening is obviously much less if the beneficiaries were never consulted or informed about the project. (In which case the project will probably have been constructed and inaugurated before anyone knows about it or is able to protest.)" (Bamberger, 1986:11).

The definition of participation coined by Marshall Wolfe and adopted by UNRISD as a working definition for the Participation Programme has a distinctly different tone:

[Popular participation is] ...the organized effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control."
(Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994:5).

There are two key points to be made regarding this definition. First, although it touches on the structural issues, vis-a-vis the distribution of power, by identifying the groups in question as those excluded from control, it implies that the goal of participation is to enable such sectors to have a larger voice in the institutions which regulate the distribution of resources rather than to transform these institutions or create new forms of organization or modes of decision making and resource allocation. Stiefel and Wolfe, both of whom have been associated with the UNRISD and the Participation Programme, suggest that participation can be either "system maintaining" or "system transforming" . Yet, they admit that in the context of what was seen to be a global and inevitable march toward modernization, the Participation Programme viewed participation as " struggles over the terms of incorporation." (1994:5). This concept is in keeping with Goulet's notion of non-elite participation as a moral incentive to negotiate better material packages in the macro arena (i.e. national policy) (Goulet, 1989 a; 1989b).

The second point then, returns to the question of whether this perspective treats participation as a goal or a means. This begs another question: To what extent is the outcome of participation preconceived or prescribed? I argue that although the opportunity to participate is treated as a right and a goal in and of itself, the concept of development embedded here suggests that people should participate so as not to be left behind in the modernization process or left out of its benefits. Thus, echoes of instrumentalism can clearly be heard.

In the mid and late 1970's, while pundits of mainstream development theory were meeting in various international venues to discuss the new participatory imperative, advocates of Another or Alternative Development were steering the discourse on participation and development in a divergent direction, one focused on building self-reliance and autonomy, using bottom-up

and people-centred strategies. One such proponent, Marc Nerfin, advanced the following definition of Another Development, which although not explicitly referring to participation, is inherently participatory:

[Another Development is] people organizing themselves so as to develop who they are and what they have by and for themselves. (Nerfin, 1989, p.172)

This definition departs from any notion of development as a pre-determined future state. Rather it is seen as a process of unfolding or emerging, which can only occur through people's full participation. In this sense, participation is development. The goal and the means are united.

In 1976, dissenters of mainstream development theory, including Nerfin, came together to establish the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) in Nyon, Switzerland. The main purpose was to launch the Third System Project, which explored the role of civil society in relation to established political and economic powers, as well as ways of strengthening that role. In "Neither Prince Nor Merchant: Citizen" (1987), Nerfin argues that in today's society, political (prince) and economic (merchant) institutions have taken over the reins of power, resulting in fatally skewed development; so that if we are to find our way out of the present profound crisis we must discern the function of human agency and recover the strength and autonomy of citizen's organizations vis-a-vis the prince and the merchant. Nerfin defines the Third System as "... the movement among those people who are reaching critical consciousness on the role they might play and who perceive that the essence of history is in the endless effort for the emancipation by which people grope towards the mastery of their own destiny (in Carmen, 1991)." Participation in this instance is equated with the exercise of human agency. The collective

exercise of human agency is tantamount to the strengthening of civil society, which is essentially about claiming people's power — power to control their own destiny. These broad goals are hardly a prescription for development characteristic of conventional approaches. Since, from this perspective, true people's power cannot be achieved through non-participatory means, the teleological quality of participation is ascendant.

Another scholar of Alternative Development, Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda, includes the personal and psychological dimensions in his interpretation of participation.

In the rising view of people's movements, participation is the breaking up of the traditional relationship of submission and dependency where the subject/object asymmetry is transformed into a truly open one of subject to subject in all aspects of life, from economic and political to the domestic and scientific. (Fals-Borda, 1985:66)

These phrases hearken back to Freire's concepts of alienation and humanization described in the previous subsection. Freire sees men and women as historical beings, existing in the world in order to transform it through reflecting, naming and acting upon oppressive reality. This is our ontological vocation. In answering this call we become more fully human, neither oppressed nor oppressing others, but fully participating in the continual process of societal transformation. The denial of opportunities for genuine participation creates alienation and a 'culture of silence'.

Participation is fundamentally a humanizing process. It is also a self-strengthening process, as the more people participate, the more they want to participate (Manoukian, 1989). The benefits of participatory initiatives may not be immediately apparent. Albert Hirschman posits that even when the specific

objective of a participatory effort is not reached, social energy is created which may spark or strengthen future initiatives (in Manoukian, 1989).

Manfred Max-Neef, an important contributor to the theory and practice of Another Development, places participation among the nine fundamental human needs, along with subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, idleness, creation, identity and freedom. For Max-Neef the goal of development is for countries and cultures to achieve coherence within themselves. This is predicated on "... the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance and the construction of organic articulation of the people with nature, technologies of global processes with local activities, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy, of civil society with the state"(Max-Neef, 1989:12). There is much in this statement that pertains to the debate on participation, which will be taken up at a later point. For present purposes it is important to reiterate Max-Neef's contention that meaningful development cannot be achieved without participation, since participation itself is an integral part of the goal. For Max-Neef, Fals-Borda, Manoukian, Freire and others, participation is at the very core of life's purpose and essence. It is the foundation for all fulfilling social interactions, and a key indicator of personal fulfillment and the quality of life.

The values embedded in this perspective are more clear in the definition of participation proposed by Majid Rahnema:

... participation is viewed as a voluntary and free exercise, among responsible adults, to discover the joys of conviviality, to make the best of their abilities — both as individuals and as members of a larger group — for reaching a more humane and fulfilling life." (p. 209).

This statement reminds us that the roots of all social phenomenon are found in the personal dimension. The cause which illicit participation may be social but

the motives behind each individual's actions relate to their own personal quest for meaning and self-realization. At the individual level, participation is an act of freedom and can only take place in the context of equality among co-actors. Interestingly enough, these are among the reasons that Rahnema levels harsh criticism at all approaches to participation in development. If participation is a natural and spontaneous act among equals, why must developers promote it, if not to control this energy in pursuit of their own hidden agendas — perhaps hidden even to themselves. With particular reference to Participatory Action Research, Rahnema argues that this new participation 'fetish' diverts and dissipates people's energy on illusionary goals, negates their own inner and outer reality, and, although dressed in different clothing, smacks of the same paternalism characteristic of more mainstream approaches. Similar arguments are made by Gustavo Esteva (1991, 1985, 1983), and although in my view, their generalizations are a little too broad, they raise some very important questions which will resurface at a later point in this discussion. Rahnema's critique of PAR notwithstanding, he is clearly an advocate of participation for its own intrinsic value. His views represent the high end of the means/ends axis.

To conclude: At one end of the means/end axis participation is valued solely for its efficacy as a strategy to meet other objectives, and at the other for its intrinsic worth as a humanizing process. In between these theoretical poles, however, there is no clear boundary between *participation in development* and *participatory development* . Nevertheless, the above definitions examined together with certain contextual information, demonstrate that the emphasis placed on the instrumental or teleological property of participation, is indeed an important distinguishing characteristic, as it relates to deeper and broader differences in perspectives on development, the human condition, social organization and social change.

The Scope of the Arena in Which it Operates

It may be useful to begin the discussion of the second axis by making an initial point of clarification. Goulet's (1989 a.) use of the phrase "scope of the arena in which it operates" refers both to the size of the program or project (scale) in question, and the range of issues, objectives or activities it covers (scope). I see these as two separate but related questions, and deal with them as such below.

Participation in development efforts typically operate from a mainstream modernization framework in which the productive capacities of Third World people are treated as a priority concern, and solutions take the form of policy prescriptions and project blueprints designed to target specific underdeveloped segments of national or regional economies and to maximize impact for the least cost. Supported by major bilateral and multilateral agencies, such programs may be large scale in terms of resources, geographic area or target population, but the scope is often limited to a specific sectors (eg, agriculture) and to technological fixes within those sectors. By contrast, the goal of participatory development is empowerment of poor and marginalized people through bottom-up strategies in which groups and communities themselves determine their priority concerns and program of action. NGO's and community based organizations, from which these endeavors derive much of their support, command far fewer resources than bilateral and multilateral agencies (Oakley, 1991). For this reason alone, projects tend to be limited to the micro arena. But more importantly, in keeping with the goal of empowerment and endogenous development, the scale of each endeavor is by necessity small, since the needs and aspirations of people vary according to local conditions, culture, gender and so on. A crisis or urgent need may provide initial impetus for a participatory initiative and the immediate objectives are often very specific. But in the ongoing process of group or

community empowerment, each experience leads to the formation of new goals and strategies. And as the participatory initiative gathers momentum, larger numbers of people may become involved or new projects may be formed by example. Thus, while scope and scale may be initially limited, the ultimate goals are confined only to the limits of the imagination.

An important question frequently posed in development circles is, which of these approaches is most effective in improving the quality of life for the world's poor? While mainstream approaches have been criticized for compartmentalizing the development problematic and for lack of sensitivity to local realities, resulting in inappropriate objectives and faulty strategies, authentic participatory experiments are seen to be isolated and marginalized, even offering false hope to the poor since their impact on decision making processes in the larger arena (ie., national policy) or on social change on a broader scale, is minor at best. Macro versus micro, paternalism or idealism; these are the two poles of debate.

As I have stated earlier, my agenda is to promote participatory development as a promising alternative to conventional colonizing approaches, and I have no intention of defending the record of *participation in development* endeavors. I will, however, address concerns regarding the limitations of a micro approach.

First, it is important to examine the pervasive assumption that big is better. Max-Neef (1982) argues that the worship of the large dimension has permeated all levels of society and the consciousness of each individual to the extent that we are unable to see that our own humanization lies in the recovery of the small dimension. A proponent of Human Scale Development, he contends that "... people must feel themselves directly responsible for the consequences of their own actions within their environment, and this can only happen if the dimensions of that environment remain within the human scale." (p. 132) He

refutes the notion that big problems require big solutions. Rather, they call for a great number of small solutions.

While asserting the primacy of the micro level, Max-Neef acknowledges that wider levels of organization are also necessary, but he does not address the role of macro organization or the relationship between the micro and macro levels. In his seminal work, Small is Beautiful (1974), Fritz Schumacher submits that we need both the freedom and creativity of small, autonomous organizations and the orderliness, coordination, control and unity of the large scale. Since large organizations are here to stay, the challenge is to achieve or maintain smallness within them. Both he and Max-Neef argue that whatever can be decided at the micro level should be decided at the micro level. According to Schumacher, this means that as the size of an organization expands and differentiates, the higher level must not absorb the function of the lower level. These ideas have important implications for *participatory development*, because for many, the test of the efficacy of participatory development is whether positive experiences at the local level can transcend to the macro arena without losing their authentic participatory character. Goulet writes:

Not surprisingly, the most difficult form of participation to elicit and sustain is also the most indispensable to genuine development. This is the type of participation which starts at the bottom and reaches progressively upwards into ever widening arenas of decision making. It is the form of participation which is initiated, or at least ratified by the interested non-elite population at an early point in the sequence of decisions. It matures into a social force wielding a critical mass of participation communities now enabled to enter into spheres of decision or action beyond the immediate problem solving. (1989:108)

Goulet argues that big can also be beautiful if macro values are adopted which emphasize broad participation in decision making, social justice, personal rights, protection of culture along with economic goals, equity over efficiency, and

process as well as results. In order for this to occur, non-elites must gain entry into arenas of macro decision making. This micro-macro transition can take place if the following conditions are present.:

1. A critical mass of micro actors and activities; enough to be taken seriously and solidly consolidated in their micro realms, with support and power at the base.
2. Allies in the macro arena; sympathetic organizations; agencies or individuals who already have a voice.
3. A cause susceptible of mobilizing the constituencies and allies of micro groups — a specific battle.
4. A deadline for decisions, which serves to mobilize the people, and precipitate decisive action, but enough time to allow people to organize, try, learn, and try again.
5. Those controlling the macro arena must be vulnerable to some great loss if they deny entry. Micro actors must possess a bargaining chip.

Despite the many useful insights that Goulet's theories offer, I have some reservations about his central premise. He suggests that the decisions which significantly impact on the quality of life for the non-elite majority are made at the macro level. Authentic participatory efforts may be successful in the micro arena, but if these experiences fail to make the transition to the macro arena they are ultimately ineffective. This raises the question of whether entry into the macro arena is the singularly most appropriate measure of the success of participatory development. The answer depends on how one defines development. For Manoukian (1989), development encompasses all dimensions of life — personal and social as well as economic — many of which can be controlled at the local level. Moreover, the outcomes of participatory processes do not easily lend themselves to prediction and measurement. How does one measure empowerment for example, or the social energy Hirschman refers to, which is created as a by-product of participatory experience? Micro change,

like participation, is important in and of itself, but it is also a building block for wider social transformation.

.... when only two or three persons genuinely relate to each other, they already begin to transform the world, including, possibly the masses. Thus, long-term and serious processes of social and individual transformation are, essentially, the work of small groups of individuals who realize that no one can pretend to solve any human problem without first putting one's own house in order; individuals who have become aware that cleaning one's doorstep is at one and the same time, a joy, a necessity, and the first step in the only possible and right action open to that individual. (Rahnema, 1990: 220)

The practice of genuine participation does not necessarily come naturally. We are all conditioned by the society we live in, a society which is characterized by hierarchy and relationships of domination. We need to unlearn our anti-participatory thought processes and methods of relating to each other and the world in order to achieve true empowerment — power with and within rather than power over. Such a reconditioning can only take place through action and reflection, or praxis, at the micro level. When authentic participatory processes are moved too quickly to larger arenas, macro, top-down rationality makes participation lose its meaning. For this reason, we must get it right at the micro level first.

What is at issue here is no less than the development of a new society and a new polity from embryonic grassroots experiences. Many advocates of participatory development (Hasan, 1989; Sasono and Mia Serra, 1991; Fals Borda, 1985; Max-Neef, 1989; Manoukian, 1989; Ghai, 1989) contend that there is an intimate relationship between participatory development and authentic democracy. Promoters of *participatory development* are concerned with the emancipation of the impoverished and powerless majority by and for themselves, beginning in local spaces and gradually expanding its circles of

influence to affect transformation in the larger political arenas (Carmen, 1991; Goulet, 1989; Max-Neef, 1989; Wignaraja, 1977). Through this long term process, a genuine pluralist participatory democracy will be created.

In summary, *participation in development* , at one end of the axis, is grounded in the logic of centralized planning and large scale fixes in which participation is a mere add-on. At the other end, *participatory development* connotes a micro approach to macro change, a vision of transferring the superior logic, values, ethics and rationalities evident in numerous small scale projects and organizations to all levels of society. In the latter sense, participation as an indispensable aspect of social praxis, may be limited to the scope of the arena in which it presently operates, but it has no bounds in terms of its potential scope and scale of its program for change.

The Originating Agent/ Agency

In any development project or program, who identifies the problem and initiates the process to address it? This is the question posed by the *originating agent/agency* axis. More importantly, who is the most appropriate originating agent and what role should they play?

The answer to the first question is perhaps obvious at this point.

Participation in development projects are generally led by experts from mainstream institutions such as government ministries or larger international donor agencies. Some NGOs may also carry out this function. Although local people may have voiced their problems, it is the development expert who turns these concerns into projects or lets them drop as the case may be. *Participatory development* endeavors are either initiated by the people affected by the problem or by progressive NGOs or activists who see themselves to be acting in solidarity with the people. Local people are seen as agents of their own development. Thus, regardless of who provides the initial impetus, those experiencing the problem and who have the most to gain or lose are intended to take over the helm. Rather than directing the project, external agents in this case play the role of catalysts or animators, facilitating the group or community's own process of problem identification, analysis, planning and so on.¹⁵ Ideally, the relationship between the external agent and community or group is one of absolute equality. In reality, however, this relationship is fraught with difficulties and contradictions.

Pigozzi (1982) assesses the possibilities and causes of negative outcomes in participatory non-formal education projects and argues that projects must be

¹⁵ Ghal (1989) identifies this as one to the strengths of participatory development projects.

carefully scrutinized to determine whose objectives are being served and whether or not a dependent relationship is being created. In the context of non-formal education, in which the facilitators are seen to play a key role in the conscientization process, a subtle form of manipulation may be practiced. The facilitator may impose her/his own views through the way s/he frames the issues, the choice of questions posed and the direction in which s/he leads the discussions. Similarly, Freire contends that when members of the dominant class (the non-excluded) join the struggle of the oppressed, "... they almost always bring with them the marks of their origin... Their prejudices include a lack of confidence in the people's ability to think, to want, and to know. ... Though they truly desire to transform the unjust order, they believe that they must be the executors of the transformation" (cited in Hope, et al, 1984, vol 1:10). Moreover, Rahnema(1990) points out that the notion of conscientization as an operative educational concept first formulated by Freire, assumes that consciousness of the educator or development worker is superior to that of the would be participants.

How can these contradictions be resolved? Clearly, intellectual constructs and good intentions on the part of the participatory practitioner are not enough, since the same privilege which allows us to choose this role conditions our perspective on the less privileged at the deepest level of consciousness. Therefore, reconditioning of the mind is necessary — a process of weeding out or unlearning inherited assumptions, prejudices and values which run contrary to authentic participatory development. One step in this process may be the valorization of indigenous knowledge. According to Oakley, "... participatory development argues for the recognition of the creative tension between two knowledge streams, namely rural people's essentially experiential knowledge and the formal knowledge introduced from outside." (1991:163). Thus, people's

knowledge should be neither dismissed, nor sanctified, but subject to the same reflection and re-creation as all bodies of knowledge. Robert Chambers (1983) argues that what is required is no less than the development of a new professional, one who is truly open to the people's reality and priorities, and avoids imposing her/his own values and visions. The evolution of this type of agent requires that a series of reversals take place which put the last first — a process which will correct the imbalance caused by decades of elite development practice by placing real values of the poor, rural majority in front of those held by the dominant society from which most development workers arrive. Under such conditions, a participatory endeavor is as much an educational experience for the 'professional' as it is for those s/he is working with.

A second controversy surrounds the significance of spontaneous participatory activity, as opposed to that which is promoted from outside. Several contributors (Esteva, Rahnema) imply that the former is the only genuine participation and that participatory projects instigated by agents other than the affected community bring with them a hidden agenda, and are inherently manipulative. Esteva takes a particularly hard line. He maintains that the promotion of popular participation represents an attempt to co-opt and control endogenous, autonomous social movements, "... another sociological tool of the populist or technocratic repertory of ideological and political manipulation. It is now being used to give legitimacy and technological elegance to developers promotions and governmental plans." (1991: 75). It is arguable whether or not his critique applies to both categories of participation identified here, and as I have stated earlier, I believe that he and Rahnema paint with a brush too wide. Nevertheless, the central question that they raise needs to be addressed. Why must we develop theories, methods and strategies to promote

people's participation? Are spontaneous, autonomous activities not enough? The answer is no, for several reasons. First, although autonomous organization must be respected, this alone is at this stage insufficient to create the critical mass necessary to transform society. The role of participatory development in these instances is to support and foster, rather than control and co-opt. Second, anti-participatory structures and ideologies are woven into the very fabric of society. Freire's concepts of alienation and culture of silence are still relevant today, and I accept them as a basic premise upon which *participatory development* is built. Numerous barriers to people's participation exist, both internal and external, and the purpose of *participatory development* is, in a sense, to help to remove these barriers. Third and similarly, if participation is understood as "access to process" (Manoukian 1989:80.) then the role of the external agent is to facilitate access to process or to open up avenues for participation, rather than to direct the process.

The aim of participatory is to open and widen people's opportunities for realization of their potential to take part in personal and collective aims, in societal decision making, in effective implementation of agreed-upon courses of action, and in the equitably shared consequences of such endeavors. (Manoukian, p.80).

R.E. Carmen (1991) treats with great skepticism the "participation-speak" of most international aid organizations. He contends that, "A development which does not emanate from the depths of local cultural values is but an ephemeral material substance which in the end can only have a soporific effect on the once vibrant and imaginative host culture." (Carmen, 1991: 72). Genuine development is endogenous, autonomous and self-reliant; principles which are completely in line with the interpretation of participatory development presented here. This does not mean that outsiders cannot take the first initiative;

for if we follow that argument to its ultimate conclusion, no one can help to resolve a problem which does not directly affect them, and this is tantamount to completely absolving ourselves of responsibility for one another. Instead, what is needed is a theory which articulates the true meaning and dimensions of participation, dedicated individuals, and methods which are deeply sensitive to local realities and to the issues of power and control. These are the challenges, and ultimately, the strengths which *participatory development* has to offer poor and excluded communities.

The Moment at Which Participation is Introduced:

The quality of participation depends on its initial point of entry. Therefore, if one wishes to judge whether participation is authentic empowerment of the masses or merely a manipulation of them, it matters greatly when in the overall sequence of steps, the participation begins. (Goulet, 1989: 161).

The activities surrounding any problem-solving endeavor, whether it be a large program or a small-scale response to specific crisis, can be conceptually divided into three phases or moments; preparation, implementation, and follow-up.¹⁶ Within each of these moments the manner in which the specific steps are conceptualized and organized vary significantly according to the nature of the problem and the methodology chosen. The definition of the problem and methodology are in turn, tied to the overall approach to development and ideological orientation adhered to.

¹⁶ The term, 'moment' reflects the understanding of each phase as continuous and unfinished as opposed to viewing them as completely discrete. The label assigned to each phase reflects the emphasis of that particular set of related activities (Pinto, 1985).

The moment in which participation is introduced axis is really quite straight forward and corresponds closely to the previous three axes. When participation is treated as means or a “supplementary element” (Oakley, 1992) in the grand design of government technocrats and development experts, it is likely to be worked into the process after the principle decisions are made, perhaps as discrete ‘participatory’ segments— for example, consultation with local leaders during problem diagnosis, contributions of labour during implementation, and interviews during impact assessment. When participation is seen as a primary goal or “fundamental dynamic” (Oakley) it is central in each stage of the cycle from conception through to need assessment or problem analysis, planning, action, evaluation and beyond. For initiatives which originate in the affected community, participation is a given, and when the impetus is received from outside, participation begins during the earliest steps and is sustained throughout. In an ideal authentic participatory development project, there is never a question of when participation should be introduced. It is an integral part of the process.

Conventional project cycles, the accoutrements of government and other large agencies, are not conducive to participatory development (Oakley) because of their predetermined goals, rigid time frames, bureaucratic requirements, and quantitative measures. NGO’s are a better vehicle for participatory development because of their independence, smaller scale, dedicated staff and flexibility. Many NGO’s consciously select methods and techniques which foster participation, such as collective situational analysis, participatory action research, participatory evaluation, small group discussion, role plays and so on.

Who Participates

The principle questions pertaining to this axis are: Who are the excluded? Who should participate? These are crucial questions because no matter how much merit a theory is thought to have, if in practice, those who have been historically bypassed or even exploited by development processes, are left out once again by new 'participatory' approaches, then this development too, is largely a sham.

Rural people are the target of the bulk of development projects for the simple reason, common to all approaches, that in countries of the South, they constitute the vast majority of the population. Beyond this, ideological reasons prevail. Conventional development projects, including *participation in development* endeavors, are concerned with this sector because it constitutes the most backward sector, the largest impediment to progress, or the most in need of aid. Projects operating from a participatory development framework are likely to see this sector as strategic or possessing latent revolutionary potential since those most affected by the unjust order are considered to be in the best position to point the way forward, both because their experience of oppression reveals the workings of the system and because they have the most to gain from social transformation.

There are weaknesses in both perspectives. Whereas *participation in development* projects, being generally larger in scale, tend to target broad sectors (eg. farmers) and treat this sector as homogeneous, *participatory development* projects, when externally promoted, can romanticize the grassroots and overlook differences and conflicts of interest within participant communities or groups. Participatory development projects however, are generally "closer to the people" (Oakley), and begin from a more extensive knowledge base about the community. According to Ghai's research (1989) one of the factors which

contribute to the success of participatory development projects is an intensive preparatory phase involving a high level of interaction with the community. For example, in Pinto's model Participatory Action Research (1985), one of a range of participatory development methodologies, he suggests a slow and gradual process of community entry, first surveying the general geographic area, contacting key informants, delineating a strategic area and finally identifying specific units to work with. Some methodologies propose that the external agents live in the community for a time. Presumably such processes would yield substantial information about the would-be participants and the structure of the community and would allow the sponsors or organizers to be much more intentional about who should participate.

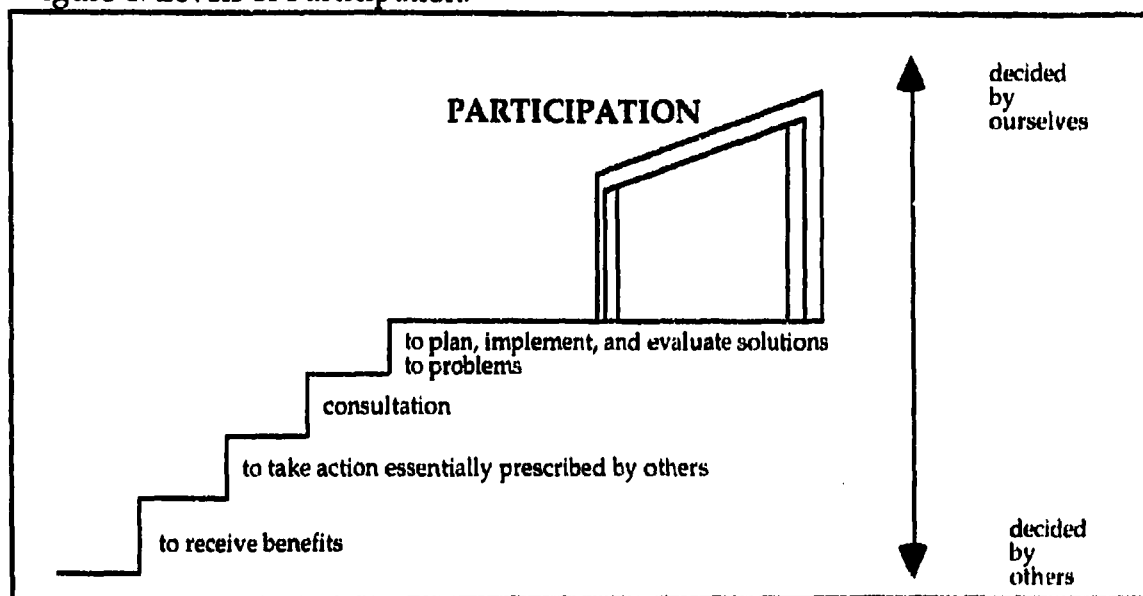
Historically, all approaches to development, including those discussed here, have been gender blind — that is, they assumed that women and men shared the same interests and opportunities (or lack thereof) to participate. The emergence of WID and GAD has changed that and today special measures to include women are widespread. WID and *participation in development* both operate from a mainstream modernization paradigm and each informs the other. Participatory development is philosophically and ideologically closer to a GAD perspective. The conclusion to be drawn from the intersection of these approaches is that *participation in development* tends to include women with a wide cast of the net, whereas *participatory development* is likely to demonstrate a consciousness of power and privilege between and within gender groups. However, since GAD inadequately addresses the issues of participation (see p. ??) and participatory development, on the other hand, has to my knowledge, not comprehensively incorporated gender issues, a feminist framework for participatory development may be called for.

Where the Decision Making Power Rests

During the process of identifying and analyzing a problem, and planning, implementing and evaluating a course of action, many decisions have to be made. This axis is concerned with the question of who are the most appropriate decision makers: the external sponsors/organizers or the people who are experiencing the problem. On the surface, the distinction between the two may appear quite straightforward. On the *participation in development* end, the primary decisions are made by the sponsoring agency, while at the opposite end, *participatory development*, the affected group or community is the principle decision maker. In between these two poles, however, there is a large gray area.

The Canadian International Development Agency, (CIDA) has advanced a schema in which levels of participation are divided into four categories as shown below: ¹⁷

Figure 1. Levels of Participation.



(Coady, 1989:18)

¹⁷ These levels of participation were referred to earlier in the review of GAD. See pages B43-B44.

Note that the axis along which these categories are organized relates the stages of participation to the level of involvement in the decision making process, which is exactly the notion I posit by identifying this sixth axis as *where the decision making power rests*. In the above schema, however, as in the original drawing, a staircase is used as a metaphor suggesting that these categories can be seen in terms of increasing levels of participation/decision making — in other words, the differences between them are quantitative. Oakley insists that participation is not a quantifiable ingredient to be added to the mix in specified amounts at specified moments. Rather, it is fundamentally a qualitative process. A closer look at the four categories bears this out. The first two levels involve no decision making at all (save the power to the individual to withdraw entirely). The third level, consultation, implies that the opinion of the affected community is sought and considered, but the final decisions still rest with the 'development experts'. Thus, the only category to involve real participant decision making is the fourth category — to plan, implement and evaluate solutions to problems. From a *participatory development* perspective there can be no participation without decision making, because power and control are at the very core of what it means to participate.

Regardless of which perspective one adheres to, determining where the decision making power rests can be difficult for several reasons. First, the assignment of decision making power can vary at points during the cycle. As discussed above, within a *participation in development* framework, specific segments in the cycle may be deemed more appropriate for participation/participant decision making; implementation for instance. Similarly, each project may be seen to have its most optimal or feasible level of participation (Coady, 1989). Second, the actual practice may contradict the stated policy regarding participant decision making. A number of scholars (Freire,

Pigozzi, Esteva, Max-Neef, Carmen, Rahnema) have drawn attention to tendency towards manipulation of participant groups and communities in both mainstream and alternative approaches. In this instance, manipulation refers to a process by which the participants are led to believe that they are in control whereas they are actually being subtly guided in directions which meet the hidden agenda of sponsor, animator or facilitator.

The above concerns are not as salient when an initiative is completely internally generated, but it should be noted that the internal dynamics of a community or group can mirror these relationships. Furthermore, even though many participatory agents would consider as ideal a scenario where every decision rests with the community, in reality it is difficult to start from ground zero. One of the principles of participatory research, for example, is that the problem to be researched should be identified by the community or group, but this assumes that the oppressed and powerless are aware of their own oppression and sufficiently organized to collectively articulate their concerns and enlist external assistance (Maguire, 1987), which is not always the case given the impact of alienation, culture of silence and poverty on the human psyche.

Despite these contradictions, for our purposes here it necessary to identify the main thrust or flavor of both ends of the axis regarding participant decision making. In general then, *participation in development* treats it as a variable which is dependent on its feasibility in any particular project or circumstance. *Participatory development* sees it as an essential throughout the problem solving process.

The Underlying Paradigm

This paper has already suggested that *participation in development* and *participatory development* are rooted in the Modernization Theory and Alternative Development Theory respectively. I argue here that the distinction extends beyond theory and beyond ideology to that of a paradigm shift.¹⁸ The paradigm concept is broader and deeper than theory as it connotes a way of viewing the world, a set of deeply held assumptions about our relationship to one another, society and the earth, and the values embedded in this outlook. A paradigm shift is no less than a profound change in the way a society views itself. This shift eventually influences every sphere, every discipline and every institution.

In the opening paragraphs of this paper I suggested that a paradigm shift is a useful way of understanding the full spectrum of approaches to participation in development. Once again, for the sake of clarity and brevity, I represent below only two points on the spectrum/axis — that which remains firmly rooted in the modernization paradigm and that which is on the leading edge of the shift. Likewise, it is beyond the scope of this paper to embark on a full discussion of the modernization and alternative development paradigms. Rather, I will isolate the most salient elements of each as they relate to the present debate on participation.

What then, are the most salient aspects of the modernization paradigm? First and foremost, this paradigm represents a Western capitalist world view. Its emergence can be traced to the European Enlightenment period in which reason replaced superstition as a means to comprehend the physical world and the principles of hard science — logic, order and universal truth — were applied to

¹⁸ In this argument I rely heavily on the work of Manoukian(1989).

the study of social phenomenon.¹⁹ Society, like a mathematical equation, could be broken down into component parts and re-configured in order to reach the desired outcome. These assumptions gave rise to mechanistic and atomistic analysis of problems and solutions thereof. They also spawned the positivist school of thought, in which only that which is concrete and observable can be accepted as fact, and related to this the notion that reality can be observed and understood objectively.

Another important and related characteristic of the modernization paradigm is the worship of the economy as the engine of society. Three assumptions are embedded in this: that the economy is a sphere separate from culture, religion, and other social forces; that unlimited economic growth is both desirable and possible; and that bigger is necessarily better.

Through the lens of the modernization paradigm, development is essentially economic development and is seen as a deductive process through which backward societies evolve in a pre-ordained path toward a predetermined future state, made in the image of Western capitalist countries. In this, quantity is valued over quality; material results are all that really counts; and despite the participatory imperative, people are largely viewed as human capital input or as cogs in the wheel.

The alternative development paradigm is in many ways the antithesis of what development, as a discipline and in its original form, has meant. To that extent, it is appropriate to question whether the term 'development' accurately

¹⁹ Max-Neef (1982) traces the dominant belief system, particularly the assumption of the superiority of humanity over nature, to the doctrines of the Bible. A line from Genesis reads "... God blesses them saying: increase and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it." Max-Neef also claims that "... this mandate gave divine sanction to, in the Judeo-Christian-Moslem culture at least, what were becoming unlimited aspirations for expansion and conquest, and which inevitably resulted in domination, exploitation and the establishment of class hierarchies." (1982, p. 36)

reflects the concept. Some of the scholars whose ideas fall within this paradigm passionately argue that “development” is a colonial/neo-colonial, if not an imperialist concept which justifies the subjugation of the peoples of the South to the interests of industrialized powers — a mirage which seduces the unsuspecting traveler into pursuing its false promises of unlimited prosperity (Esteva, 1991, 1985 a. and b; Graf, 1994). Max-Neef (1988) suggests that ‘development’ should be jettisoned from our vocabulary altogether. For the sake of the critical and ongoing debate however, the terms ‘development’ and the ‘alternative development paradigm’ will be employed until more relevant terms emerge.

The alternative development paradigm is more than a reaction to the modernist world view. It comprises a set of values, beliefs and perceptions which have existed in places for a very long time. The fact that these are now being articulated in terms of a paradigm is indicative of a movement to reclaim that which had been lost or obscured by the modernist hegemony. The principle features of this paradigm with respect to the participation debate, are identified and discussed below.

The alternative development paradigm refutes the notion that there is a single truth which some may hold and others have yet to learn. It accepts reality as a constantly changing and largely subjective phenomenon which can best be understood in terms of the meaning assigned to it by the particular individual or social group. It sees human beings as subjects in their own historical process — conditioned by their reality, yet capable of perceiving this conditioning and acting to either preserve or transform this reality. This essentially pluralist philosophy accepts and values difference, while at the same time recognizing the imperfect nature of each one’s perception, and the transformatory potential in the shared expression of that reality.

The alternative development paradigm connotes a holistic world view. At least two assumptions are embedded in this notion. The first is that all dimensions of life are integrally related and equally important. Neither the personal, the social, the material nor the spiritual should be neglected for the sake of the others. Secondly, any organism or social phenomenon is greater than the sum of its parts. In other words, not everything can be explained, measured or observed.

Flowing from these basic tenets is an approach to development which respects diversity, encourages autonomy, begins in small spaces and validates the personal dimension as an integral part to the problematique. Manoukian defines development as "integral well being." (1989:78). Since well-being is defined differently in different settings and times it cannot be prescribed by others through master plans. Relevant development strategies therefore, are those which are decentralized and endogenous.

Manoukian further asserts that, " True development is development from within. " (p. 90) Personal development is indispensable because individuals who are able to live democratically with each other lay the foundation for participatory development and participatory democracy. This statement does not imply, however, that the personal dimension should be the singular priority for development efforts. Rather, it provides a rationale for a truly bottom-up approach which proceeds from the experiences, perceptions and motivations of the individuals involved but expands upwards and outwards to local and global levels.

The term " bottom-up " connotes not only the sector with which alternative and participatory development are concerned but also the process through which development can take place. A predilection for open-ended, inductive process is another pertinent aspect of the alternative development

paradigm. Since to develop is to emerge or to unfold rather than to reach a predetermined state, there are no blueprints to follow and no assured outcome. An acceptance of uncertainty is embedded in this position, as is a faith in humanity to find a better way.

For Max-Neef, development demands the "... organic articulation of the people with nature, technologies of global processes with local activities, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy, of civil society with the state" (Max-Neef, 1989, p.12). From this perspective, alternative or participatory development ²⁰ is not a matter of choosing for example, local over global, but of achieving balance between them and of redressing the distortions caused by decades of lopsided practice.

I conclude the discussion of this final axis with a quote from the Third Systems Project which is a clear illustration of the alternative development paradigm.

Development fundamentally refers to human beings, to every man and every woman, to the whole man and the whole woman. It is a human experience synonymous with the fulfillment of individual mental, emotional and physical potentialities.

Development, even in its most subjective dimension, does not happen in a vacuum. Human beings, like the societies they form, are at the same time conditioned and free. They are conditioned by history and culture, by biological rhythms and access to resources, by the level of social productivity and the institutional environment. They become free in the process of learning to understand and transform nature — in an ecologically prudent way — and the society itself, a process in which personal and societal development interact. Participating in this societal process is a source of fulfillment.

The development problematic can thus be defined in an objective way: the society, its economy and polity, ought to be organized in such a manner as to maximize, for the individual and the whole, the opportunities for self-fulfillment. Development, as the

²⁰ *Participatory development* and *Alternative/Another Development* are closely related and for some they may appear synonymous. It is not useful to debate this point. Suffice it to say that they belong to the same paradigm.

etymology suggests, means removing the husk — that is, unfolding of people's individual and social imagination in defining goals, inventing means and ways to approach them, learning to identify and satisfy socially legitimate needs.

... There is development when people and their communities — whatever the space and timespan of their efforts — act as subjects and are not acted upon as objects; assert their autonomy, self-reliance and self-confidence; when they set out and carry out projects. To develop to to be, or to become. Not to have.

(Third Systems Project, 1980: pp.9-10, cited in Manoukian, 1989: 77)

In the pages above I have argued that *participation in development* and *participatory development* represent two sides of a spectrum or continuum of approaches to participation, encompassing broad philosophical, theoretical and concrete practical differences. I have employed seven axes to draw out the distinctions between these two approaches in their composite and polar opposite forms. In so doing I have devoted considerable attention to the task of articulating the principles, concepts and practices of *participatory development*, as well as addressing the contradictions and debates within it, in order to advance the cause of participatory development as holding genuine promise for the empowerment of poor and excluded sectors of the world and ultimately, for all of humanity. I now conclude this essay by offering in the table below a point form summary of this discussion.

Table 4. Participation in Development vs. Participatory Development.

Participation in Development	Participatory Development
1. A project or program	1. A process
2. Goal is efficient, cost effective development	2. Goal is the creation of a decentralized, non-authoritarian, humanistic, pluralistic, participatory society
3. Set time frame	3. Ongoing, open-ended
4. Participation as missing ingredient or a means	4. Participation as a fundamental dynamic or a goal
5. Participation begins at implementation	5. Participation begins at conception
6. Target group treated as homogeneous	6. Accounts for or addresses the manifestations of privilege within communities or groups
7. Groups as receiving mechanisms	7. Relates to social action groups
8. External agent as expert	8. External agent as catalyst
9. Project expert led	9. Process led by local people
10. Present objective and strategies blueprint approach	10. Rejects prescriptions
11. Originating in First World	11. Originating primarily from the South
12. Essentially manipulative	12. Authentic participation
13. Systems maintaining	13. Systems transforming and participant transforming
14. Encompasses only economic dimension	14. Encompasses all dimension of life
15. Rooted in modernization paradigm	15. Part of alternative paradigm
16. Mobilizing	16. Organizing

Section C: The Project

The initiative described in this section constitutes a staff and program development project which took place at the Development Exchange Centre (DEC), in Bauchi, northern Nigeria, between June of 1993 and May of 1994. As a participatory, non-formal education endeavor, it sought to address the common ground between the self-expressed needs, interests, challenges and experiences of a women-led organization struggling to empower rural women in the context of a deeply sexist, and highly authoritarian and hostile environment; and my interests, skills and experience as an external facilitator. The primary aim was to enable DEC staff to enhance their approach with respect to the empowerment of rural women, by collectively exploring the relevance of feminist popular education, gender and development, and participatory development to their work. As an open-ended and negotiated process it expanded to include additional topics in response to the needs of the staff and the organization as they emerged.

This section begins by identifying and discussing the methodological orientation of this project and reviews the concepts and tools I employed in its design and implementation. Next, it sets the context for the project by situating DEC's work within its political and socio-economic environment and reviewing DEC's history, structure, approach and activities. It then moves from the general to the specific and recounts a selection of field experiences and reflections, based on my journal recordings. These help to paint a picture of the reality DEC faces and illustrate some of the issues which were discussed during the workshops. The final portion of this section documents the staff and program development project as it unfolded. It describes the circumstances surrounding each workshop, and reviews its general intent, key activities and the principle outcomes.

Methodology

The approach I employed in the design of this project can be described as a feminist participatory methodology. This methodology is consistent with who I am, and the skills and experiences I brought to DEC, and with the needs and interests of this progressive, evolving organization. In many respects, this methodology mirrors the approaches promoted in the background papers (Section B). For instance, two of its most notable characteristics are its inherent respect for the organization's autonomy and knowledge base, and its emergent, dialectical design.

This project is first and foremost a participatory adult education project, but it can also be considered research in that it explores the extent to which theory holds up against the extensive experience DEC staff have accumulated working with women in the context of rural northern Nigeria. As both, it draws its methodology from three principal sources; participatory research, feminist methods, and popular and experiential adult education. Each of these are discussed in sequence below.

Participatory Research

The concept of participatory research grew out of a critique of the manner in which the creation of knowledge (that which is accepted as truth) is controlled by dominant classes in society and thus serves to domesticate and marginalize the poor and voiceless majority. Traditional social science research, conducted and controlled by outside experts, is thought to reinforce the status quo rather than change it. Participatory research posits that social science research should serve the interests of those who are the subject of the inquiry

and, at a minimum, lead to more knowledge and awareness among them, rather than relying on academics and policy makers to filter results back into the community. Participatory research emerged as an attempt to democratize the research process and to decentralize the production of knowledge by validating and making use of the skills, knowledge and perceptions of those whose problem is the topic of investigation. (Maguire 1987, Hall N/D, ICAE and PRG 1981). DEC staff, as the principle participants in, or subjects of, this project, do not constitute a marginalized sector per se; rather they act as catalysts and facilitators for change within such a sector. This project shares characteristics of participatory research in that it challenges academic and elite control over knowledge creation by validating the experiences and perceptions of these grassroots workers.

Participatory research and other qualitative methods refute the positivist notion of observable, objective reality as well as that of researcher objectivity. (Maguire, 1987; Hall, N/D; ICAE and PRG, 1981; Kirby and MacKenna, 1989) Each individual filters their observations and experiences through her/his own set of beliefs and assumptions about what is related, important, or relevant. The individual's perceptions or consciousness of reality is just as, if not more, important than observable facts. This project acknowledges and accepts subjectivity on my part, and on the part of each of the participants. It affirms DEC staff's perceptions of their work with rural women as a valid and important source of information; equally as valid as information collected through field observations and other data gathering techniques. My observations and interpretations of social phenomena, as external facilitator, are accepted with the acknowledgment of the inevitable bias derived from my own social identity as a white, Western woman with my own class and ideological baggage.

Participatory research treats people as subjects in the research process as opposed to objects of the investigation. As subjects, they are not required to cooperate in the designs of others, but are actively engaged in investigating their own problems and generating solutions. This approach challenges the non-interventionist stand of most social science researchers and posits the argument that no research is neutral. The goal of participatory research is not only to interpret reality, but to change it. Like popular education, it resolves the dichotomy between knowing and doing, reflection and action. Since the process involves the participants in investigating and transforming reality, there is little time lapse between drawing conclusions and implementing recommendations. Moreover, the responsibility for identifying and implementing solutions arising from the investigation rests with the community itself. They are not imposed from above. These characteristics are clearly evident in the project described in this document. Although I was primarily responsible for the design and facilitation of the workshops, all of the decisions were put before the staff, ensuring that their issues were addressed. The purpose of the project was not only to acquire a clearer perspective on our work, but to identify and make necessary changes. Since all of the staff who were involved in policy setting, and program planning and implementation, participated in the workshops, when consensus was reached on key issues related to the program or the organizational structure, decisions could be taken immediately, or at the very least, postponed for discussion at the next staff meeting. All recommendations were arrived at through the process of collective analysis, and my views as the external facilitator were counted as one voice among the others.

It is perhaps obvious that this project, like participatory research, constitutes a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach. It did not attempt to measure universal phenomena through traditional techniques such as

random sampling, nor did it hope to address the needs of large target populations. It is grounded in the knowledge that every context is complex and in many respects, unique. It assesses relevant theory and practice in the environment and circumstances under which DEC works, and avoids generalizing the conclusions drawn from it to other contexts. That is not to suggest that the knowledge we gained is not useful to other similar organizations, but certainly not in totality. In the process of reflecting on DEC's reality in relation to theory, we have made the theory our own, and in a like manner, other individuals and organizations may use this document as the basis for reflection on their own reality.

In participatory research as well as popular education, the problems to be investigated are ideally determined by the community or group experiencing them. In practice, the initiative often comes from outside the community, because the community or group lacks the required time, skills, or resources. More commonly, the idea is introduced by an external agent and negotiated with the community or group (Maguire 1987, ICAE and PRG, 1981). Assuming that a common interest has been identified, the process is then jointly directed. Thus, the project becomes a collaborative effort in which there may be distinct, but equal, roles; and power is shared. This describes the relationship between myself and my colleagues at DEC. Hierarchy was virtually absent from our decision making and information sharing processes. Everyone was treated as an expert in their own field of knowledge, and all roles were assigned by the collective.

Finally, the above points underscore the significance of the role and attributes of the external researcher/facilitator. She or he is not an expert, but a collaborator, and must be deeply sensitive to culture, gender and power issues at all times. In practice, it is difficult for many people reared in the West and

working in the South, to resist the temptation to decide what others need to know or do. In order to work from a participatory research or participatory development framework, a certain level of humility is required on the part of the researcher/facilitator, no matter how educated or experienced he or she may be. This can be fostered through a continuous process of critical self-reflection, asking whose agenda is being served. The external researcher/facilitator may have their own agenda — everyone does — but it must be made explicit and should be negotiated with the participants, all the while ensuring that their needs remain paramount. In this project, for example, DEC staff were well aware of the fact that the material generated would be used to complete the requirements of my Master of Arts degree. They agreed to it because our common interests were served.

Feminist Methods

Feminist methods in research and education have a number of characteristics in common with participatory research. These include: a recognition of the value of subjective knowledge, an emphasis on qualitative methods, and on beginning from, and validating, participants experiences; the use of processes and activities which involve a high level of interaction and participation, and which foster collective learning and consciousness raising; and a non-hierarchical relationship between the researcher/educator and the participants. But feminist methods also have made a number of unique contributions to the development of empowering approaches for women.

Broadly speaking, feminist methods arise from a critique of male-centered knowledge creation and control and seek to break this male monopoly. (Maguire, 1987, Harding, 1987; Kirby and MacKenna, 1989) Susan Harding (1987) suggests that feminist methodology has three distinguishing features.

First, it uncovers, articulates and validates women's experiences. Second, it focuses on women's explanations of social phenomena, thus breaking their long established silence. Finally, the feminist researcher does not place herself above the phenomenon being studied but critically analyzes her position within the social order. With respect to the impact of feminism on adult education, Angela Miles (1989), Methchild Hart (1990) and Shauna Butterwick (1986) argue that the notion that the 'personal is political' is its singularly most significant contribution. This slogan was popularized by the Western women's movement and remains equally valid today. Miles (1989) argues that one of the current challenges is to infuse a feminist dimension into all education.

The staff and program development project described in this section is an essentially feminist undertaking, since its ultimate goal is to advance the empowerment of women. In addition, although some of the staff at DEC were not comfortable with the term 'feminism', they are, in my view, engaged in formulating an indigenous feminist analysis and methodology. With respect to the methodology the project employed, it is consistent with the feminist approaches briefly highlighted above in several ways. First, it illuminates the experiences of women grassroots workers and validates their explanation of phenomena. Although both male and female staff members participated, most of the program staff are women ¹ and they provided the bulk of the raw material whenever the topic of discussion was centered around field experiences or women's experiences. Second, topics and activities were chosen to facilitate debate and consciousness raising on gender relations. Third, opportunities were built in for sharing and growth on a personal level. Fourth, each of our multiple

¹ During the period in which this project was conducted, there were four indigenous program staff; three women and one man. The male staff member was new to the position at that time

social identities in relation to the basic division between the dominant and oppressed sectors was declared (see Workshop 3, activities 5 and 10).

Popular and Experiential Adult Education

This project was based on several assumptions about adult learning derived from popular and experiential adult education. They are as follows:

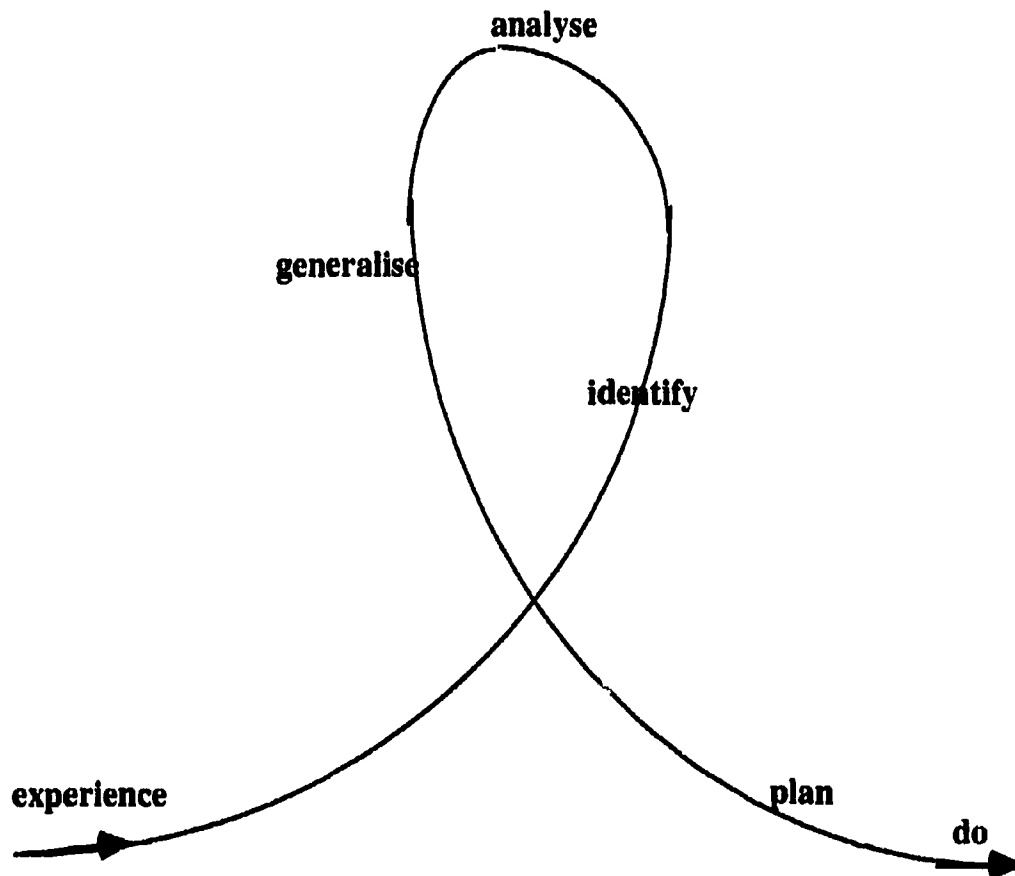
- Adults are capable of determining their own learning needs.
- Individuals learn what they are ready to learn
- Adults learn best when the educational activity connects with their experiences.
- Adults have valuable skills and experiences to bring to the educational event.
- The educational experience is enhanced when the whole self is involved.
- Ownership of the educational experiences rests with the participants.

In addition to these general assumptions and flowing from them, popular and experiential adult education also provides the specific planning tools, activities and facilitation techniques. Popular education has been reviewed in Section B (Background Paper 1) and need not be repeated here. It is important to note, however, that this project demonstrates a popular education approach in many respects; most notably, its dialogical, problem-posing methodology and its focus on participants' experiences. In addition, many of the participatory activities and techniques, such as socio-dramas, drawings, games and small

group discussions, are drawn from popular education resources. Such activities and techniques are illustrated later in this section and again in Section E.

The experiential adult education model is a bottom-up approach which is based on the self-expressed needs of the participants. The term, 'experiential' refers to the fact that it begins with participants' experiences, and that learning is derived from reflection on experiences. Adherents of this model also frequently involve participants in simulation exercises (role plays, for example) in order to generate shared experiences among the participants upon which to reflect. Since such educators stress the importance of reflecting on their own experiences, and revising their approach accordingly, it is not surprising that a number of variations on this model exist. I derive my practice from two principle sources, the education and program design model taught by the Tatamagouche Centre (Nova Scotia), and Educating for a Change from the Doris Marshall Institute (Arnold, et al., 1991). Before outlining the components of these models, it is important to draw attention to one key difference between these two proponents. Arnold et al. have developed their model specifically for the promotion of social change through analysis and action, and in this regard, it has much in common with popular education, whereas the Tatamagouche Centre targets a broader clientele, and its model may or may not be used for social change purposes. Both, however, emphasize the reflection theory of adult learning. According to this, adults make meaning from their experience by first identifying how a particular experience is different from previous experiences, analyzing the cause of the dissimilarity, generalizing conclusions reached from this analysis to present or future situations, and finally, making behavior changes on the basis of this new insight (Tatamagouche Centre, 1985) The reflection loop is represented Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. The Reflection Loop



The experiential adult education model incorporates opportunities for reflection into each program design. Arnold et al. propose a “spiral model” for designing an educational event. They suggest: starting with the experiences of the participants; collectively looking for patterns among these experiences; adding new information and theory as required or useful; practicing skills, strategizing and planning for action; and applying in action, thus beginning a new twist in the spiral. The Tatamagouche Centre model identifies at least six or seven stages in the design cycle: needs assessment, setting objectives, designing a learning opportunity which includes opportunities for participant reflection and evaluation, implementation, facilitator reflection, facilitator evaluation, and

perhaps planning for a new educational opportunity (Tatamagouche Centre, 1985).² These tools were used extensively in planning and implementing the staff and program development project at DEC.

Conclusion

The relevance of a feminist participatory methodology for this project cannot be overemphasized for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the notion that the process must be consistent with the goal. A staff and program development project aimed at facilitating the empowerment of rural women must itself be empowering. Put another way, an aspect of the strategy within this approach was to enable the staff to better facilitate empowerment by experiencing an empowering process themselves. Whereas participatory research and feminist methods provided many of the fundamental principles which guided this process, popular and experiential adult education also supplied a set of concrete tools to put these principles into practice. Finally, the goal and objectives of the project could not have been reached through a traditional, top-down method because it would not have responded to the staff's emergent, and highly situated, needs.

The Context

Political, Economic and Cultural Influences

One of the goals of this project was to assist DEC to find new ways to understand and meet the challenges it faces in empowering rural women. In a

² Workshop 2, Section E includes training in this model

broad sense these challenge are, to some extent, universal — i.e., to overcome domination based on gender, class, and nationality. The obstacles DEC must surmount in order to meet this challenge are, however, peculiar to the context in which it operates. My purpose in the paragraphs below is to provide the information which illuminates the pertinence of this project in its particular time and place. I do not intend to provide a comprehensive analysis of the political economy of Nigeria or the status Nigerian or northern Nigerian women. Since the project was essentially an inductive process, any such analysis was intended to arise from our collective deliberations rather having it superimposed from the beginning. With this in mind I will discuss below some of the key factors which contribute to the low status, persistent and increasing impoverishment and disempowerment of rural women in northern Nigeria in order to provide a general map of the terrain in which this project is set.

Nigeria is a nation of contrast and contradiction. It comprises at least 400 linguistic groups, and three distinct geographical regions, each with a dominant ethnic profile — the Yoruba in the lush and densely populated southwest; the Igbo in the low-lying and humid southeast; and the Hausa/Fulani in the dry, arid north. The 1991 census places the population of Nigeria at 88.5 million, but other estimates place the figure close to 100 million. These variances notwithstanding, Nigeria is by far the most populous country in Africa. This fact, together with its rich oil reserves and one of the largest militaries in Africa, make it the most influential country on the continent after South Africa. In West Africa, it is the uncontested indigenous hegemonic force (Mazrui, 1994). Furthermore, Nigeria's significance in the global economy should not be underestimated since it is the world's ninth largest producer of petroleum. Yet, as of 1993, Nigeria measured lower than the average for sub-Sahara Africa in several key indicators of development — life expectancy at birth, access to

health care and sanitation, and daily caloric intake (Adedeji in Omanufeme, 1993). The Nigerian economy teeters on the verge of collapse, and democratic institutions are in ruins. This contrast can be attributed to the domination of international economic interests, particularly the multi-national oil corporations, and to an entrenched local elite tied to the Nigerian military which have influenced the affairs of the state in such a way as to maximize their profits and power. have These same forces have aborted attempts to establish genuine democracy by, and for the Nigerian people.

The current political condition in Nigeria is linked to its colonial history. It was in the northern region that the British perfected their policy of indirect rule entrenching a local elite which continues to hold significant power today (Umar, 1993). By the time the British granted Nigeria independence in 1960, the influence of these northern elite had been well established throughout the country. The post-independence era has been marred by political instability. Coups and counter-coups have ensured that democracy would not flourish. Military dictatorships have ruled the country for all but nine of its thirty six years as an independent republic. Not coincidentally, the majority of the country's leaders have hailed from the northern region.

The latest of these leaders, General Sani Abacha, assumed power in November, 1993, after the annulment of the presidential election which was to return the country to civilian rule. His regime has been particularly ruthless. At the time of my departure from Nigeria in May of 1994, the constitution had been suspended, all political parties had been banned and public gatherings were prohibited. Numerous subsequent reports document the brutal suppression of the opposition movement, the forced closure of independent media houses and the harassment of ordinary citizens by soldiers. The well publicized execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists in November, 1995, is a more

recent example of this regime's blatant disregard for human rights and the rule of law. Like the previous regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, Abacha promises a program of transition to civilian rule, but few Nigerians or international observers trust his intentions.

Needless to say, the economic problems in Nigeria are related to the political environment. In the pre-independence and early post-colonial era, agriculture was the mainstay of the economy. The oil boom of the late seventies and early eighties brought an unprecedented level of prosperity to Nigeria, to the extent that Gowan, one of the military presidents during this period, was noted to have said, "The problem is not money but how to spend it" (Dr. Bisi Aine, lecture, Dalhousie University, April 17, 1995). In the mid 1980s, a glut on the world market caused a sharp drop in oil prices, plunged the Nigerian economy into crisis, and threw into relief a bolstered and highly dependent economy which could not deliver its promise of prosperity to the poor.

The vagaries of the world market are but one cause of the Nigeria's economic woes. Mismanagement and corruption are others. Petroleum exports account for at least 90% of the nation's foreign exchange earnings and up to 80% of its total revenue (Rowell, 1995). A reliance on this resource has meant that the agricultural and manufacturing sectors have been neglected (Omanufeme, 1993). State revenue generated through oil extraction has been plundered from the very top creating an extremely wealthy ruling class.

Events in Ogoni over the past three years give one cause to examine the relationship between Nigeria's position in the world economy and the tenacity of the Nigerian military. Much of this oil is sold to the US and nations of the EEC.³ In turn, 80% of inputs for local production are imported from these same nations (Omanufeme, 1993). Oil revenues help to maintain the large military

³ Nigeria was the largest supplier of oil to the US during the Gulf War.

apparatus and soldiers protect the installations of the multi-national oil companies to ensure that the extraction of this resource is uninterrupted. Not surprisingly, these same countries have been dragging their heels on the imposition of economic sanctions proposed in the wake of the state executions last November. Meanwhile, economic adjustment policies which create further disparity are being imposed by international financial institutions (IMF and World Bank) and supported by these 'donor countries'.

In 1985, General Babangida overthrew what was seen as a corrupt and inefficient civilian government and installed himself as president of the Republic. The first structural adjustment policies (SAP) were introduced by Babangida, in 1986. Under SAP, the past decade has witnessed a near 100% deregulation of the economy, at least a 500% drop in the value of the Naira (Omanufeme, 1993), drastic reductions in public spending, the termination of subsidies on essential commodities and services, and the retrenchment of thousands of public sector workers. These measures have had a devastating effect on the standard of living for the majority of the population. Soaring inflation and rising unemployment have threatened the existence of over 70% of Nigerians. Between 1982 and 1993, the cost of a tin of palm oil rose from 36.00 to 600.00 Naira (Omanufeme, 1993). Wages have not come close to keeping up with inflation, precipitating an unprecedented level of labour and student unrest. The government has responded to resistance by banning unions, jailing leaders, shooting protesters and closing universities.

In the short time period since the introduction of SAP, the gap between the rich and poor has widened dramatically, and the social infrastructure has been laid to ruin. One colleague at DEC recalls that just one decade ago the government education and health care facilities were well equipped and staffed by the best teachers, doctors and nurses. Today, schools and hospitals lack basic

supplies such as books, desks, surgical gloves and medicines; teachers have been demoralized by low and unreliable salary payments, to the extent that some do not even report for work. Anyone with sufficient financial means prefers to patronize private clinics and schools, creating a distinct two tier system.

What does all this mean for Nigerian women? Ahooja-Patel (1993) rates Nigeria 89th out of 108 countries measured on the Index of the Advancement of Women. This is much lower than poorer countries in Africa and elsewhere, such as Mozambique and Haiti. In previous sections of this document I have argued that no development is gender neutral and this certainly holds true in Nigeria. The entrenchment of authoritarianism at all levels of society prohibits challenges to the status quo and the fact that these authority figures are almost exclusively male, constrains any real potential for changing gender relations.

The differential impact of structural adjustment on women and men in countries of the South has been well documented.⁴ SAP's place the burden of responsibility on to the backs of women, since it is usually they who must raise the school fees for their children, tend the sick and ensure that there is food for the pot at night. Nigeria is no exception. When one interacts with Nigerian women, a picture of SAP induced hardship emerges —cutting the meat (if there is any) for the soup into smaller and smaller cubes, stretching the fuel further and working longer hours. Women's health inevitably suffers.

In northern Nigeria the conditions faced by women are even more severe due to a poorer resource base and to political and religious conservatism. To begin with, the climate of the north is dry and hot, permitting only one growing season. Much of the land is arid or semi arid and unsuitable for intensive cultivation. Nevertheless, it supports the majority of the population who make

⁴ See for example, Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment, Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s, London, 1989.

their living as subsistence farmers, nomadic herders or traders in agricultural products. The majority of the population of northern Nigeria are followers of Islam. The fact that the ruling class in this region largely corresponds with the Islamic religious leadership (the Emirs) has far reaching implications for the status of women (Callaway, 1987; Umar, 1993) with respect to the interpretation of appropriate gender roles. For example, in 1992, the Katsina state legislature passed a bill through which unemployed, unmarried women would be expelled from the state as they were presumed to be prostitutes. Fortunately, this bill was vetoed by the state governor of the day (Shettima, 1996).

In the pre-independence era, the British blocked the expansion of Western education to the north on the grounds that it interfered with local culture (Coles and Mack, 1991). At that time most schools were established by Christian missionaries, and northern leaders wanted to protect their own system of Islamic education. Although primary education is widely available throughout Nigeria today, many families view investment in the education of girls as a lower priority since, in keeping with the patrilineal tradition, girls marry into another family, whereas boys will eventually become responsible for providing for their aging parents. In northern Nigeria greater poverty, childhood marriage, and the practice of wife seclusion further inhibit the education of girls.

Polygamy and wife seclusion are widely practiced in this region. The former predates the advent of Islam to Nigeria, and is found in many African cultures. The Christian religion opposes this practice while Muslim men are permitted to marry up to four wives. Wife seclusion, or *kulle*, varies in interpretation, but generally speaking, married Muslim women of child bearing age are confined to their family compounds, venturing out only when accompanied by male family members or under cover of darkness with the permission of their husbands. Islam requires men to fully provide for their

wives and children, but economic necessity may require some women to break their seclusion to engage in farming or other productive activities. Many secluded women carry on income generating activities, such as food and other petty commodity production, sewing, and trading, from within the walls of their compounds.

Bauchi state is located in the center-east of the northern region. Its population is comprised of both Christians and Muslims, but Islam is predominant in the northern part of the state. The status of women here is typical of the rest of the region. Close to half of all Bauchi's women cannot read or write. Seventy-five percent of 15 year old girls have been, or are, married, and forty percent of all women are in polygamous marriages (UNFPA, 1990, cited in DEC's "Plan of Implementation, 1993-1996"). While most Islamic women do not farm, they carry a heavy burden of domestic responsibility and struggle to earn a small independent income within their socially imposed roles and restrictions. Christian women, though less restricted, are burdened with the responsibility of growing and processing food for the family. They are obliged to toil very long hours both in the field and in the home. Both Muslim and Christian women are subject to the authority of their husbands and are taught to be loyal and obedient.

The conditions of women's oppression in northern Nigeria may appear quite extreme. It would be inaccurate, however, to portray these women, or the Nigerian people for that matter, as passive victims of patriarchy, authoritarianism, or capitalist penetration. Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Nigerian history is complete with examples of strong women standing up to their oppressors.⁵ The founding of Women in Nigeria (WIN) in

⁵ The Women's Wars of 1928-1929 and women's uprising against the oil industry in the 1980's are two examples (Turner, 1991).

1982, a national non-governmental organization dedicated to research, advocacy and activism on the status of women is but one testament of women's refusal to accept the status quo (WIN, 1985). The Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) represents a vision of change for women which emanates from progressive Islamic values (Yusuf, 1991). The Development Exchange Centre is an expression of women's resistance and of an indigenous voice for change in Bauchi state.

The struggle for the empowerment of women in Nigeria is connected to the broader struggle for development of democracy in every corner and level of the nation. Several generations of Nigerians have been raised through a succession of colonial and military administrations in which endogenous forms of democratic practice have been not been allowed to flourish. Authoritarianism permeates every level of society, from the Ruling Council to the household. A new democratic tradition must be created from the bottom up. Umar (1993) suggests that weak democratic institutions and traditions in Nigeria limit the possibility of achieving democracy through constitutional means. Therefore, a solid "cultural foundation for democratic practice" (p. 29) must be created in tandem with political struggles.

Since constitutional struggles have not been effective in establishing a genuine and lasting democracy in Nigeria, many local and international organizations have turned their attention to the civil sector in order to establish a solid democratic foundation. Although this focus on civil society is part of a broader global project tied to alternative formulations of development (see Background Paper 3, Section B), the strengthening civil society in Nigeria has become an urgent priority as a result of the political developments over the past

few years.⁶ Some organizations are now recognizing the crucial role that women must play in this social transformation, particularly economically disadvantaged women who have the least vested interest in maintaining the status quo. CUSO (my sponsoring agency) is among these organizations. In its 1993 "West Africa Programming Framework" it extols the virtues of civil society, and NGO's in particular, as counter pressure to state monopoly, and identifies women as one of the key segments of this sector.⁷ CUSO's support to the Development Exchange Centre and my eighteen month placement with this local NGO can be seen as part of this broad project.

The Development Exchange Centre (DEC)

The Development Exchange Centre must be viewed as a unique organization in many respects, particularly when one situates it within this historical moment in Nigeria and in the context of the difficult conditions imposed by the state of struggle described above. Surrounded by hierarchy and authoritarianism — both traditional and imported — and staunch conservatism, DEC is a small island of progressive thought and innovative practice.

DEC was established in 1987, after initial research into women and non formal education in Bauchi State, sponsored by CUSO. The original purpose of DEC was to assist in improving the standard of living of rural women. This was to be achieved through:

⁶ Canada has recently allocated an additional three million dollars towards democratic development in Nigeria through the non-governmental sector. At the same time, Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy is spearheading the movement for diplomatic and economic sanctions against the military regime.

⁷ Youth were the second key sector identified in the 1993 programming framework, but CUSO later postponed plans to work in this sector because of budget constraints and a poor basis of experience in this area. The West Africa regional Plan for 1996-97 explicitly identifies a focus on women and strengthening civil society as two of its four focus areas.

- the provision of training programs for government extension workers in non-formal education techniques, so as to improve the service they deliver to rural women;
- the provision of an information service on issues pertaining to women, through the creation of a resource centre and the publication of a monthly newsletter;
- financial assistance and group strengthening programs for rural women's groups in Bauchi State.

Originally, DEC's role was largely that of an intermediary between government departments and the rural women. The organizers had hoped that DEC would act as a catalyst for the development of better and more numerous government services for rural women. This would be achieved through advocacy for, and DEC representation on, various government committees related to rural women, and training for extension workers from various government departments who provide services to the rural areas. Direct contact with rural women was a small part of the program. As time went on however, DEC staff began to see this as the most valuable and rewarding part of their work. Consequently, as of May 1994, the number of groups that DEC works with has grown from an initial twenty, to fifty-six. Training for extension workers was discontinued except by special request, and further purchases for the resource centre were frozen so that the majority of DEC's resources can be devoted to rural women. This change reflects a wider shift in the local and international NGO community away from a reliance on the will and delivery capacity of government bureaucracies, to strengthening the capacities of community groups and associations, and can be understood in the context of current discourse on civil society referred to earlier in this document. It is also

indicative of a gradual change in DEC's philosophy from a mainstream, WID perspective to one which is dedicated to the empowerment of women for long-term social change.

Group work is the bedrock of the organization. DEC believes that women's groups provide the support and solidarity needed for women to make changes in their personal lives and in their communities. Therefore, DEC staff have developed a participatory method of group strengthening, and conduct sessions with individual groups on such topics as group purpose, group rules, leadership, problem solving, communication, and self-esteem. Group size ranges from ten to seventy-five, but the average size is approximately twenty-five. Nine of the groups are composed exclusively of women in seclusion and must be visited within the confines of their compounds. The remaining groups are either Christian/Muslim mixed or Christian only.

DEC's point of entry with women's groups is financial assistance for group projects in such areas as income generation, health and sanitation and community development through the provision of a one time grant. This is combined with training in necessary skills such as pricing and book keeping, and topics particular to their projects, such as livestock fattening or grain storage. Through their interaction with the women, DEC staff have become aware that the women's single most pressing need is income. They also realize, however, that the provision of grants is not a sustainable way of assisting them to meet this need. In 1991, DEC began a pilot loan scheme, offering small loans to all members of two participating groups. Due to demand and a near perfect repayment rate, this scheme was expanded each year. As of May 1994, the members of twelve groups had participated in the scheme and plans were underway for further expansion.

The loan scheme is designed to address the income needs of individual group members without detracting from the group purpose or compromising group solidarity. Thus, it is offered to all members of a particular group at the same time. Each individual is asked to choose between three enterprises: farming, animal fattening and grains trading. Those who select the same enterprise are subdivided into borrowers' circles of three to five members. The function of the borrowers' circle is to provide mutual support and assistance, and establish a sense of collective responsibility for loan repayment. Each circle is asked to meet periodically to review each member's progress and to address any problems that might have arisen.

Each year, DEC organizes a workshop for representatives of all the women's groups with which it works. The general purpose of these workshops is to facilitate networking and sharing among the groups, to solve problems which have arisen over the year and address topics of interest or concern to rural women.

One of DEC's current goals is to promote self reliance among women's groups. To this end, DEC has assisted the groups with which it works to establish two women's associations, one representing groups from the northern part of the state and the other composed of groups from the south. This delineation was made on the basis of cultural and socio-economic similarity. Another purpose behind the formations of these associations is to give women more credibility with government agencies and financial institutions since, historically, rural women have had great difficulty obtaining services and credit from these bodies.

During my tenure at DEC, the associations were still young, and DEC was playing a supportive and crucial role by assisting the executive to convene meetings, plan the agenda and disseminate information. A progression in the

direction of autonomy and self-reliance, however, was clearly evident. For example, in 1994, the associations obtained grants from UNICEF and hosted their very first workshop for members on the uses of soya beans.

DEC receives its funding from a range of international NGO's. Its financial status is tenuous at times, but since its excellent reputation is spreading, it has won the confidence of these donors and has thus far survived these hard economic times.

DEC is composed of two organs: the staff who deliver the program and the advisory committee. During the project period, the staff complement consisted of four program officers (one man and three women), myself as a CUSO sponsored program advisor (also a woman), one male secretary, one male driver, and three security guards (all men). With the exception of myself, all DEC staff are Nigerians. Most are from the northern region and represent both Christian and Muslim communities. The staff body is organized into two collective decision making levels. The general staff body meets monthly and makes decisions pertaining to working conditions, maintenance of the facility, administration of the staff loan scheme, staff conflicts and other issues of general concern. This is also a forum where the support staff can raise their concerns to the program staff on personnel issues, salaries and the like.

The program team is responsible for administration and program planning and delivery. It is comprised of all the program staff, which at that time, included myself. All decisions are made by consensus, including the division of roles and responsibilities. These are commonly assigned on the basis of equality and expressed interest. Program team meetings are held at the beginning of each week. Chairing and minute taking responsibilities are rotated among the members. Within this forum an action/reflection/action approach is used, although the team members may not use this term. At each meeting, the

work is divided and field visits (treks) are assigned. During the following meeting, the events of the previous week are debriefed and evaluated, and the next set of actions are identified and planned.

Until 1995, the advisory committee was made up of nine representatives of relevant government departments, government agencies and non-governmental organizations. Its role was to advise staff on matters of policy, administration, and strategic directions, but its effectiveness has been limited, largely due to the fact that its composition no longer reflected the emphasis of the program. For this reason, it was reconstituted with members who can provide support to the program in the direction the program has taken. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain more specific information on the make-up of the new advisory committee.

My role at DEC was primarily to support the work of the indigenous program staff members. Although I took part in all planning and decision making with the program team, my dual identity as an insider/outsider necessitated that my role would be distinct from the other team members. For linguistic and cultural reasons, they were responsible for a greater share of the field work. Since I brought to the organization a different set of educational and work experiences, it was decided that one of my principle areas of responsibility would be staff development. It is within this context that the staff and program development project was conceived.

The Project Emerges

Field Observations and Reflections

As stated earlier, the workshops were the primary instrument of this staff and program development project. However, the themes which were intentionally incorporated into the workshops and those which arose spontaneously out of the activities are rooted in the struggles and the day-to-day reality of DEC's work with rural women's groups. Since the workshops were first and foremost opportunities for the staff to reflect on their work experiences, it may be difficult for the reader to understand what took place during the workshops without some sense of the field reality which inspired them. For this reason, I include below, selected edited entries from my journal of treks to various women's groups in their villages and significant episodes during workshops with various group representatives. In addition, I have included information, also taken from my journal recordings, on several themes I considered significant in my personal and professional journey to piece together a picture of the lives of women in northern Nigeria. The latter is largely derived from informal learning activities such as casual observation and discussions with colleagues and friends.⁸ The information contained in these field experiences and reflections, though filtered through my own subjective lens, brings to life the content of our deliberations during the workshops. In the stories below I have used the actual names of the communities we visited, but fictitious names have been assigned to the individuals involved.

⁸ DEC staff, being indigenous to the area, share to some extent a common knowledge base about their environment and culture, whereas I had to learn this from scratch.

Tanglang, December 4, 1992.

This group is composed of approximately twenty-five women of the Tangali ethnic group and are mainly Christians. They are participants in DEC's revolving loan scheme project. The purpose of our visit on this occasion was to disperse loans to three group members who were taking up grain trading enterprises, and to have an agricultural extension worker conduct a session with the group on grain preservation and storage. Eleven women and one child were present.

The DEC staff person introduces the extension worker and the session begins. The extension worker reviews the traditional methods. These include; hanging the maize in the kitchen where it will be smoked (used for maize which will be planted the next year), mixing the grain with a little groundnut oil, mixing the grain with a little ground red pepper, and storing it in an airtight container. It is hot and the women look tired. There are several questions, but little discussion of what methods the women are presently using. I wonder what is their knowledge base on the topic. How was it determined that they needed to have a presentation on storage?

On to the chemical methods. First there is a liquid insecticide that is mixed with water and sprayed on to the grain. It costs N 420 and will prepare 100 bags. That equals N.42 per bag — a lot! Then there is a powder that is shaken on, cheaper, but less effective. More questions. The women want to know how they can afford to purchase the spray insecticide and are told to chip in. I wanted to find out why the extension worker seemed to be promoting chemicals instead of the traditional methods. She said that the traditional methods do not last as long. The method of storage in traditional air tight bins is becoming a lost art. Since women do not know how to make them and the men do not make them anymore. She, (the extension worker) knows how to build them and she believes

it is a good method. Why does she not offer to teach the women? I wonder about the safety of the chemicals.

Other reflections: No real dialogue took place. The women were not asked what has been happening in their group. They were not asked what they know about storage, what have they been doing, what works, what doesn't work. This defies the principles of beginning with and analyzing people's experiences and respecting indigenous knowledge.

Dass Workshop, December 10, 1992.

Dass is a small town about forty minutes drive from Bauchi. We go there to conduct a workshop with members of three women's groups in the area of small business skills; pricing, profit/loss calculation, and record keeping. These topics had been covered at the annual all-women's workshop, but participants from this area said that they had not grasped the material because the process had moved too fast for them, and they requested a workshop of their own.

Lami and Hauwa (DEC staff) present skits to set up the scenarios for calculating profit and loss. The participants are given paper and pencils and are led through the calculations in very small steps. In the last skit the woman breaks even but does not earn any money. The participants have difficulty seeing this as a loss. Hauwa explains that since the woman did a lot of work and did not make any money, it is loss. Another scenario is presented. The women take a long time to complete their calculations. Now they are asked to try it with their own businesses. Hauwa suggests that they add the cost of their own labour. She explains that if they had to hire someone else to do the work, they would include this as a cost. Likewise, they also lose out on the opportunity to earn wages for their labour if they are busy with their own project. Near the end

of this exercise Hauwa asks if it is worth it to work the whole day for a profit of only N. 3. Some say yes and others say no.

On to book-keeping. Some women are obviously having difficulty writing things down. Later, Lami explains to me that the women who cannot read or do basic math are from the Wandi group. DEC has had to recall the grant from this group because of their inability to organize a group project. She also comments that some of the more educated women at the workshop are becoming bored because we have to move at the pace of the slowest participants. It appears to me that illiteracy is a real barrier to success for some of these women. I wonder if DEC had ever considered organizing literacy classes for them. I raise it at our staff meeting and we agree to discuss it for our next work plan.

During a break in the workshop activities one of the women complains to Lami that her husband has decided to marry a third wife. She is worried because the diet in her compound is not balanced as it is and another wife will spread the resources even further. She is concerned about the nutritional status of her own children. I wonder what kind of dynamic must be set up between co-wives under such circumstances.

Lami asks me if I think DEC's approach is participatory. I tell her I have not yet formed an opinion on this.

Kirfi, January 7, 1993.

This is a group of women in seclusion (WIS), and is composed of adult members of the family of the village chief. The meeting took place inside their compound with fourteen women and many children present. The purpose of the visit was to collect the grant money they were to refund to DEC, since it had not been used for the intended purpose. In the course of our meeting, the following story emerges:

The group had proposed to use the money for a groundnut processing project, but instead they gave half of it to a man to farm for them, and the other half went to pay for membership in a rural agricultural cooperative in the hopes that they would receive a return on their investment. The man they hired to do the farming informed them that it had not been a good season, so the farm had yielded only two bags of rice when three bags had been anticipated. The male agent from the cooperative had won the confidence of their husbands, even to the extent that he was allowed inside the compound to meet with the women. He had told the women that they would make money from their investment. He did not tell them that the only benefit they would receive was eligibility for loans. When they learned this, they felt cheated and misled. He promised each one a loan of N. 1000 with one year to pay it back. In the end they were loaned N.300, and were supposed to repay N. 500 within three months. Not such a great deal. Now they are considering subtracting the amount of their registration fee from the total payable. They ask Lami (DEC staff) her opinion, and if she thinks the government will be angry with them if they take this action. (These coops are government sponsored.) She says she does not know, but if they carry through with this plan and get into trouble, they should contact DEC. Later she explains to me that she did not want to tell the women what to do. On the one hand, she feels it is good if the women stand up to their oppressors, and on the other hand, it could have serious consequences which only the women will have to live with. Thus, the decision must be their own.

The women's husbands, perceiving that the cooperative agent has been taking advantage of their wives, decided that he would no longer be allowed into the compound. Furthermore, they want the women to work with no other organization, except DEC. The women ask us for one more month to repay the grant. They say they will sell their rice and collect other moneys. Lami does a

quick calculation and informs the women that at the current market prices, they will make little if any profit from the sale of their rice. The women do not have the skills to calculate this for themselves.

Despite DEC's insistence on the refund, our rapport with this group is very good. They accompany us to the outer chamber of the compound and smile at us through the doorway as we take our leave. Lami tells me that even this is taking liberties with their seclusion. I am struck by how vulnerable and open to exploitation these women are, by virtue of their subordination, seclusion and illiteracy. First, they are under the authority of their husbands, and once they try to exercise a little autonomy they are exploited by another man. They cannot read documents and contracts for themselves, so the relevant information is interpreted for them by others. They cannot shop around because of restricted mobility and must rely on people who come to them. Furthermore, their husbands can dictate with whom they may, or may not, work.

Bauchi, April 10, 1993

The former president of the Gar women's group came to see us at the office the other day. She was in town on other business and decided to come seek our advice on a problem within her group. This woman, whom I shall call Safiya, had initiated the formation of the Gar women's group. Others had looked to her for leadership and she became the first president.

The group is composed of both Christians and Muslims. The problem began when a certain man in the village, a Muslim himself, began agitating for elections for the group's executive, saying that it was Christian dominated. Safiya says she had no objections to that since she had the group's interest in mind, not her own. Elections were held, but as it turned out, the new officers could not read or write. Instead of asking the former executive for their help

with the books and so on, they sought the assistance of the same man who had agitated for the elections. He began attending the meetings and this provoked a debate in the community and the group as to whether or not men should be allowed to become members. Some said that if he was going to be attending the meeting anyway, he might as well join the group. Others insisted that it should be a women's group only.

Safiya asked us to visit the group and help them to solve the problem. Hauwa and Farida (DEC staff) met with the group on a designated day and were able to get the problem out in the open. It seems that when the former executive handed over the accounts there was no money remaining, while the record book indicated that there should have been. The new executive suspected the old executive of stealing the group's money, which is the reason they would not accept their assistance with the records and correspondence. Hauwa and Farida discovered that the records did not account for all the expenses the group incurred, and when they added these in, the balance was correct after all. The group members all acknowledged that it had all been a big misunderstanding. Through it, issues were raised around accountability, access to information for all group members and literacy. Hauwa and Farida also informed the group that DEC only works with all-women's groups and also explained this to the man who had been working with them.

I was not able to attend the meeting in Gar, but I record this story as it was recounted to me because I find it striking in several ways. First, it demonstrates that division based on religious affiliation can flare up into conflicts very easily in this part of the world, where there is already a great deal of mistrust and antagonism between religious communities. Second, these differences can breed other divisions, based on education level, for instance. In this case the fact that

the Christian women were generally more educated than the Muslim women compounded the problem.

May 15, 1993

It has become clear to me that building women's self-confidence is an indispensable requisite for development. DEC held the annual workshop for representatives of groups belonging to the Kukhama Association in April. This Association is comprised of groups from the more conservative northern region of Bauchi state. Women from this area are typically more secluded, less educated and skilled and confident than women from southern Bauchi. DEC staff were initially concerned about how well these women would cope with the exercises we had planned for the workshop. To our surprise, however, they understood the purpose more readily, participated more fully and were generally more open than the participants who attended the Kucigaba Association workshop (the southern Association) held earlier in the year. The program staff attribute this new outspokenness to progress DEC has enabled them to make. On the whole, they appear more confident than in previous years. On the first evening of the workshop we had a male observer from the U.S. The facilitator forgot to introduce him to the group but the women were bold enough to take her up on it and demanded to know who he was and why he was there. The program staff are certain that this would not have happened a few years ago, or even last year. The openness with which they portrayed the problems in their groups through role plays, and debated both problems and solutions, was also encouraging. Many of the problems their role plays depicted had to do with the distribution of power within the group based on position and education level — For example, the executive committee failing to consult the

membership, or the treasurer refusing to disclose information to members who are not literate and cannot read it for themselves.

Tal, June 10, 1993

I was very impressed with this group. We had not planned to visit them and only sent a message in the morning that we were in the area and wondered if it would be possible for us to come and collect their loan payments. The group's president replied that most of the women had gone to the farm but would be back in the late afternoon. She said we could come to see them around 4:00 p.m. and the money would be ready. We arrived at 6:00 p.m. by which time some of the members had gone home, as they thought we would not make it. Still, they were able to rally most of the membership. They handed the loan money over to us in neat N. 100 bundles, one borrowers' circle at a time. For those who were unable to attend, their circle counted and handed over the money for them. We asked for their assessment of the loans scheme and they said they were happy with it and have realized substantial profits.

Pip-Dok, June 10, 1993

This group is located in Billiri, a town in the middle of a Christian area. The group is composed of fifteen members, all Christians. The purpose of our visit is to collect the loan repayments for their farming projects and to evaluate the loan scheme. Only six women attend because of some confusion over the meeting time. I notice that they are all well dressed and appear healthy and rested. We meet in the home of one of the members. It has a fridge and a television. All the members have left their payments with the president. She submits it in full with interest. All the participants reported significant profits. They were happy with the design of the loan scheme, especially the late

collection period which allowed them to hang on to their produce and sell it when the market prices are good.

The loans form they had originally submitted suggested that these women hire others to do their farm work — perhaps other women. I wonder if they pay them a fair wage. I also wonder how they get access to land for their projects. No one included this item in their list of expenses.

There is a marked difference between this group and some of the others we have visited. They appear more confident, educated, successful in their projects, and less battle weary. Among the trades that DEC's loan scheme supports, farming projects have been the least profitable. Yet this group's projects have done very well. Perhaps this may be attributed to the socio-economic status of these women. Perhaps they have more education and better skills to run their enterprises, and access to resources such as additional capital to add to their loans from DEC. They also have more freedom than most Muslim women to look after their interests.

Kukhama All Women's Workshop, January 18 and 19, 1994.

Who actually benefits from the loans DEC gives to women? We knew from our conversations with individuals that when a woman's husband is aware the she has money, he sometimes abdicates his responsibility to buy food for the family and leaves this up to her. But we also have been suspecting for some time that some husbands actually appropriate the funds. This is not the kind of information the women will readily disclose, so we designed an activity for the annual all women's workshop to bring out their reality. We asked the women to divide into small groups to generate fictitious stories and collectively create a skit portraying what happens in the family when a woman has a new income or loan.

Five skits were presented and four of them showed the husband commandeering the money. In the first skit the husband simply demands the loan money and when the woman refuses, he beats her. In the second skit the husband asks for a share of his wife's loan and she gives it to him on the condition that he pay it back within four months. When the loans agent comes to collect the funds, the woman asks her husband for his share and he denies he ever received it. In the next skit, a woman collects a N. 5000 loan from The People's Bank. She takes it home and tells her husband about it. He offers to keep the money for her and she agrees. Later, she asks for some of the money to buy food. He says he does not have any, beats her, and tells her to go and get another loan. After all of this he divorces her. The fourth skit portrays a group giving their loans repayment money to a certain man to carry to the cooperative for them, but instead he cheats them and keeps it. In the final skit, a member of the group informs a second group member's husband that his wife had received a loan. The husband searches the home and finds the money and spends it all on drinks and a prostitute. When the woman confronts him, he beats her.

The level of violence and intimidation in these skits is very disturbing. The women tell us these things happen to only some women, but it would appear from the skits that these experiences are quite common. One woman said that in polygamous marriages it is more difficult to resist the husband's request for money because the wives are always trying to out do each other with respect to pleasing the husband.

The final part of this activity involved collectively generating a list of solutions to these problems. These were:

- 1) Give him the money but ask him in the most humble and respectful way to pay it back.

- 2) Tell him the loan is due earlier than is actually is and remind him periodically about it.
- 3) Ask the group leader to visit him to request his help to make the business successful and to pay back the loan on time. Make him feel responsible for her performance.
- 4) Purchase all the items needed for the trade immediately so that there is no extra cash lying around.
- 5) Prepare his mind in advance for the fact the his wife will receive a loan.
- 6) Give the money to the group to keep.
- 7) Only accept group loans.

Sadly, these solutions too, illustrate how little power individual women have over their lives.

January 27, 1994

The practices of polygamy and wife seclusion are widely observed among Muslims in northern Nigeria and are deeply entrenched in the culture. It is difficult to openly discuss these topics because they are associated with the Islamic faith and to do so might be considered blasphemous. I have heard it said that polygamy has its benefits for women. For example, co-wives may share the domestic work and can support each other against their husband when conflicts of interest arise. It is problematic for an outsider like myself to pass judgment on the practices of another culture and religion. But the women that shared their views with me in Nigeria paint a different picture. Seclusion isolates women from their own family and friends. Polygamy pits women of the same compound against each other and makes them suspect of all other unmarried women. For these reasons, polygamy and wife seclusion, practiced together,

may constitute one of the greatest barriers to change and to building solidarity between women.

Even after a man has taken four wives, other women remain a threat to them because divorce is very easy to obtain, especially for the man. Muslim men are supposed to provide for their wives and children. Since the ability to marry more than one woman and to keep them in seclusion are status symbols, some men practice these without sufficient financial means, and the women and children suffer. My sources say that the majority of women are not happy when their husbands take another wife. The difficulty is that whereas mothers may not want polygamy for themselves and their daughters, they would encourage it for their sons.

Not all devout Muslim women accept these practices. My female colleagues, both Christian and Muslim, are in monogamous marriages and are obviously not in seclusion. Still, perhaps it is not polygamy itself that is the problem, but the fact that the women have no choice in the matter. A man can plan to marry another woman without even consulting his existing wives. These women may not be compatible, yet they are forced to share the same compound. Under conditions of seclusion it is not surprising that conflicts arise. Likewise, is not necessarily the tenets of Islam which oppress women. Rather it is the way they are interpreted by men, to maintain their gender interests.

Nasarra, February 24, 1994.

We arrived at the home of the group's president to find that she had traveled to Kano and no other group members had gathered. The president had left a brief message that the grain from the group project had been sold and that the group would not be doing anything until after Sallah (Islamic holiday). We are not altogether surprised. This group has not been serious or strong. It is

composed of women in seclusion (WIS), who are mostly related to the group president. The president is post-menopausal, and therefore, no longer in seclusion. She is quite rich in comparison to the rest of the membership. It is she who initially contacted DEC to come and work with them. All group decisions must go through her, since she is senior in the family. The group is located in the middle of Azare, a rather large town, which hardly qualifies them as rural women.

The files portray a picture of a group which has not been functioning effectively or democratically since the beginning. Their problems included poor attendance at meetings, lack of access to information on the group's financing, a domineering leader who does not do her work, and fear of speaking up on the part of the membership. DEC had encouraged them to identify the group's purpose and draw up a list of group rules as far back as December, 1989. They were also urged to hold elections for the executive and bring in new members. It appears, however, that to date, the situation remains unchanged or has worsened. The same despotic leader is still in office and participation problems persist.

I question whether we should be working with this group. It seems that it is a creation of one person and is highly dependent on her. It is also obvious that she, at least, is not a disadvantaged rural woman.

Bambam 2, March 16, 1994.

We went to visit this group to collect loan repayments from those who had taken up animal fattening, and to evaluate the loan scheme with them. The latter involved individual interviews with participants. During one such interview, Hauwa (DEC staff) asked the participant, who had been recently widowed, why her sons were attending school while her daughters were not. The woman

replied that her husband had directed from his death bed that his daughters should not attend school. It occurs to me that given the authority of the father and fact that a dead man cannot change his mind, the fate of these young girls is sealed. It is as if a hand from the grave will hold them to the same socio-economic status as their mother and the generation of women before them.

April 2, 1994

Halima (fictitious name) is a young woman of fifteen or sixteen years, who cleans our office. She lives with her mother in Bauchi while her father lives in their home village in Borno state. Her parents are divorced and remarried. Halima's father took her out of school after only three years. She cannot read or write, much less speak English, while her younger brother is fluent. After her work is finished she stays in our library for a while, looking at books as if she is reading them, but she cannot.

A couple of weeks ago, Halima's father sent word that she should come home to the village, accompanied by her mother, but he did not say why. Everyone suspects he wants to marry her off. Her mother says she will not be forced. She will have to agree to it. Halima is timid and shy. I hope she will have the strength to stand up for herself. She does not want to be in the village. Her friends are in school in Bauchi and she would like to be there with them. There are so few choices for young women like her.

It is important to note that the individual stories and reflections above do not correspond directly to a particular workshop. Rather, they illustrate themes which reverberate throughout the workshop series. I identify below some of these themes with the provision that this is not intended to be an exhaustive list.

It is provided with the purpose of establishing a number of threads which will be picked up again later in the document. These themes then, are as follows:

- Women's subordination to their husbands and the impact this has on the women's initiatives and the outcome of DEC's work with them.
- Women's lack of access to education and the impact of illiteracy on their lives, as well as DEC's project activities.
- The impact of conservative interpretations of religion and patriarchal African traditions on women's autonomy.
- Disparity and class differences between and within groups with whom DEC works.
- Lack of democratic practice and the autocratic leadership styles manifest in some of the women's groups.
- The importance of the personal dimension of development both for its own sake and as a prerequisite for broader development.
- Divisions within communities and groups based on religious affiliation, sometimes exacerbated by corresponding differences in literacy levels.

The Staff Workshops

My tenure at DEC began in November of 1992 and ended in May of 1994. During that period, I planned and facilitated seven staff workshops, varying in length from one half to two days. The project time frame corresponds with the dates of my tenure even though the first workshop did not take place until the seventh month. The first six months can be considered an essential preparatory phase, since the success of the workshops was dependent, in part, on my familiarity with the environment, my understanding of the needs of the

organization, and to the staff's comfort level with me, none of which could have been established in a short time frame.

I have chosen to describe this undertaking as a 'staff and program development project' for several reasons. First, it enabled individual staff members to enhance their consciousness, analysis and skills from their own particular starting point. Second, it included all the staff who were in some way involved in the program planning and delivery, so that the collective analysis of DEC's work could lead directly to identifying desired changes and planning how to implement them. All the program staff — three women and one man — participated in each workshop. The driver and the secretary, both male, also participated in many of the workshops.

In line with the design models discussed earlier, a needs assessment was conducted prior to planning each workshop. From the needs expressed, objectives were devised, and the program was planned accordingly. Generally speaking, each workshop flowed from warm-up activities, to identifying participants experiences, perceptions or understanding of the topic at hand, analysis of these, adding new information and theory, to applying the new information, and on to reflection and evaluation exercises. A wide range of interactive activities and medium were used. These are described in detail in Section E. Below is a brief review of the project as it unfolded.

The topic of the first workshop was popular education. Although this term was not entirely new to many of the staff, their levels of exposure to it were uneven and none had ever had the opportunity to explore its precise meaning and implications. From the needs assessment it was clear that the staff wanted to explore the extent to which their approach matched that of popular education. Several persons also identified a desire to have team building exercises included in the program. A recent staff conflict had resulted in the resignation of one

member and had had a residual effect on the morale of the staff body. Thus, the program began with a trust building exercise and a communications exercise. The latter required each person to give personal feedback to every other participant in writing. Afterwards the participants reported that although they found this activity enjoyable and useful, they had difficulty choosing the right words to convey their message without offending the receiver. This theme was addressed again in Workshop 6.

The most significant outcome of this workshop resulted from a comparison of popular education with DEC's approach. The participants suggested that while popular education differentiates by class, DEC differentiates by gender. Whereas popular education is concerned with the poor or popular sectors of society, DEC is concerned with rural women, not necessarily poor women. My field observations from several treks described above (Pip Dok and Nassara, C33 & C37) clearly demonstrate this point. Some of the staff suggested that DEC should be more class conscious in its work and should facilitate more consciousness raising with rural women on class based issues. It was decided to revisit this issue in the next workshop.

Political events overtook our plans to hold a second workshop on feminist popular education the following month. On June 12, 1993, the presidential elections were annulled by the presiding military government. A period of instability followed. This necessitated that I return to Canada on holiday, in early July instead of later in the month. Continued instability in Nigeria and personal health problems turned what was to be a one month vacation into a four month stint. When I returned to Nigeria in November, two new staff had joined the program team. Neither had had previous experience in non-formal or participatory education. For this reason, we decided that *program design and facilitation* would be a more timely topic for the next workshop. The longer

serving members of the program team were also interested in learning about the Tatamagouche Centre's design model, to which I had been referring in the course of our work together.

One of the purposes of this workshop, from my perspective, was to teach the design cycle and facilitation skills by modeling them. Conversely, the participants would learn by experiencing, and could decide for themselves what was beneficial and what was not. A concrete and useful outcome of the day's activities was a revision of the Tatamagouche model to reflect the experiences of the participants. In broad terms, however, the significance of this workshop lies in its value as training in the concrete skills of participatory development.

The DEC sponsored annual workshops for representatives of the women's groups were held early in 1994. One of our principle objectives for these workshops was to explore the extent to which women had control over their own income. The picture of women's oppression which emerged from the socio-dramas described above (see Kukhama All-Women's Workshop, page C34) was starker than any of us had expected and some of us at least, were left with a profound sense of the enormity of the struggle for women's equality.

Two days were set aside for the following staff development event, and gender issues were high on the agenda. I decided that an appropriate progression would be to begin where we had ended in the popular education workshop, move into an analysis of the position of women in rural society, extract the meaning of feminist popular education from this analysis, and then bridge this to an introduction to gender and development. This workshop represented a significant event in DEC's development, both in terms of the implications of our deliberations on DEC's work, and the impact on the consciousness of the individuals involved, including myself. There were a number of fruitful activities which are described in detail in Section E. I

highlight below those which the participants most frequently named as favorites during evaluation at the end of the two days

The *social structure of the rural community* in northern Nigeria was analyzed by identifying categories of people who typically live there and organizing these in a pyramid from the most to the least powerful, differentiating by gender all the while. Not surprisingly, women were concentrated at the bottom, although all of us were struck by the level of disparity between men and women. To end this activity, each of us pinpointed the strata in which we would be located if we lived in the village.

The *power flower* exercise required each of us to determine and share with the others our multiple identities in relation to who holds power in society and who does not, based on race, class, gender, religion, marital status, ethnicity, and so on. Some of these divisions, such as class, are universal, whereas others, such as marital status, are particularly significant in northern Nigeria. Several participants were surprised to learn that they are actually privileged in some ways, and others noted that it is possible to belong to both oppressed and dominating sectors at the same time. One person remarked that the fact that one is born into a privileged sector does not mean that one has to serve that sector's interests.

The *gender metrics* exercise had each person declare her or his personal views on various issues related to gender roles, such as whether or not men should be the head of the family, and whether or not women are naturally better nurturers of children. The most interesting outcome was that the responses were often divided along gender lines. The men tended to favor the argument that societal gender roles reflect the natural order of life, while the women attributed much to the socialization process.

The application of the eight GAD tools (see Background Paper 2 or Workshop 3 for details) to DEC's work was considered a useful activity. However, time did not permit us to apply the GAD framework in a thorough manner. Nevertheless, along with the discussion on feminist popular education, many important points were raised. A number of these are highlighted below:

- Even though DEC staff members feel that DEC's energies should be more deliberately directed at the more marginalized sectors of rural women, we do not presently have the tools to discriminate based on class differences.

- DEC's acceptance in the communities is contingent upon the approval of male leaders and the women's husbands. Therefore it is difficult to raise sensitive gender issues which challenge the status quo. In one community, for example, some of the women's husbands would not permit their wives to attend meetings with DEC, because at an introductory meeting DEC had asked the women to share how many children they had, and the men inferred from this that DEC was intending to introduce family planning methods. In another community, DEC was suspected of being a Christian organization attempting to convert the women from Islam to Christianity. Therefore, DEC must move very slowly on these issues, gaining the trust of the community and of the women first.

- DEC should raise more private sphere issues, such as domestic violence, with the women, but this is difficult given the situation described above, and the fact that we seldom meet with the women under conditions of privacy. It may be most effective to simply respond to these issues if and when they are raised by the women themselves.

- DEC should conduct consciousness raising activities with men on gender issues at every available opportunity.

- In view of the gendered division of labour and the fact that their husbands sometimes appropriate the women's income, DEC's support for income generating projects may be creating more work for women without rendering any benefits. DEC should avoid reinforcing the gendered division of labour.

This workshop ended on a very high note. Clearly, the content and form were relevant to the need and interests of this group. The evaluation was very positive and participants indicated that they were looking forward to more of the same. It was decided that another GAD workshop was necessary to further explore the GAD analytical tools. In the meantime we decided that it would be useful to apply the framework to a specific community in which DEC works.

The first segment of the *Gender and Development Two* workshop focused on building an analysis of the subordination of Nigerian women. In the web chart activity (see page E47, participants named the problem to be analyzed as, "Northern Nigerian women are relegated to the background." Primary and secondary causes of this problem were identified and places where individuals, DEC and the broader women's movement can intervene in the problematic were pinpointed. This exercise illustrated the complexity of the problem, and the strength and range of factors which hold the system in place, and was a significant consciousness raising event. For example, lack of solidarity among women was named as one of the primary causes of the problem and polygamy, socialization, men and religious differences were identified as causes of this. One of the male participants, himself polygamous, related this to a recent event in his own life in which he overheard a female elder in his second wife's family instruct her how to talk to the first wife, and advising her to keep her distance. The issue of polygamy is very sensitive because it is part of the lives of virtually all Muslim Nigerians, even if they are not in polygamous marriages themselves.

This workshop constituted the first time the issue of polygamy was openly discussed among the staff body.

We then turned our attention to applying the eight GAD tools of analysis to the Tula Baule community, where DEC works with a 500 member women's association, which is subdivided into several groups. We had reached a stalemate in our work there because of conflicts, leadership and communication problems within the association. We hoped that by subjecting the community and organization to the GAD analysis our way forward might be suggested, while at same time affording staff the opportunity to practice using GAD analytical skills. This turned out to be a lengthy undertaking encompassing a very wide ranging discussion. Several of the more salient points are reviewed below.

The *access and control of resources and benefits* profile proved to be a most illuminating tool (see page E53). The participants devised a chart in which they listed all the resources and benefits that are found in the rural community, and indicated which gender has access to, and which gender has control over each. Of the nineteen items listed, men had access to eighteen and control over fifteen whereas women had access to eighteen but control over only six. A number of participants were surprised at this disparity because Tula Baule women are reputed to be strong and independent, carrying out responsibilities which in other ethnic groups belong to men. The conclusion was reached that responsibility is not synonymous with control.

Government and elite control of agricultural resources, particularly fertilizers, was identified as another issue affecting rural women. In the late 1970's and early 1980's there were a number of major government initiatives promoting modern farming methods. This coincided with the period of the oil boom. Fertilizers were available and inexpensive. Many farmers were

encouraged to shift from traditional to chemical methods and a dependency was created. (The more that chemical fertilizers are used, the more the soil requires.) Then prices rose and supply shrank. Government agencies controlled the distribution of fertilizers, and politicians and bureaucrats began using it for political purposes such as buying votes and favors. Since women generally have less influence than men, they had more difficulty obtaining what they needed. Now, as a result of scarcity and high prices, many farmers have begun the painful process of switching back to traditional methods.

The issue of leadership arose at several points in our deliberations. DEC's analysis was that many problems the Tula Baule Women's Association faced were related to the fact that members of the executive were not willing to relinquish or share the power and privilege they derive from their positions. Yet the women of this community are capable of exercising appropriate and effective leadership, as exemplified by the time in recent history when they forced the chief and council members out of office and temporarily took over because they felt the decisions of the male leadership regarding rezoning of political boundaries were not in the best interest of the community, especially the women.

Some of the solutions generated for the Tula Baule Women's Association were:

- Help it to reorganize itself into smaller more democratic groups;
- Encourage less privileged women to take up leadership positions;
- Hold workshops with individual sub-groups on group skills and shared leadership styles;
- Insist that new people attend DEC's annual workshop;

- Conduct consciousness raising sessions with women and men separately on such issues as access and control over resources and benefits.

All in all, the participants felt the objectives of this workshop had been achieved. A concrete set of actions had been devised for Tula Baule and everyone felt more familiar with GAD. One part of the analysis had involved assessing levels of participation. Several staff members considered this to be a critical issue, but we agreed to postpone in depth discussion on this for a subsequent workshop.

Although participatory approaches was among the topics I had originally proposed to DEC for the workshop series, several events during that period demonstrated a need to explore the meaning of participation and participatory development. In December, 1993, we hired another 'participatory' agency to conduct an evaluation of DEC's work. This move was internally motivated and was not required by funding agencies. We specifically requested a participatory evaluation, thinking that it would afford us the opportunity to acquire evaluation skills while gaining insight into the impact of DEC's program. The evaluators assured us they could deliver. The experience, however, did not come close to meeting our expectations.

The process essentially consisted of two instruments: group interviews with selected rural women's groups and individual interviews with staff and members of the advisory committee. We were not involved in the design in any way and were not even fully consulted. On the day first day of their field work, the research team essentially presented us with an outline and asked us if we had any questions. None of the data was shared with us until the draft report was submitted, which was several months late. Some of us, at least, were left wondering how this agency defines participation.

The second experience surrounded a consultation we had with an economic development agency regarding the design of our loan scheme. It is worth noting that the agency which funds this scheme 'suggested' that we hold this consultation while they considered approving an expansion. The consultation lasted two days, the first spent in discussion with the program team and the other spent in the village meeting with two groups. Critical questions were raised such as whether or not our present scheme provided women with sufficient capital to enable their enterprises to grow, or did the women find themselves in the same position each year. It soon became clear, however, that a clash of values and rationalities was taking place between the consultants and DEC, theirs centred on economic processes, ours stressing collective growth and mutual support. The head of the two member consultant team, an economist by training, wanted us to consider several new features; revolving the money among the group members so that they would take turns rather than receiving loans simultaneously, as is presently the case; offering incentives for early repayment, gearing the size of the loan to the size of the enterprise and screening each individual application for viability of the enterprise, as opposed to granting loans automatically; charging higher interest rates, and having individuals or groups contribute to the funds with membership fees or savings. We expressed our concern that some of these elements might interfere with group solidarity by focusing on the success of the individuals and I personally felt they may result in stratification in the group on the basis of business abilities. I also wondered how DEC, located in the state capitol, could determine what would be an economically viable enterprise in the village.

Even though the principle consultant considers himself to be a participatory practitioner, it was we who suggested we ask the opinions of the rural women. At our meeting in the village on day two and during subsequent

discussions with other groups, we asked the women what they would do if the loans fund was not large enough for every group member. Their responses consistently put the interests of the group above their own concern for profit. A common position was that they would take turns receiving loans but if any members objected, the money should be split evenly, even if the amount each person received was not sufficient to make their projects effective. Another interesting fact to arise from our discussion is that the notion of interest is frowned upon in Islamic communities. According to Islamic values, individuals should be loaned money on the basis of need and no one should profit as money lenders. A number of the groups have very small schemes of their own and the borrower must pay back a little extra to cover 'running cost'. It was clear to us that the preservation of these values was not only just, but also critical to any successful redesign of DEC's loan scheme. Yet these were not reflected in the consultant's recommendations. We also knew intuitively, that the principles of participatory development were somehow violated by the consultation process.

The broad purpose of the *Participatory Approaches* workshop was to collectively define our ideal participatory approach and discuss how it might be implemented. We began by identifying the definition of participation implicit in DEC's current approach in order to establish a basis for comparison. Next, each person shared their personal experiences as participants, both positive and negative, and these were analyzed. We then debated some of the definitions of participation from the development literature. Finally we named our ideal approach, and identified its limitations, barriers to implementation and ways to overcome them. A full report is contained in Section E, but it is appropriate here to repeat DEC's participatory ideal. It is :

- people oriented;
- bottom-up;

- participation is introduced from the beginning or people initiated; depending on the circumstances;
- treats participation as a guiding principle from beginning to end;
- emphasizes collective decision making;
- empowers both the individual and the group;
- outside agents act as facilitators — they do not make decisions but help in the process;
- respects people's knowledge;
- is creative; and
- enhances relationships.

One of the most salient aspects of this workshop is that it links the personal to the political dimension, relates our personal participation experiences to development theory, and devises a definition which incorporates individual needs for creativity, respect, trust and friendship. Scant attention is paid to these personal and interpersonal issues in most development literature, yet they are as crucial to successful grassroots development as such things as vocational skills and capital. The sixth staff workshop addresses this gap.

The specific impetus for the *giving and receiving feedback* workshop was a recent misunderstanding between two staff members, a problem which is encountered in virtually every organization. In most organizations, the problem is swept under the rug or a solution might be imposed by a superior. DEC, however, was committed to developing an egalitarian approach to working together across divisions of gender, religion, ethnicity, and class. Although a conflict resolution session among the persons involved put their specific problem to rest, it was decided that we all needed to improve our interpersonal communication skills. Thus, the workshop was designed to enable participants

to develop appropriate skill in communicating with each other about behavior without creating antagonism, anger, embarrassment or defensiveness. Once again it centered around an analysis of participants' experiences. A set of guidelines and a suggested sequence of steps for giving and receiving feedback were devised (see Section E, page E80).

This workshop is important because it illustrates the personal dimension of democratic, participatory development, or democratic practice in daily living. The essence of this approach is the acknowledgment that few things are absolutely right and wrong, that we are all subjective beings, and that the integrity of each individual must be respected. It is not surprising that since most of us are reared in hierarchical societies, we do not possess the skills of democratic communication, even though we may adhere to a progressive ideology. This gap results in conflict and alienation which eventually impacts on our work. Moreover, these were exactly the kinds of problems that arose in the rural women's groups and which impeded the groups' progress. In order to assist groups to address these issues DEC staff had to learn how to cope with them within the staff body.

The last workshop was intended as a *wrap-up session* in which the principle lessons and suggested changes arising from the previous workshops would be prioritized and turned into action plans. Unfortunately, this workshop had to be rescheduled several times to ensure everyone could attend. In the end, very little time remained for this final phase as I was due to leave for Canada the following day. In spite of this limitation, we identified eight priority changes DEC would like to make, and by working in two small groups, steps to implementing each of them were determined. The eight priorities were:

- to work more intentionally with popular sector women;
- to do more consciousness raising with women on class issues

(such as agricultural practices which create dependency);

- to do more consciousness raising with men on gender issues and women's position and condition;
- to conduct workshops with individual groups on leadership styles;
- to increase women's participation in DEC by getting their input into the agenda for the annual all women's workshops;
- to share more skills among staff;
- to encourage regular elections in groups and encourage new women to try leadership positions; and
- to conduct sessions with the women's groups on the difference between traditional and participatory education.

(see page ?? for implementation steps)

I had also drawn up a list of issues which had not been resolved during our previous deliberations. These were reviewed and prioritized and a commitment was made to address these collectively at a latter date. These issues were:

- How can DEC identify women of the popular sector? What is their profile?
- How can DEC challenge the existing gendered division of labour?
- How do we, as individuals, perpetuate the "relegation of women to the background"?
- What is the exact difference between equality of opportunity versus equity of impact?
- How can DEC prevent men from interfering in its work with rural women? How can DEC staff get the privacy they need with them in order to raise sensitive gender issues?

Prior to my departure from Nigeria, some of the changes were already occurring as a result of insights reached during the workshop. For instance, a new set of criteria for choosing which new groups would be asked to participate in DEC's loan scheme included targeting those groups in greatest need. A decision was also taken to focus less energy on several groups who are relatively less disadvantaged than the others. Ultimately, however, the success of this staff and program development project can best be judged in its impact over the long term.

Section D: Reflections

In any context I speak about my own practice, and upon reflection I articulate my practice theoretically. From here on, I have to challenge other educators, including those of my own country, to take my practice and my reflections as the object of their own reflections and analyze their content so they can begin to reinvent them in practice. (Freire in Freire & Macedo, 1987: 135).

This final section comprises the principal lessons and conclusions I have drawn from the experience of implementing the staff and program development project described here, from working alongside the staff of DEC for an eighteen month period, and from the process of articulating both theory and practice in this document. Many of these insights are derived from the process of reflecting back on two questions posed in the introductory pages of this document.

The first question is: "What contributions can the theory and practice of feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development make to DEC with respect to the challenges it faces in the day to day struggle to empower rural women?" This is linked to the primary aim of the project: to enable DEC staff to enhance their work with respect to the empowerment of rural women through a collective exploration of the concepts and principles encompassed in the three above approaches. In terms of the actual number and content of the workshops, it is clear that the performance objectives were reached if not exceeded. The more important question is: to what extent the project was useful to DEC. This is best answered in terms of the ongoing impact on the individuals who participated and on their program activities with rural women. The lack of financial resources for follow-up and unreliable post and telecommunications in Nigeria have made any kind of systematic evaluation impossible. There are however, a number of indications,

that the project was quite successful. First among these is the fact that workshops were prolific in terms of responses and conclusions generated. These speak for themselves in the workshop reports in the following section. Second, many of the concepts and ideas generated during the workshops were immediately put into practice. For example, following the workshop on program design and facilitation, the revised design model was displayed on the wall and used to guide further planning. Third, participant evaluations of each workshop were, on the whole, very positive suggesting these were relevant to their needs.

The workshops focusing on gender issues were the most enthusiastically commended. In fact, following these, the social construction of gender became a frequent topic of conversation among staff. Fourth, with respect to the long term impact, I have learned through various sources that gender consciousness raising session with men in several villages has gone ahead as planned; that DEC had conducted gender consciousness raising sessions with the local staff and associates of UNICEF, and has collaborated with another women's organization to organize GAD training for a group of affiliated NGO's. Furthermore, two of the women staff attended the NGO forum of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and no doubt their consciousness on gender issues has reached new heights. Although the latter cannot be directly attributed to the impact of the workshops, my personal sense is that the project took place at the timely historical moment in DEC's development and enabled it choose its directions more clearly and consciously and added momentum to its own transformation process. Given the high level of interest in these topics, it is likely that the organization was, to some extent, moving in this direction on its own. Still, the project posed some critical questions pertaining to gender and

class relations, power, participation and so on, which assisted DEC staff to adopt a more liberating and transformative approach to their work.

The second point of inquiry relates to the implications of our experiences for the development of theory. The initial question posed in this connection was: "How can DEC's experience of working with rural women in northern Nigeria inform the evolution and synthesis of these three approaches towards a holistic, feminist and empowering praxis?" Since the project employed an open-ended, emergent design, however, the full range of issues which were eventually addressed are not reflected in this question. More accurately then: what are the implications of DEC's experiences in the field and of the insight reached throughout this staff and program development project, for the evolution of an appropriate development praxis? The field and workshop experiences together confirm that the integration of feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development does indeed hold significant promise for the empowerment of rural women. Through the application of these three approaches to DEC's reality, their combined strengths have become apparent but so too have some weaknesses. Our experiences also raise some additional issues which are not fully addressed by any the above.

One of the contributions of feminist popular education is an analysis of the double oppression of poor women, based on class and gender. In northern Nigeria, it has been shocking at times to witness to extent to which women are tightly controlled by the patriarchs in their lives and by the prevailing patriarchal ideology. But poverty and patriarchy in combination have an crushing impact on women's lives. Although a poor man shares the same class position as his wife, he is cushioned from the full impact of poverty by his wife's subordinate position. Since she is lower in the pecking order, she rises first, works hardest, eats last and has the least access to resources. The contention of

many feminist popular educators that women and men's interests cannot be amalgamated into a single 'gender neutral' program rings particularly true in such a gender segregated and stratified society. The story of the Tula Baule women who deposed the male community leaders clearly demonstrates the often opposing interest of two genders.

Feminist popular education, rooted as it is in the broader popular education movement, also offers a set of pedagogical concepts, tools and skills which are essential accoutrements of a development worker or facilitator who believes in real community power. Much of this has been developed through grassroots praxis in countries of the South as opposed to being a Northern approach to 'Third World' development needs. In this sense, it is an internally generated liberating force. Feminist popular education offers an understanding of the situationality of our complex identities, which proved to be an important learning among staff members. It also begins to reveal the mechanisms by which women are excluded.

Gender and development takes us much further in understanding the mechanisms of women's exclusion from development and in finding ways to redress this problem. It is limited, however, by the fact that it is still primarily a First World approach to the problems of Third World women. Although DEC staff found the eight GAD analytical tools of analysis very enlightening, in my view these are still based on concepts which Western scholars have determined yield most relevant information or which they see as the most useful ways of organizing this information but do not always capture the full reality of women's lives. There are several example of this. First, the "access to and control over resources and benefits" profile (CCIC et al, 1991) was found to be a very effective tool for illuminating the position of women in DEC's target areas but there are contradictions embedded within it. On the one hand, it challenges the

myth of the family as a single consensual unit by identifying the gender differential, particularly with respect to control over productive resources and benefits. On the other hand, it fails to apply the same analysis to control over reproductive resources. Thus, it ignores the dynamics of decision making in the family, particularly the impact of male authoritarianism on female family members. The story of the widow who could not send her daughters to school because of orders left behind by her husbands, and the skits performed by rural women portraying significant levels of male violence towards them in the home (both described in the preceding section), demonstrate the full extent of this authoritarianism. The GAD framework may acknowledge these problems, but does not analyze them as part of the development problematic or community situation. Thus, it falls into the same trap as WID and other conventional approaches by focusing more attention on the public sphere and productive activities than on the private or domestic sphere and reproductive activities. I suggest that if development has to do with the quality of life, then a woman's freedom from violence, her ability to choose how many children she should have and to send her daughters to school is equally as important as her success in a micro-enterprise.

Moreover, distinction between public and private spheres, and between productive and reproductive activities, are problematic ways of classifying the work of rural women in traditional African societies particularly when they live at subsistence levels, since the structure of their day-to-day activities make it difficult to determine where the household ends and public sphere begins. According to this classification, when a woman cooks the food that she has grown it is considered a domestic activity, but if she sells some of her produce at the market in order to purchase cooking oil, she is considered to be economically productive or to have entered the public sphere. On the other hand, Muslim

Hausa women are physically confined to the private sphere but carry out income generating activities within the wall of their compounds. In rural northern Nigeria, few women enter the formal economy and informal economic activities such as petty trading or cash crop production are an extension of their roles as wives and mothers. Thus, the division between public and private, productive and reproductive activities in economic terms is largely irrelevant. Our experience suggests however that private sphere concept is useful in terms of identifying power issues within the family — such as domestic violence, reproductive choice, control over domestic resources and over offspring. These issues are often considered too personal by mainstream development agencies.

Another weakness of the GAD analysis is that it fails to address the structure of the rural community. Such an analysis is important in order to determine who has power, both formal and informal, and what are the major obstacles and leverage points for promoting progressive change for women. In my view, our assessment of the problematic in the Tula Baule group (Workshop 4) derived from a GAD analysis, was incomplete for precisely this reason.

The participatory development approach contributes an understanding of the various meanings assigned to participation and helps us to sort out the good from the bad, the authentic from the inauthentic. By offering a framework in which participation is equated with power it guides the actions and strategies of outside interveners in communities to truly facilitate transformation. My review of the literature on participatory development, though not exhaustive, suggests that this approach is limited by a dearth of concrete 'how to' ideas with respect to promoting equitable participation and empowerment. Consequentially, by operating from participatory development premises alone, one runs the risk of being superficially participatory, while at the same time maintaining hierarchy on the basis of class gender and so on, beneath the surface. One

could easily look at numbers for example, and conclude that a community participated but neglect the question of who in the community participated and in what way. Popular and feminist popular education and gender and development compliment participatory development in these respects. The former supply a clearly articulated psycho-social method and concrete techniques for achieving participation, beginning with people's lived experiences and addressing their pressing concerns. The latter analyzes the relationship between gender relations and development processes and promotes the participation of women in sustainable, equitable development.

Our experience both with the rural women's groups and within our own staff team demonstrate that participation is also about equalizing power relations between the community/group and the intervening agency, as well as with equalizing power within the particular community or group. According to staff members, the rural women's groups are, to some extent, conditioned by the experience of being treated as mere beneficiaries by other agencies and do not expect to be treated as agents or to assume the responsibility that is implied by this role. Moreover, those who have never had much power are not always equipped to handle it when given to them. The leadership struggles within the rural women's groups described in the previous section are, in part, a symptom of this problem. But rural women are equally conditioned by prevailing hierarchical, authoritarian ideology. The staff at DEC have been reared in the same society and are not exempt from this conditioning, nor am I, although we have been questioning much of its convention. We have come to understand that participatory development demands a reconditioning of our minds as well as the development of a concrete set of skills in daily democratic practice. We must believe in our capacity to transform ourselves and our societies and we must have the ability to treat each other as equals in order to promote equality

elsewhere. Thus, participatory development must encompass the personal, interpersonal and societal levels.

The concept of agency is perhaps the hinge which unites feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development. This is the notion that history is made by the conscious acts of human beings. Popular and feminist popular education enables people to discover their agency, without which participatory development would not be possible. The discovery and expression of agency is important for all marginalized sectors, but especially for disadvantaged women who have been silenced by both poverty and patriarchy. Feminist popular education and gender and development enable women to find their voices and reclaim their power to control their own destinies. All women share this struggle but rural women in northern Nigeria have a particularly long road to travel.

DEC's experiences in the field and our discussions during the workshops clearly point to the women's groups as the essential foundation for change in the lives of rural women and ultimately in wider society. None of the above approaches have addressed the significance, complexities and challenges represented by these collective actors. DEC's experience suggest that small cohesive groups, affiliated to each other through a larger body, are the best vehicle for pursuing women's strategic interests. It is through the support and solidarity generated in these small groups women that find the means to challenge oppression of their lives. Through contact with other groups, the replication of positive experiences and shared learning is made possible. In DEC's experience smaller groups of between 15 – 20 seem to function more effectively. Larger groups tend to reduce in size over time to similar level. Perhaps this is a matter of an appropriate scale for maximum participation, belonging, and accountability.

Given the strength of the forces against the empowerment of women, the solution can only lie in moving forward collectively. One of DEC's implicit ground rules for programming with these groups is to foster, and never detract from, group solidarity. If the recommendations from consultation on DEC's loan scheme had been adopted, groups would be competing over profit margins, changing the entire group dynamic. Clearly, it is not possible to divide women into individual competing units for the purposes of economic advancement and still retain the solidarity, support and cohesion necessary to make changes in the other spheres.

It is important however, to avoid romanticizing the rural women's group and glossing over contradictions and differences, which would be in the best interest of the group to confront. First of all, these groups are not necessarily homogeneous but possess divisions based on class, education, religion, age and marital status. There are numerous examples in Section C of what happens when these "fault lines" (Freidmann, 1992) are not addressed. Since the group is likely to mirror larger society in which nepotism and autocracy are widely practiced, the full and equal participation of everyone is not assured. In practice, those women with the most resources, education, influence and mobility are likely to take up leadership positions and to retain power and influences, officially or unofficially. If some women are not to succeed at the expense of the others, supporting agencies and animators must mitigate against these inequalities. DEC has recognized this problem and has identified a number of ways to address it, such as promoting regular group elections and encouraging less advantaged women to take up leadership positions. These issues underscore once again the crucial link between, personal, interpersonal and community development, since a group divided by conflict cannot effectively pursue broader development goals.

In my view, the role of intervening agencies is to support the process of collective empowerment by facilitating ongoing action and reflection. Empowerment cannot be externally directed since it is essentially an internally generated process. Conventional approaches to community development in which the participants lives are divided into manageable portions, for the purposes of administering discrete, time-bound development projects (such as literacy training, agricultural production, sanitation etc.) do not effectively support this process. Such approaches fail to account for the interrelationship between the many facets of people's lives. These connections are especially important in working with women in northern Nigeria where their lives and the range of choices they may exercise are framed within a highly patriarchal power structure. The difficulties the rural women expressed in resisting pressure and intimidation from their husbands of hand over loans money (see page C34) is a case in point. One of the great strengths of DEC's approach is its commitment to a maintaining a long term relationship with the rural women's groups, for it is only through an enduring and trusting relationship that these connections are revealed and addressed.

The experience of working at DEC and of facilitating this staff and program development project had yielded a number of lessons for me regarding my role as a international development worker. The first is that sensitivity to, and respect for, difference is one of the most important attributes one needs to develop. The divisions within Nigerian society based on gender, class, religion and ethnicity were also manifest within the staff body but it was not my role to name them. I had to suspend my value judgments derived from my own Eurocentric perspective, in order to gain the trust of my Nigerian colleagues and to learn from their own critical perspectives. Moreover women staff, in particular, were affected by same oppression they sought to change through

their work. Their own process had to be respected. A second part of this was to recognize the unearned privilege that I carried with me by virtue of my race and geographical origin. During the first GAD workshop one of the participants spoke of the need to commit gender suicide. By this she was suggesting that men who are serious about social change must relinquish their own gender-based privilege in order to join women's struggle. Perhaps this is the essence of cross class/gender/race solidarity. Third, I came understand that quite apart from language barriers, the most appropriate role for me was, to some extent, behind the scenes. It may seem romantic or exciting for a Canadian to work directly with rural women in far off Africa. If the interests of the women are truly taken into account, however, it is evident that workers from their own culture are not only better equipped to understand the environment, but they can also serve as an appropriate model of realistic and achievable alternatives.

In conclusion, feminist popular education, gender and development and participatory development, when combined, are indeed highly relevant approaches to meeting the challenges DEC and similar organization face in their efforts to empower women. Our experience suggest, however, that a yet more holistic approach is needed. What may be called for is a framework for feminist participatory development practice which builds on the strengths of these approaches by: analyzing and addressing the totality of women's oppression; incorporating the personal and interpersonal dimensions; fostering the potentials embodied in women's groups; linking fundamental concept and principles to concrete participatory skills in planning and facilitation, critically examining the role of the external intervener; emphasizing sensitivity to difference; breaking down the 'us and them' philosophy; and finally viewing our own liberation as inextricably tied to the liberation of others. The project described in this document, and the document itself, contribute to the evolution

of such an framework. As this experience converges with that of others pursuing a similar path, such a framework will take clearer form.

With these comments, I complete one loop of the ongoing reflection/action/ reflection spiral with the knowledge that as I write, this challenge is being taken up by other women of the North and of the South.

Section E: Workshop Reports

The seven workshop reports which comprise this section serve both as a detailed account of what took place during the course of the project and a tool kit for those who are doing similar work. These are in keeping with the expressed needs of DEC staff for a record the content (what was learned) and the process (how it occurred) and together they represent the completion of the final phase of the project and my commitment to DEC in this respect.

In these reports I provide sufficient detail on each activity to permit it to be repeated. I review the participants responses to these activities and attempt to represent them as accurately as possible. Verbatim responses are used where possible and are indicated as such. In other instances I have transcribed responses from the original flip chart recordings. For some activities it is more expedient to provide a summary of the discussion.

It should be noted that the activities described in the following pages are not entirely new. Rather, they have been adapted from the work of many other adult educators. The project, however, combines and recreates these ideas in a manner unique to this particular process. Not all the activities produced the desired results. In some cases they resulted in unintended but nevertheless useful insights. In a few instance the gains can best be measured in terms the lessons learned from what went wrong. This is consistent with an experiential adult education model described in Section C. Every educational episode is, in fact, unique. The outcome of an activity cannot be precisely predicted or repeated. All the activities, whether successful or not, are included here because of their potential value in another time and place.

As stated in Section C, the content of some of these workshops (numbers 1,3, 4, and 5) are derived from concepts and ideas reviewed the in

background papers (Section B), whereas other were designed in response to staff needs as they arose. With respect to the former it is important to note that these workshops were not intended to comprehensively address all the material reviewed in Section C. Due to the time factor , the interests of the participants and the importance of beginning with and analyzing participants' experiences and perceptions, only selected formal material was introduced. The unevenness in the treatment of topics and size of the reports is a reflection of the need and interest of the participants.

The workshops appear in this section in the order in which they were presented. Fictitious names are used for the participants throughout in order to protect their identities.

Workshop 1: Popular Education

Objectives:

- 1) To identify and clarify the main elements of popular education.
- 2) To compare popular education to the approach employed by DEC.
- 3) To identify elements of popular education which can be integrated into DEC's work.
- 4) To build trust among our team.
- 5) To introduce new tools and techniques.

Program:

- 1) Ice Breakers/Team Builders:
 - 1a) Trust Walk (30 min.)
 - 1b) Post Office Affirmations (30 min.)
- 2) Hopes and Fears (15 min.)
- 3) Introduction To Objectives and Agenda (10 min.)
- 4) What Is Popular Education - Brainstorm and Role Plays (40 min.)
- 5) Lecturette - Adding Theory (30 min.)
- 6) Trees of Education (50 min.)
- 7) Summary of Differences in Approaches and Desired Changes (20 min.)
- 8) Reflection (10 min.)
- 9) Evaluation (20 min.)

Trust Walk:

Everyone was divided into pairs (same gender). One member of each pair was blindfolded while the other lead her or him around the house, exploring the environment. After 5 -10 minutes they switched so that each person has a turn at both leading and being led. The experience was then debriefed in the large group.

Question: What was it like to be led?

Response: - it is possible to trust too much

- fear and uncertainty, didn't want to depend on the other person
- learned to read the other person
- felt securely lead
- after some time I realized that you would lead me to safety
- for a time I over-trusted her
- noticed things I never noticed before , surprises
- uncertain about how to get the message across
- what will the neighbors say

Question: What learning can we draw from this?

Response: - taught me how blind people feel

- people who lead are patient
- when someone is trying to teach you something you already know, it doesn't feel good and you feel impatient
- when too many mistakes are made in the beginning, trust is difficult to have, but if it (mistake) is not repeated, it is possible to trust
- the ability to trust varies with our nature - some want you to earn it and others start by trusting and could loose it.
- it is important to realize what type of person you are - someone who trusts too much or too little
- trust and disappointment are inevitable parts of relationships.

Question: What was it like to lead?

Response: - shared the feelings of the person being led

- in order to lead you have to do a lot of thinking
- the leader has to devise immediate solutions
- experienced disappointment at lack of trust
- experience of being led helped me to be a good leader/know how the person feels

Question: What learning can you draw from this

Response: - have to teach a person to trust you

- have to make the person comfortable, even at your own expense
- first impressions/experiences count the most
- start by teaching things that are most essential/useful
- have to be patient and move at their pace

Post Office Affirmations:

Each person was asked to write a brief letter to each of the others in attendance telling one thing they really like or appreciate about that person and one thing they need from that individual or something they would like to suggest s/he do differently. All letters were to be folded and addressed. Each person put one of their shoes out in front of them to act as a mail box. All the letters were deposited into the appropriate shoes and when all of them had been delivered "mail call " was announced and everyone collected and read their letters. The letters were private. If anyone felt a need to clarify points raised, they were encouraged to do so during the break. Everyone participated in this activity eagerly, although some took much longer than others to complete letters.

Hopes and Fears:

People were asked to share what they hope to see take place or get out of the workshop and what they fear could happen. Responses were recorded on the flip chart.

Hopes:

- to talk about gender and development
- to know what is gender and development
- to be able to catch up
- to have the opportunity to understand each other better
- to finish the program today
- to learn more about DEC

Fears:

- what is the workshop about
- that it will take longer than planned
- that I will have to leave before learning something

These responses indicated that perhaps some misunderstanding existed about the focus of this workshop. Gender and development was mentioned several times whereas popular education was not mentioned at all. The confusion may have stemmed from an earlier discussion with staff on the proposed series of internal workshops including gender and development. The facilitator explained the purpose of this workshop and everyone confirmed their interest in going on with the program.

What Is Popular Education:

We brainstormed a list of what popular education is, and what it is not.

Popular education is:

- a medium of awareness

- enhances good human relations
- informal
- non formal
- learning by experience

Popular education is not:

- formal
- one way traffic, teacher to student
- easily measured
- a top-down approach
- an enforced type of education

The group was then divided into two smaller groups. The first was given the task of developing a skit depicting popular education. The second group was asked to create a skit depicting a situation which contrasts with the popular education approach.

Skit One

An agricultural worker is visiting a rural women's group to talk about crop storage methods and to introduce some modern ideas. She begins by asking them what kinds of methods they are presently using and goes on to explain how to use modern chemical techniques.

During the debriefing spectators said that the skit portrayed a two way, non-authoritarian approach, consistent with popular education.

Skit Two

This skit depicted a classroom scene. The teacher is throwing questions at the students and then tells them they are wrong and gives them the correct information. She is very authoritarian and treats the students as if they are stupid.

The contrast between this and popular education is very sharp and no further discussion was needed.

Lecturette: Popular Education

Popular education is education which is in the interests of the popular sector, that is the majority class in society who are excluded from wealth and power. It challenges the domination of the ruling class and empowers popular sectors to take control of their destinies. Popular education has its roots in Latin America of the 1960's, in the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. In the context of deep class divisions that existed with Brazil, Paulo Freire began to develop a approach to literacy training with rural peasants which departed radically from traditional education. Freire believed that the traditional education approach could not meet the needs of the dispossessed majority because it mirrors oppressive society and maintains the status quo. Through education and other institutions the popular class internalizes the consciousness (values and ideology) of the oppressor, which prevents people from naming and challenging their oppression. Popular education engages people in a conscientization process whereby they come to question the dominant values and practices in society which oppress them, and begin to recover more authentic, egalitarian, communal values.

Popular education has expanded well beyond its original application to literacy work to include trade union organizing, cooperative development, community economic development, health issues, women, racism, indigenous issues - and the list goes on. In industrialized western countries there is a tendency to see popular education as a set of participatory techniques for doing workshops or working with groups but it is much more than that. It is fundamentally a commitment to the empowerment of the popular sector and the transformation of society. There is of course an intimate link between this commitment and the kind of methodology employed. One cannot bring about conscientization and the empowerment of disenfranchised groups through a top down, authoritative, centralized or preset approach. It must be based on the felt needs of the participants and be grounded in their experience of daily living. But the activities and techniques flow from the general philosophy and the specific objectives of the project. Therefore, a lecture may be called for at times, or a radio program or a newsletter, which on the surface may not seem to differ from conventional education but in content, audience and objectives serves the interest of the popular sector.

The following table summarizes the differences between conventional and popular education:

Traditional Education	Popular Education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - society as just - maintains status quo - the popular class - static reality - changing/participants are agents of change - education is domesticating, alienating - banking knowledge - students as objects - top down, vertical - passive - intellectual, verbal - teacher as expert - preset curriculum - acritical, division between life and classroom, between knowing and doing - individual - competitive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - society as oppressive - social change in the interest of - world ever - education as liberation, transformation of oppression, empowerment - problem posing - participants as subjects - horizontal - active, participatory - whole self - "teacher" as facilitator/ everyone teaches, everyone learns, peoples' knowledge. - curriculum contextually bound, investigate reality - conscientization - culturally appropriate - theory/practice/theory/practice - collective - cooperative

Trees of Education:

The purpose of this activity was to deepen participants understanding of popular education and compare and contrast it with the approach employed by DEC. The tree was used as a framework for analysis with the roots symbolizing underlying beliefs and assumptions, the trunk the guiding principles, branches the methods, and leaves the activities and techniques. We divided into two groups of two, each with a outline of a tree drawn on flip chart paper. One group was given the task of completing the tree with the aspects and characteristics of popular education and the other group was asked to do the same on DEC's approach.

Popular Education

- plays or skits
- story telling/ discussions
- sculptures
- song and dance
- drawings
- lectures
- alternative print media

- participatory
- dialogical
- active
- problem posing

- participatory
- people's experience
- participants as subjects
- investigate reality
- conscientization

- Society as oppressive
- social change necessary
- people should be empowered

- world ever changing

- traditional education maintains status quo

DEC

- drama
- drawings
- stories
- songs
- sculptures (sometimes)
- dialogue

- participatory

- helping women helps larger society
- men already have enough access to resources which women do not
- education needs to change attitudes
- change begins with women in their own lives

- subordination of women is unjust
- recognize women's contribution
- increase women's access to resources, services, information

- encourage unity among women (in view of the effects of polygamy)

Each group shared their tree of education followed by clarifications and discussion.

Summary of Differences in Approaches and Desired Changes:

Participants were asked to summarize the main differences between DEC's approach and that of popular education. We then discussed what aspects of popular education DEC would like to incorporate, and how it might be done.

- Popular education is concerned about poor people.
- DEC is concerned about rural women, not necessarily poor women.
- Popular education concerns itself more with the structure of society as a whole.
- DEC is concerned with changing women's attitudes. Women are the entry point.
- Popular education differentiates by class.
- DEC differentiates by gender.
- Popular education was designed by men.
- DEC was designed by women.
- Popular education is broader, more scope for more issues.

Participants felt that DEC would do well to incorporate a class analysis into its work — to do more conscientization on class issues and work more deliberately with, and in the interest of women of the popular class. We decided to revisit this issue in subsequent workshops

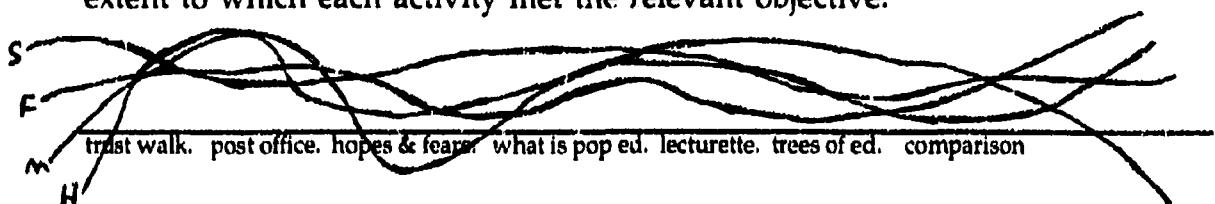
Reflection and Evaluation

Reflection:

We went around the circle asked each person to say one thing they had learned during the workshop. Unfortunately these were not recorded.

Evaluation:

We reviewed the objectives and each person was given a different colored marker and asked to contribute their own line to a large graph, measuring the extent to which each activity met the relevant objective.



Workshop 2: Program Design and Facilitation

Objectives:

- 1) To give new program staff exposure to some of the basics of designing and facilitating participatory adult education programs and to enhance the skills of longer serving program staff.
- 2) To exchange knowledge, experience and skills.
- 3) To acquire some new ideas or tools to deal with some of the difficulties we have encountered in facilitating group learning.

Program:

- 1) Warm-Up - Weather Forecast (15 min.)
Debrief (10 min.)
- 2) Energizer - High Tide/Low Tide (10 min.)
Debrief (10 min.)
- 3) Introduction To Objectives Program and Needs Assessment (15 min.)
- 4) Traditional Versus Participatory Adult Education (40 min.)
- 5) Mapping The Program Cycle (1.5 hours)
 - 5a) Mapping Our Experiences
 - 5b) Lecturette
 - 5c) Creating Our Design Cycle
- 6) Skills Needed (20 min.)
- 7) Reflection (10 min.)
- 8) Evaluation (15 min.)

Warm-Up

Weather Forecast:

Everyone was asked to draw a weather picture which represents how they as individuals feel at the present moment. These were shared and explained, one by one. A wide range of conditions were depicted - sun, rain, clouds, wind and combinations thereof. Participants were then asked whether or not they found this exercise useful, and why or why not. The consensus was that it was useful to find out how other group members are feeling before launching into the program of the day and they also found the weather conditions to be relevant symbols.

Energizer: High Tide / Low Tide

Participants create a collective story about going to the ocean, in which the terms "high tide" and "low tide" are integrated. One person begins using actions to accompany the narrative and the others copy the leader's actions. When the leader slips "high tide" into the story everyone must stand on their chairs. If she or he says "low tide" everyone must sit on the floor. The last person to either stand on their chair or sit on the floor must become the leader and picks up the story where the previous leader left off. So it goes until it appears that participants have had enough.

This game was played with great enthusiasm. During debriefing we discussed the usefulness of such activities in terms of enabling participants to relax and leave behind concerns external to the purpose to the workshop.

Introduction to Objectives, Program and Needs Assessment:

The facilitator reviewed the objectives of the workshop and program of the day and asked if they capture what the group hoped to achieve or if any revisions were necessary. This step is important so that participants develop a sense of ownership of the process. Part of the design of this workshop is to debrief each and every activity so that participants can realize for themselves what are important elements of design and facilitation, and what are not.

The facilitator explained that in participatory adult education, the program must be based on the common, felt needs of the participants. The objectives and program are derived from those needs. Therefore, the first step in the planning process is to do a needs assessment. In the case of this workshop, the facilitator had asked each participant for written comments on what they hoped to see take place and what they hoped to learn. These were condensed into key phrases from which the objectives were developed and the design worked out. These included:

increased knowledge
exchange skills
share experiences
co-facilitation
soliciting genuine responses
women

problem solving
become good facilitator
human relations
keeping time
keeping focus
participatory learning
(with semi-literate women)

It is usually impossible to address all the needs and it important to explain to the group which ones will be focused on and why.

Traditional Versus Participatory Adult Education:

The group was divided into two pairs with one 'old' and one 'new' staff person in each pair. Each pair was asked to brainstorm a list of characteristics of traditional and participatory education.

Group One:

Traditional Education

- formal way of learning
- teacher is expert
- top down approach
- learners needs are not taken care of, such as the conditions of learning and readiness
- learners feel inferior (at the receiving end always)
- slow and gradual

Participatory Education

- participatory
- empowering
- sharing experiences
- learners needs are paramount
- awareness raising
- lessons learned are remembered easily (more permanent)
- the teacher also learns new things from the pupils

Group Two:

Conventional Education

- student/teacher relationship (not much)
- top down approach
- inequality
- more theory
- strict and narrow

- one direction
- superior/inferior relationship
- learner/learned
- time limit

Participatory Education

- all are learners
- there is equality
- there is sharing
- more practice/doing
- more broad
- two way learning
- continuous process

After some discussion several more characteristics of participatory education were added:

- relevant to participants' lives
- based on expressed needs
- active and fun

Mapping the Program Cycle:

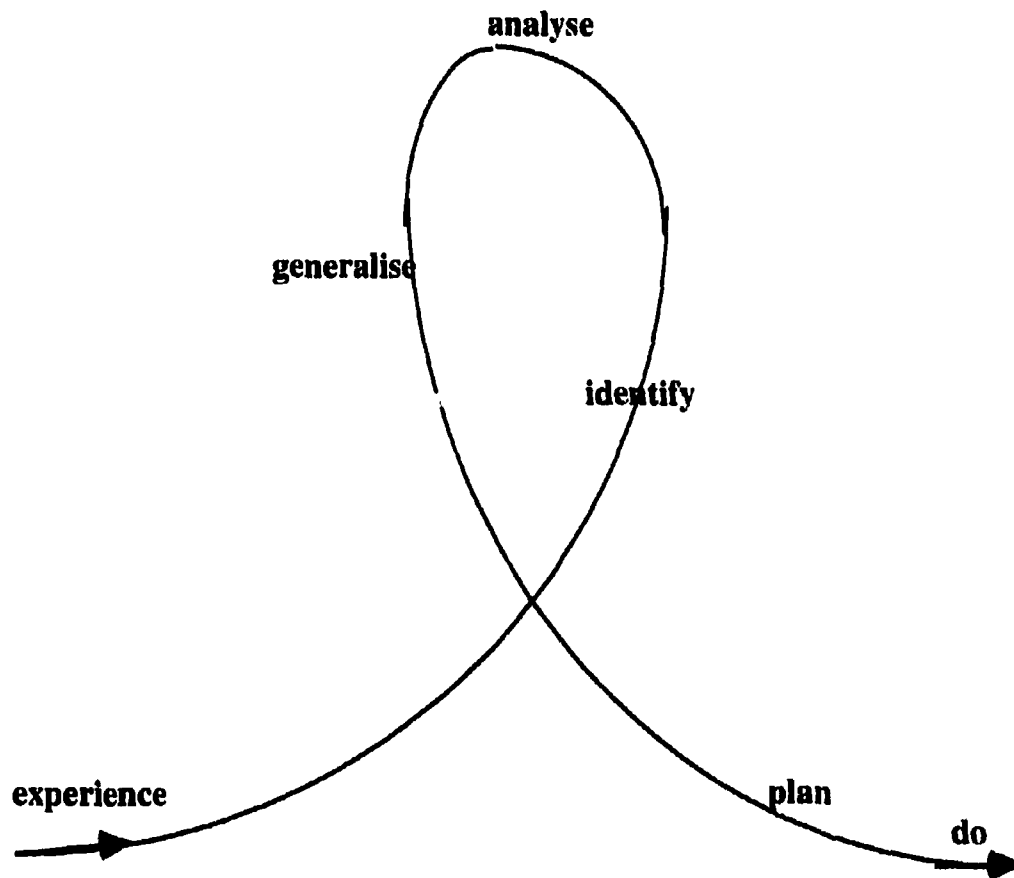
Mapping Our Experiences.

Participants were asked to individually think of a time when they were involved in planning and implementing an educational program and to identify all the stages involved, from the time the idea was conceived until everything was complete and put to rest. These were shared with the entire group. (These have not been included, as they were kept by participants.) The facilitator then introduced the design cycle from the Tatamagouche Centre, and we discussed the similarities and differences between it and the stages identified by participants.

Lecturette: The Tatamagouche Centre Program Cycle

The Tatamagouche Centre Program Cycle makes a distinction between reflection and evaluation. Reflection is a key process in adult learning. It is through reflection that we make meaning out of our experiences. It is a natural process which goes on all the time but can be built into adult education programs to enable participants to draw maximum learning from their experience. According to one theory of experiential learning, adults move through a reflection loop. A person has an experience which is surprising, or is somehow different than they expected. They then identify what part of the experience stands out for them. They analyze that experience,

ask themselves why it happened as it did, and draw conclusions. They then generalize this to other similar situations, past and future. Armed with new insight they may plan new actions or modify the way they respond in similar situations.



When we build activities to facilitate reflection into our program design we are doing so to enable participants to identify what they are taking away from the process, regardless of what our intentions were when designing it. Evaluation on the other hand, is for the purpose of assessing whether or not the program achieved what is was designed to achieve, and why or why not. This assessment is usually made in terms of the objectives.

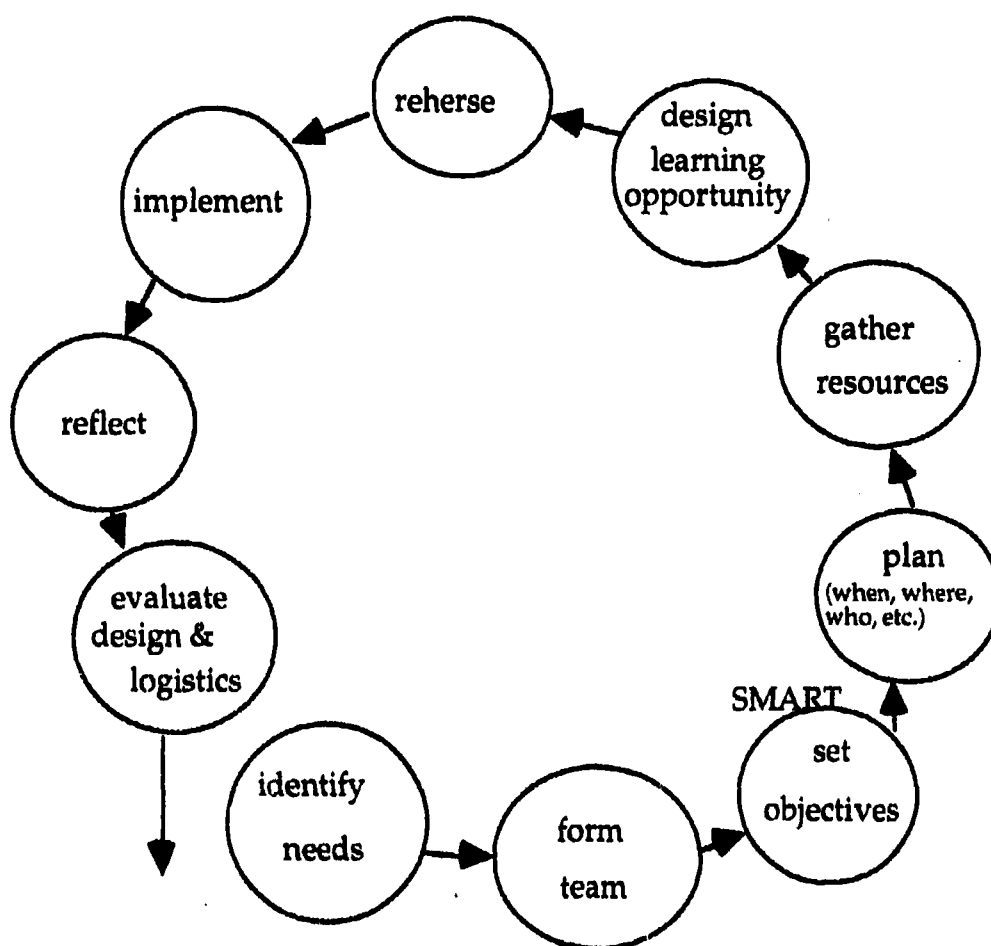
Reflection and evaluation can take place at two levels - with the participants, as part of an education session; and after the fact, by way of enabling the facilitators/educators to draw out their own learning, assess achievements and plan for the next time.

If objectives are to be used as a useful criteria for evaluation, they must be clear and appropriate in the first place. When setting objectives it is useful to use the SMART guidelines. Ask yourself, are these objectives:

S pecific
M easurable
A chievable
R elevant
T imely

Creating Our Design Cycle Through Discussion

We then combined some of the elements of the program cycle identified by participants with those from the Tatamagouche model and drew up the following map.



Skills Needed:

We brainstormed a list of skills needed by educators/facilitators in order to execute the above program cycle:

listening	organizing
observation	foresight
interviewing	clarity about participatory model
relationship skills	confidence
communication	summarize
team building	recap
SMART	rephrase
analysis	tie loose ends
written communication	self-critical skills
time management	verbal communication
tools	body language
achieving consensus	probing
reading skills	memory
decision making	objectivity
accepting feedback	

[The original plan had included a session on practice designing an educational program using the above cycle, asking pairs to design an educational program to address difficulties encountered in facilitating group learning (objective 3). However, due to a late start and numerous interruptions in the workshop, insufficient time remained to for this activity. We discussed where to go from here and decided that since the all-women's workshops were coming up soon we would practice the program cycle by applying it to planning, implementation and wrap-up of these workshops. We would decide if further staff training on design and facilitation was necessary after this process had been completed.]

Reflection :

Returning to the reflection loop, participants were asked what stood out for them in the day's activities and why. Two people commented that they had not realized the importance of reflection or that it was different from evaluation. Two others (new staff) were impressed by the participatory nature of the approach and the value of reviewing the objectives and program, and asking for participants' input. Everyone agreed that the warm-up and energizer really helped them to relax and fully participate in the program. One person said it was all new to her and all good.

Evaluation:

Three drawings depicting happy, neutral and sad faces were posted along the wall. As each objective was read, people were asked to go to the position along the wall which reflected the extent to which they felt the objective has been met. Participants were invited to explain their positions if they wished to do so. The responses of participants were quite similar. There was general consensus that:

- objective 1 had been fairly well achieved although the opportunity to practice was missing.
- objective 2 was partly achieved.
- objective 3 was not achieved because we did not reach the end of the program.

Workshop 3: Feminist Popular Education and Gender and Development

Goal of the Workshop Series:

To enhance DEC's work by learning more about relevant theories and practices.

Objectives:

- 1) To review and revisit the learnings from the popular education workshop.
- 2) To explore and deepen our understanding of the concept of gender.
- 3) To create an environment of trust and tolerance where we can freely discuss our views on gender roles and relations.
- 4) To learn more about aspect of feminist popular education, compare it to DEC's work and identify ways we would like it to influence our work
- 5) To acquire new understanding of Gender and Development (GAD) and begin to develop skills in applying a GAD analysis to our work.

Program:

Day One

- 1) Warm-Ups
 - 1a) What Object Do I Feel Like Today (30 min.)
 - 1b) Complete The Image (10 min.)
- 2) Introduction To Goal, Objectives and Program (10 min.)
- 3) Review and Revisit Popular Education Workshop (25 min.)
- 4) Further Analysis (20 min.)
- 5) Drawing the Gendered Class Structure of the Rural Community (60 min.)
- 6) Critique Popular Education from Women's Perspective and Define Feminist Popular Education (20 min.)
- 7) Filling In from the Literature, Lecturette (20 min.)
- 8) Reactions to Feminist Popular Education — Small Group Discussion, (75 min.)

Workshop 3: Continued

Programme:

Day Two

- 9) Recap and Further Reflections (30 min.)
- 10) Power Flower (30 min.)
- 11) Gender Metrics (40 min.)
- 12) Historical Overview/Introduction to GAD (20 min.)
- 13) Discussion in Pairs- "How Am I Affected? " (20 min.)
- 14) Introduction To GAD Tools (30 min.)
- 15) Doing GAD Analysis (1 hour)
- 16) Reflection (20 min.)
- 17) Evaluation (10 min.)

DAY ONE

"What object do I feel like today?"

Each person was asked to privately draw a picture of an object or an animal which symbolizes the way she or he feels at the present moment. Then, one at a time, each person held up her or his pictures and the others tried to guess what it could mean. When all the guesses were made the person explained what they meant to portray. People drew things like a bird about to fly, a sick chicken, a baby's face, a watermelon. Some were guessed correctly. Others were not. One lesson to be learned from this is that one thing can mean something totally different to different people and that the message one intends to send is not always what is received.

Complete the Image:

The objectives of this activity were to make ever changing abstract images with our bodies representing pertinent issues in society - in this case, the oppression of women - and, in so doing, to strengthen the group dynamic. Everyone was asked to stand in a circle. The facilitator stepped into the centre of the circle and made a frozen image with her body. Then who ever felt inspired stepped in and added to her sculpture thereby taking the image in a new direction. Then the first person stepped out and anyone was invited to come in and complete the image in a new way. This continued in the same way, with volunteers entering the circle to complete the image, stepping out and someone new entering, for five to ten minutes, or until the inspiration of the group was exhausted. *(Note - this is a voluntary ,spontaneous popular theatre activity. It is not necessary that everyone in the group take a turn or that it proceed in any particular order. Some people may complete more than one image while others only watch. It is also a non-verbal activity. Images do not need to be named and the group should be informed that they do not need to stop to interpret an image before stepping in.)*

Review and Revisit The Popular Education Workshop:

Since the present group consisted of three people who had attended the previous workshop and two who had not, this activity was designed to remind the first group of what had taken place and bring the others up to date. A second purpose was to further the comparative analysis between the approach employed by DEC and popular education.

Relevant flip charts from the popular education workshop were posted on the wall. These included the objectives, program, the outcome of activities such as the "trees of education" (see page E9) and brainstorm. The facilitator reviewed the process that had been followed and asked those who had attended to summarize the differences between the popular education and DEC approach, and restate the aspects of popular education DEC would like to integrate into its approach. After some discussion, they concluded that DEC would like to be more class conscious about who they work with and would like to build more consciousness raising activities into their work with women. Further questions were then posed to the entire group. These were as follows:

- In which ways does DEC practice popular education?
- In which ways does DEC's practice differ from popular education practice?
- What is the class identity of the women DEC serves?
- To what extent does DEC practice class conscientization?
- In which ways could popular education theory and practice be relevant to our work?

The following is a summary of the answers to the set of questions as a whole:

- Popular education targets poor, marginalized people, or the popular sector. We (DEC) target rural women and have not looked closely at the class structures within these rural communities. The women we work with come from all classes in rural communities but since most rural women are of the popular sector we are working mostly within this sector by default. We have not deliberately selected popular sector women. We are not presently taking on new groups so we cannot immediately change the class composition of who we work with. But in future, when we select new groups, we would consciously select groups composed of marginalized women.
- Some groups have several classes of women within them.
- It is difficult to tell who the real poor are. We do not have the tools to discriminate. What is the profile of women we would work with if we wanted to be more class conscious? Most women are not part of the decision making process. They may have money but they still have no status.
- DEC promotes participatory decision making and is like popular education because it is empowering and challenges oppression.
- Promoting economic independence for women tackles class oppression but if we help individual women get richer they may oppress others. In this way we may be reinforcing or strengthening oppressive class structures.

In a given group, some individuals may start with some money of their own and therefore have a better chance of succeeding than others in the same group. They may come out even further ahead, widening the gap.

- Class analysis starts with ourselves.

The Social Structure of the Rural Community:

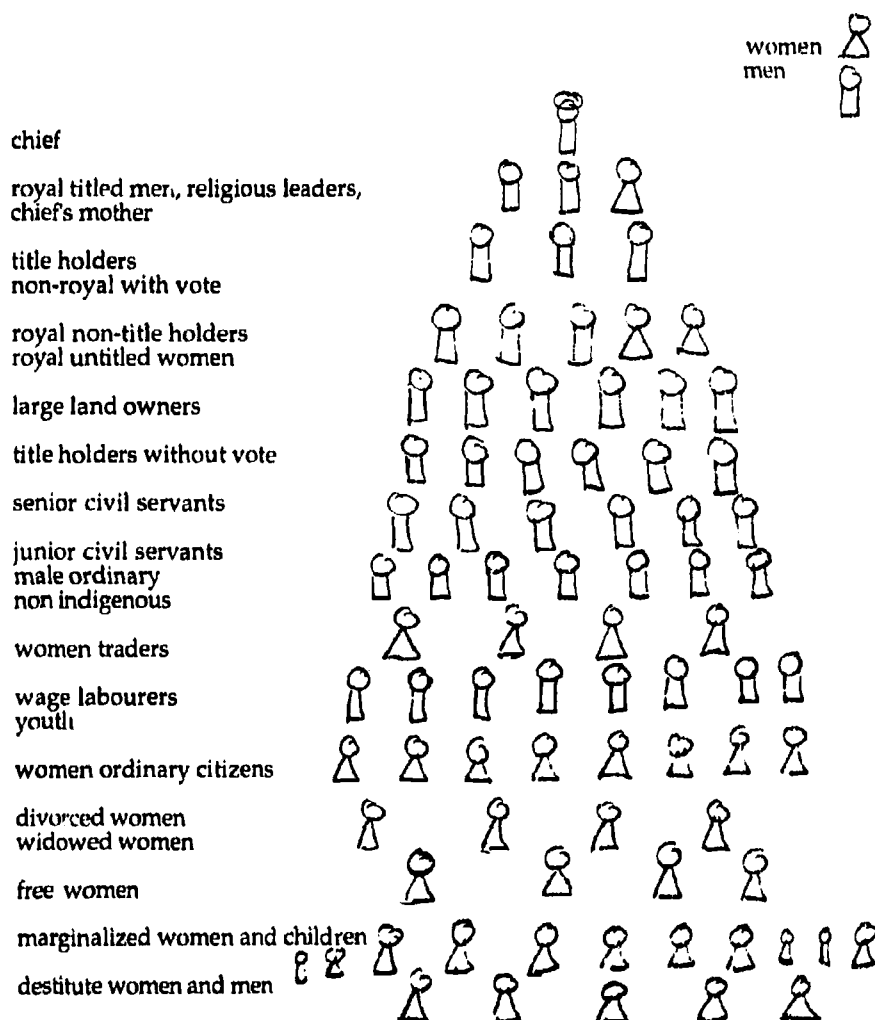
Participants were asked to collectively list the categories of people found in a rural community in Bauchi, differentiating by gender, starting with the group they have said should be the target of DEC's programs - marginalized women. They were as follows:

- marginalized women
- children
- male youth
- male wage labourers
- male titled royal family members
- male untitled royal family members
- female titled royal family members
- female untitled royal family members
- male ordinary citizens
- female ordinary citizens
- male large land owners
- male title holders with a vote
- male title holders without a vote
- male senior civil servants
- male junior civil servants
- male religious leaders
- destitute men
- destitute women
- female traders
- free women (sex trade workers)
- divorced women
- widowed women
- non-indigenous/ethnic minorities male and female

Everyone was surprised at how long the list had become. The task then was to collectively organize these categories on flip chart paper from the most powerful to the least powerful differentiating by gender all the while. The group chose a pyramid format and set to work. There was much debate as to who should go where. Some of this debate centered around the differences between rural communities due to differences in religion, ethnicity and locality, but generalizations were at last made. Another difficult decision was where to place women of the royal family and other women who are not

poor. What should the placement criteria be? The facilitator suggested that they should be positioned according to whether or not they had power and how much. Participants said that even women with title status and money have no real power in the family as they are overruled by their husbands. Neither do they have any power in the community. They never participate in decision making bodies. Some women of the royal family manage to influence their husbands, but not officially, and if other men knew of this the man would be ridiculed. Still, women of the royal family cannot be said to have the same amount of (or lack of) power as ordinary or marginalized women.

Through much debate and discussion this chart emerged:



Each participant was then asked to indicate where they would place themselves on the chart within their own rural communities. Hawa and Abigale consider themselves ordinary citizens. Mustafa's family owns many cows so they would be considered large land owners. Farida's family in Azare is associated with the royal family. She has more status there than in her husband's family. (It seems that the husband's status to a large extent determines that of his wife's since the system is patrilineal and patrifocal.) Joseph placed himself at the level of senior civil servant. The group wanted to know where the facilitator would place herself in Canada. She said that the social structure is very different. Nevertheless, she said her family of origins would place her in the marginalized sector, but having been educated she is now probably at the level of junior civil servant. This discussion ended the morning session.

Critique of Popular Education/Define Feminist Popular Education:

The facilitator posed the question, " Given the review of popular education and our discussion of the position of women in the village, what is wrong with, or missing from, popular education as far as women are concerned?"

Response: Popular education does not specifically address gender issues. It is very broad.

She then asked, "What then is feminist popular education?"

Responses:

- Feminist popular education looks at popular education through a feminist lens and empowers women.
- It is conscious of the female part of the human race.
- It addresses gender issues.
- It advocates disabuse of people's minds and raises people's awareness of stereotypes.

Lecturette (filling in the gaps):

The facilitator gave this brief presentation on Feminist Popular Education.

Feminist Popular Education began when some women began to question the frequency and quality of women's participation in popular education programs. They found that either women were not present or were silent and marginalized within such programs. Even when women were not silent, their issues were not taken up. And when there were programs aimed specifically at women, they tended to reinforce stereotypes and traditional roles.

Women critics argue that overall, women's participation in the popular education movement is inadequate and if women do participate, they do not have a say in what they are fighting for, nor do they receive an equal share of

the benefits. They believe that although all members of the popular sector are victims of class oppression, women are doubly oppressed because of their gender. They ask, if popular education is designed to enable people to analyze their reality and come to terms with their oppression, why are the oppression of women and women's perspectives not coming out of that process. A number of reasons have been identified:

- sexual hierarchies in the home constraining women's participation (e.g., men not allowing their wives to attend meetings).
- women's heavy burden of responsibility (e.g., double and triple day)
- women's lack of confidence
- irrelevance of programs to issues which affect women most.
- marginalization of women within popular groups.
- sexual harassment with the movement.

Feminist critics argue that popular education should incorporate a gender analysis and demonstrate a commitment to equality for women. Feminist popular education would:

- give at least equal weight to gender and class as sources of women's oppression
- aim to empower women of the popular sector
- raise consciousness of gender stereotypes
- make women visible
- address the private (domestic) sphere of women's lives
- stress collective action with other women
- empower women to meet their practical needs while pursuing long term strategic interest of transformation of gender roles.
- build women's self esteem/confidence
- remove barriers to women's equal participation in the community

Feminist popular education may take the form of a women's only program, a women's caucus in a mixed organization, the promotion of women and women's issues within mixed organizations, consciousness raising with the male members on gender issues., etc..

Reactions to Feminist Popular Education:

Participants were split into two groups by gender. They were asked to discuss their views on feminist popular education and the differences and similarities between DEC's approach and feminist popular education. They then reported back to the larger group.

Men's responses:

- It is problematic to say that gender is a source of women's oppression equal to class. Men and women are different by creation. Culture and religion determine women's roles. Because they are different does not mean they are oppressed.
- DEC gives more attention to gender but does not work exclusively with the popular sector
- DEC is gradually getting into women's private sphere issues.
- building self-esteem is removing one barrier to women's participation.

Women's responses:

- Agree with the tenants of feminist popular education but removing barriers to women's equal participation requires a lot of work and must be very gradual.
- DEC gives more weight to gender
- DEC lacks the tools for discriminating by class
- DEC is unconsciously reinforcing gender stereotypes by sponsoring cooking demonstrations and other traditionally female skills and responsibilities.
- DEC is working to empower women in the rural areas only. It is helping to make them more visible in their communities.
- DEC is helping to meet women's practical needs through loans and strategic interest through group work, group strengthening, leadership training and building women's self-esteem.

At this point we ended for the day

Day Two

Recap Further Reflections and Analysis:

We began the day by recapping the points made during the last activity of previous day and exploring the following questions with the whole group:

- What is the content of DEC's work with women (e.g.. family, private, public political, economic) ?
- Does DEC carry out consciousness raising on gender issues?
- Does conscious raising among male community members on gender issues help to remove barriers to women's full participation in their homes and communities? Should DEC be doing more of this type of work?
- Is a women's only program the most effective way out of class and gender oppression of women?

- Are women's strategic interests being served by carrying out consciousness raising among men?

The following is a summary of the discussion that took place around these questions:

DEC is slowly getting into more private sphere issues with women. This has not been deliberate on DEC's part, but rather a response to the issues women themselves raise and only after considerable trust has been built between DEC staff and the group. For example, during a session in the village, when DEC staff were telling a fictitious story to a group about a woman who had a very difficult life, one woman very emotionally told the group how the story depicted her life. In a separate incident, another group spontaneously began to discuss domestic violence. They did a role play on the real life story of one of their members who was being beaten and devised a strategy to help her. They told her that if her husband was about to abuse her she should scream very loudly and they would all rush to the house and embarrass the man.

DEC raises gender issues and empowers women, but not fully, because we do not link group issues with issues of gender and power in the larger society. This is partly due to the constraints DEC faces in getting access to the community and the women. When DEC began its work there were very few NGOs working in that part of the country. Community leaders were used to dealing with government as the provider of social programs. They were suspicious of DEC and assumed they were either a Christian missionary organization with a hidden agenda to convert Muslims, or a family planning organization from the West trying to reduce the numbers of Africans in the world. Therefore, in order to win the trust of the community, DEC could only raise issues which were safe and acceptable to both women and men. Questioning women's role in the family and the community would have brought about the end of their working relationship with the group.

Even without deliberately raising sensitive gender issues DEC has had problems. The Birim group is a case in point. During DEC's first meeting with the group, they embarked on a 'getting to know each other exercise' whereby everyone was asked to share information about themselves with each other, including the number of children they have. At the next meeting only half of the women showed up and most of them were older, post menopausal women. DEC later learned that when the men had learned about this introductory activity they suspected that DEC wanted to know family size in order to introduce family planning and thus forbade their wives to attend. Eventually DEC met with the chief and cleared up the misunderstanding.

In another incident in Gamawa LGA headquarters, DEC's application to work in the Gamawa LGA was "misplaced" because at that time DEC was still

under CUSO and the officials believed that the "C" is CUSO stood for Christian despite explanations to the contrary.

It can be strategic to do consciousness raising with men on gender issues and this can help to remove barriers to women's participation in the community. What happened in Ture Balum is one example. The chief of Ture Balum was very supportive of DEC's program. When DEC was about to disperse loans to the women, he talked to the men and warned them not to take the women's money. Instead he encouraged them to assist their wives in their businesses. The chief took this action on his own. DEC did not learn about it until much later. And his intervention may have had an impact. In one case a woman's farming project failed and she was unable to repay the loan so her husband helped her to come up with the money.

Power Flower:

This activity was adapted from Educating for a Change. (Arnold et al, 1991:13-15) Its purpose was to enable participants to discover their social identity in relation to the oppressive/dominant groups in society and to the clientele DEC works with, and ultimately to see how one's own social identity influences one's perspective on social issues.

Each person was given a daisy-like flower on which the basic divisions in society are written at the base of each petal. (See Appendix 1.) Working alone, each person completed the flower by writing the name of the dominant group on the inner petal and the one to which he or she belongs, whether the same or different, on the outer petal. Crayons were used to emphasize sameness and difference. When the inner and outer petal matched, the same color was used. When they were different, two different colors were used. This way, individuals had a graphic picture of the ways in which they belonged to the dominant groups in society and the ways in which they belonged to the oppressed. When everyone's flower was complete, we circulated and shared with each other. In the discussion which followed some participants indicated that they were surprised and interested to learn that they can be both oppressed and oppressor at the same time. Others were surprised to discover that they are in some ways advantaged vis-a-vis the masses. We also discussed how one's social identity influences one's outlook, but with greater awareness one does have a choice. In other words, just because one is born into a privileged group does not mean that one has to act to preserve the interests of that group. We can transcend our class, gender or sector interest to work for greater justice and equality. For instance, men can work against male dominance and for the liberation of women. The facilitator suggested that participants bear these points in mind during the next exercise.

Gender Metrics:

The following terms were spaced and posted along a wall:
strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree.

Participants were instructed to listen as a statement is read and then to place themselves along the wall according to their position on the statement. Each person was asked to explain why they took that position. Anyone was invited to change positions if they found the arguments of others convincing. A total of six separate statements were made.

1) *Men are physically stronger than women.*

Participants either agreed with this wholeheartedly or partially. To some it seemed obvious that men have more power to lift, push etc.. Others said women and men have different types of strength. Women have more endurance while men have stronger, short bursts. Some women are as physically as strong as men, but overall, men are stronger. The facilitator suggested that we should reexamine what is considered to be strength. Carrying a bucket of water on one's head for miles requires tremendous strength, as does delivering a baby.

2) *Women are naturally better care givers of children than men.*

The men in the group agreed and the women disagreed. One of the men was surprised that the women disagreed because he thought all women would be proud of their talents in this area. The other felt that the fact the women carry their babies for nine months, feed them and so on, makes them more sympathetic to children's needs. The women felt that the fact that women are generally better with children can be totally attributed to social conditioning. The fact that women give birth does not mean that they are naturally better at caring for them. Men could do just as well if they were taught and encouraged.

3) *The only inevitable, unchangeable difference between women and men is that women can give birth.*

Most participants disagreed with this statement and believed there to be other inherent physiological differences. One woman agreed.

4) *Men are better drivers than women.*

Everyone disagreed and no further discussion was necessary.

5) *Men should be the head of the family.*

The women strongly disagreed with this statement while the men strongly agreed. The women argued that there should be equal power and equal say between husband and wife. It is not right that he should have control over all the big decisions. They should be partners. One of the men said he agrees because that is what prevails in his house. The other said that being head of

the family means giving guidance and protection, not dictating decisions. He draws his belief from the teaching of his Christian church.

6) Men are braver, women more fearful.

The men agreed and the women disagreed. The men said that when thieves come in the night it is the men who go to investigate. Traditionally, men sleep at the front of the compound to protect the rest of the family. Men are the hunters and the warriors. The women argued that this behavior is something learned rather than natural. Women are socialized at an early age to be timid while men are socialized to be brave. However, many women are just as brave as men. A recent and well publicized case in Nigeria was cited as a good example. The husband, a public figure, was being pursued by thugs. When they arrived at his house, his wife went to the door even though she knew of the danger and she was killed. Many men run away from dangerous situations and have their own fears of such things as spiders and snakes.

Lecturette: Introduction to GAD

The facilitator gave this brief presentation:

According to U.N. statistics, women carry out 67% of the world's working hours, earn 10% of the world's income, comprise 2/3 of the world's non-literates and own less than 1% of the world's property. There has been a dismal failure to improve the conditions of women's lives despite decades of international development assistance.

The concept of international development did not always exist. It was born in the post World War II era when the efforts of various allied countries to reconstruct the destroyed economies of Germany and Japan through capital and technological transfer met with great success. This experience, it was thought, could be replicated to assist the newly independent countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, etc., to modernize, increase production, build infrastructure etc. - to help them to move through the stages of development more quickly so that they could compete in the world market (some say to stem the communist tide). This was the golden age of modernization theory (50's and onward). According to it, the "backward" countries of the south could and would follow in the footsteps to their northern counterparts if they were given the proper expertise, capital and technology to do so.

The original concept of development was gender neutral. It was assumed that both women and men would benefit from the modernization of their economies and societies. In 1970, Ester Boserup wrote a book called *Women's Role in Economic Development* which made waves in the thinking of the day. She was the first to argue convincingly that even in countries where

development efforts were having a positive impact (e.g., economic growth), women were either being left out completely or negatively affected. For example, the transition from food crops for family consumption to cash crops for the market took land out of women's control, increased the family's vulnerability to unstable food supply and put the resultant cash largely in the hands of men. In fact, most of the jobs, education opportunities and new technologies were put in the hands of men.

Various attempts have been made throughout the pre-independence and post colonial era to address the needs of women of the south. Out of the 1970's critique of modernization theory grew the Women and Development Approach (WID). In essence, WID encompassed a whole series of efforts to bring women into development, enable them to catch-up, so to speak. Still within a modernization framework, such programs tried to draw women out into public life or to assist them to be better producers through special education programs, income generating activities, legal reforms, etc.. They did not deal with the private sphere of women's lives and ignored the subordination of women in the home.

Around the same time, a major critique of modernization theory was taking shape in the South, especially in Latin America. Southern thinkers began to analyze the way in which the industrialized countries of the north served their own interests and maintained their position in the international economic order by making it difficult for southern countries to industrialize (through unfavorable trade policies and other measures), thereby insuring a supply of cheap labour and raw materials. The structuralist and dependency theories focused on the structures of exploitation which maintain hierarchical relations between and within nations and drew from a Marxist analysis of capitalism.

Those who were concerned about women within this approach studied what happened to women with capitalist penetration into their economies (e.g., women as surplus labour, women in export processing zones) but they still saw women's entry in the "productive" sphere or public life as a precondition for progressive change. They failed to recognize the structures of subordination within both domestic and public spheres. Thus, projects conceived from this Women and Development (WAD) perspective were and are very difficult to distinguish from WID programs since the goal might be different but the content the same - that is, education and employment programs geared to bring women in the main stream.

The gender and development approach began to emerge in 1980 as a transformative approach to addressing inequalities between and among nations with specific reference to that between women and men. GAD questions the underlying ideologies and structures which maintain and reproduce inequalities, especially the subordination of women. It seeks to

empower women and all marginalized people to define and implement solutions to their problems. Its cornerstone is the social construction of gender. It draws a sharp distinction between sex, a biological category, and gender, socially constructed roles assigned to women and men. It assumes that which society has constructed can be examined and changed and that the only immutable, universal difference between women and men is that women bear children, not that they care for them.

The long term goal of GAD is equal partnership between women and men. In terms of development programming it seeks to produce equity of impact for women and men rather than equality of opportunity. If you have a fox and a stork about to drink out of a dish of water, who drinks the most depends on how the dish is shaped. The continued subordination of women places us at a disadvantage to seize opportunities (e.g.. lack of education, too much domestic work, lack of freedom). Programs designed from a GAD perspective build in measures to rectify these imbalances.

GAD questions power relations in society as a whole and seeks not to increase the power of individual women over other women or over men. It promotes the power of the collective to challenge injustice; in other words, power with others. GAD also critiques mainstream development as: narrowly economic; damaging to the environment; robbing some people of their livelihood while increasing aggregate economic output; increasing the economic resources of the elite while reducing those of the poor; increasing the income of men and the workload of women. It seeks to bring about sustainable development for both women and men and to improve their standard of living and quality of life without compromising future generations. Development programs are not genuine development if they harm the environment, divide the community against itself or negatively affect women's position.

The goal of GAD is long term, sustainable, equitable development for disadvantaged women and men. It does not seek to put women in a position to have power over men, but to enable them to have power with other women and with men. GAD helps women and communities meet their practical needs while promoting long term change in gender and societal relations. It challenges subordination of all kinds through promoting empowerment, unity, solidarity and consciousness raising. Within this, GAD proponents recognize that women need special support because they are relatively more disadvantaged than men.

How does the social construction of gender affect us personally?:

Participants were divided into pairs, one woman and one man in each pair. The task was to discuss with each other how the social construction of gender

impacts on their lives as individuals. When we returned to the larger group everyone was invited to share something from their discussion if they wished to do so.

- Joseph commented that men cannot understand women's experience/pain of child delivery.
- Hawa remarked that while the DEC staff are being exposed to new ideas on gender relations, their spouses are not, and therefore changes at home will be difficult.

Summary of the Differences Between WID and GAD (lecturette continued)

The facilitator reviewed the following summary taken from Two Halves Make a Whole (CCIC et al, 1991:76).

Women In Development (WID)	Gender and Development (GAD)
<p style="text-align: center;">1. Approach</p> <p>- an approach which views women</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2. The Focus</p> <p>- focus is women</p> <p style="text-align: center;">3. The Problem</p> <p>- problem is seen as the exclusion of women from the development process</p> <p style="text-align: center;">4. The Goal</p> <p>- goal is more effective, efficient development</p> <p style="text-align: center;">5. The Solution</p> <p>- solution is to integrate women into development processes</p> <p style="text-align: center;">6. The Strategies</p> <p>- women's projects</p> <p>- women's components</p> <p>- integrated projects</p> <p>- increase women's productivity</p> <p>- increase women's income</p> <p>- increase women's ability to look after of the household</p>	
<p>- an approach to development as the problem</p> <p>- focus is the relationship between women and men</p> <p>- problem is seen as the unequal relationship between women and men, rich and poor that prevents equitable sustainable development and women's full participation</p> <p>- goal is equitable sustainable development and women's full participation</p> <p>- solution is to empower all into existing disadvantaged groups and women, transform unequal relations</p> <p>- identify/address practical needs determined by women and men to improve their condition</p> <p>- address women's strategic interests</p> <p>- address strategic interests of the poor through people centered development</p>	

GAD Analytical Tools:

A brief overview of the eight GAD analytical tools was presented. (For a full description of these tools, see *Two Halves make A Whole*, pp. 24-42). Then, one by one, we applied them to DEC. Unfortunately, time did not allow us to do this in depth, but we all agreed that this level was sufficient for an introductory workshop, as we would deal with these topics more extensively in subsequent workshops.

Tool 1) The sexual/gender division of labour

1. How is work organized in the community?
2. What work do women (and girls) do? paid and unpaid
3. What work do men (and boys) do? paid and unpaid
4. What are the implications of the division of labour for achieving our goals?
5. Does DEC's program tend to reinforce or challenge the existing division of labour?

Responses:

Q 1-3 Not all communities DEC works in are the same. The only thing that can be generalized is that women take care of the house. Women's work in the house is unpaid. In terms of paid work, they may make things to sell such as cooked food and may also sell their labour outside the home, for example on someone else's farm or processing food crops. Men work on the farm, collect food for the animals, build the house, cut the grass for thatching and mat the grass. Boys run errands. In some cases they may do the sweeping outside the house. Both boys and girls fetch water. In some Islamic communities women do not farm. In others, older women (post menopausal) go to the farm after the main harvest.

Q 4 - The division of labour limits what women think they can do. For example, in some communities, women don't fish or farm although it may be beneficial to them to do so.

- DEC's work with women's groups who farm has to be seasonal if we are to meet them at all. During the farming season they are too busy.

- While trying to assist women we are also creating more work for them.

When we give them loans they have to work hard to pay it back.

Q 5 - Our work does not reinforce the existing division of labour. But we are not challenging it head on. If we tried to do so, it would affect our acceptance in the communities. We have to introduce such ideas very politely.

Tool 2) Types of Work

1. What types of work do women and men (boys and girls) do?
Productive, reproductive and community work.

2. In what ways is the productive, reproductive and community work of women and men affected by DEC's programs?
3. In what ways do these different types of work affect our programs?

Responses:

Q 1 Women do the reproductive work. The reproductive work performed by men is very minimal. Outwardly, men do most of the community work, but women do a lot of invisible work such as all the cooking for public events and meetings. Both women and men do productive work but women do more.

Q 2 DEC has helped some women's groups to take on community development work (e.g., water projects). DEC 's financing of such things as farming projects has increased their productive work. In terms of reproductive work, we have helped them very little. We have held some discussions with women on health issues which enable them to carry out their reproductive work a little better.

Q 3 Because of women's reproductive responsibilities we have to tolerate the children at our meetings and workshops. Because of women's productive responsibilities we have to plan our programs around the farming season.

Tool 3) Access and Control Over Resources and Benefits

Resources

1. What productive resources do women and men each have access to?
2. What productive resources do they each have control over?
3. What implications does this pattern have for our work?
4. How can we contribute to increasing women's access to and control over resources?

Benefits

5. What benefits do women and men each receive from productive, reproductive and community work, and the use of resources?
6. What benefits do each have control over to use as they please?
7. What are the implications of this pattern for our program activities?
8. How can we increase women's access to and control over benefits?

Responses:

Q 1-3 Women have control over cooking utensils, personal bedding, money they have not told their husbands about, and sometimes animals. This makes giving them loans complicated because it is possible that the

men dictate what the women do with it. Women generally have access to land but no control over it.

Q 4 We could be doing workshops with Community Development Associations and other men, and perhaps with women and men together, on women's access and control over resources and benefits, thereby raising consciousness among them and perhaps removing some barriers to women's control. We have not yet explored these issues with women because their lack of control is so glaring that they may get discouraged. Should we?

Q 5 Men receive more financial benefits for their productive work. In terms of reproductive labour, men own the children and use them to enhance productive activities (e.g., working on the farm). As for community work, all the gratitude is showered on the men. Women do more work and get paid less. Reproductive work is not very satisfying because it is the same every day.

Q 6-7 Women cannot control the benefits of their income. Therefore, we may not be helping them when we give them loans or help them start an income generating activity because their husbands might take the money from them or relinquish responsibility for buying food for their families if they know their wives have money.

Q 8 Raising consciousness among men will help to increase women's access and control over resources and benefits. We could also do problem solving exercises with women on how to gain more control over resources and benefits, similar to what we did at this year's all women's workshop. The evaluation of the loan scheme this year will help us to know if women are realizing the benefits of their labour.

4) Influencing Factors

- 1.** What key factors, past, present and future, influence and change gender relations, the division of work and access to and control over resources and benefits?
- 2.** What constraints and opportunities do these factors present for promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women.

[Such factors could be socio-cultural, religious, legal, economic, political, environmental, etc.]

Responses:

Q 1 Western education changes the division of labour because educated women can afford to hire someone to do the domestic work. Changes in government also influence women's role. The Babangida government had a strong advocate for women in Mariam Babangida. Although she is part of

the elite, she was outspoken as a woman and served as a role model for Nigerian women. The present (1994) Abacha government has no such figure. It is even more male.

Q2 Level of education does not correlate with the kind of women's seclusion practiced in Islamic Hausa families, except in a regressive way. For instance, educated women come from wealthier families where the husband can afford to keep his wives in seclusion.

5) *Condition and Position*

1. How and to what extent do DEC's program activities and organizational policies contribute to improving the conditions of women's and men's lives?
2. How and to what extent do they contribute to improving women's position within society?

[Some indicators of improvement of position include: increased acceptance as decision makers; greater personal and economic independence; increased involvement in personal, family or community development; improved health; more opportunities for education; improved legal status; reduction in violence against women; more control of fertility; greater awareness of women's issues in general.]

Responses:

Q 1 Women have benefited directly and men indirectly from DEC sponsored income generating and water projects. In some ways these projects help the family more than the woman herself. DEC should not give too much money to women unless we are sure they can handle that amount and we know how their husbands will react. If they are not skilled enough to use the money wisely and the project fails or if the husband takes the money or abdicates his financial responsibilities, we are not helping the women improve the conditions of their lives.

Q 2 It is difficult to know if our activities have helped to improve the position of women within the community. The mere recognition in the community that women have a role to play could be seen as progress and in some communities this has occurred. But it is difficult for us to know if our projects in general are having an impact on women's position unless we have a special exercise to bring this out.

6) *Practical Needs and Strategic Interests*

1. How and to what extent do DEC's programs and policies address the practical needs and strategic interests of women and men?
2. How and to what extent do they address the strategic needs of the community in general and the community in particular?

[Examples of strategic needs are support from men, solidarity among women, economic independence, political power, changed roles in the home.]

Responses:

Q 1 In terms of practical needs, we have helped women address their practical needs for income and water.

Q 2 In terms of strategic interests, we are working on getting more support from men for women's development. Building solidarity among women is our main work and we are plugging away at it. Economic independence for women is in the pipeline. Building leadership skills among women is in their strategic interest, but we have not helped them to make the link between leadership within their groups and obtaining office or positions of leadership within the community, and helping them find the ways to do so. We have not seen any evidence of changes in the roles of women and men, but the seed is sown. It will take a long time for this to change because men would like to stay in their advantaged position.

7) Levels of Participation

1. What is the nature of women's (and men's) participation in DEC's program and organization?
2. What is the nature of the benefits women (and men) receive?
3. To what extent are women active agents of change in each stage of the program, policy development and implementation.?
4. Are women treated as agents or beneficiaries?

[Different kinds of participation: to receive benefits; to contribute labour or other resources; to take action prescribed by others; to be consulted; to make decisions.]

Responses:

Q 1-4 Ninety percent of DEC's work is geared toward women and ten percent toward men (mostly to gain support for women's development). Women receive benefits, contribute labour, and they also have input into the design of the program. But it is difficult for them to act as agents because they are used to being treated as beneficiaries by other agencies and expect us to treat them the same. Nevertheless, DEC treats them more as agents than as beneficiaries.

8) Potential for Transformation

1. How does, or can, DEC's program contribute to the transformation of gender relations both in the public and the private sphere?
2. How do, or can, we contribute to the transformation of relations between the disadvantaged and advantaged?

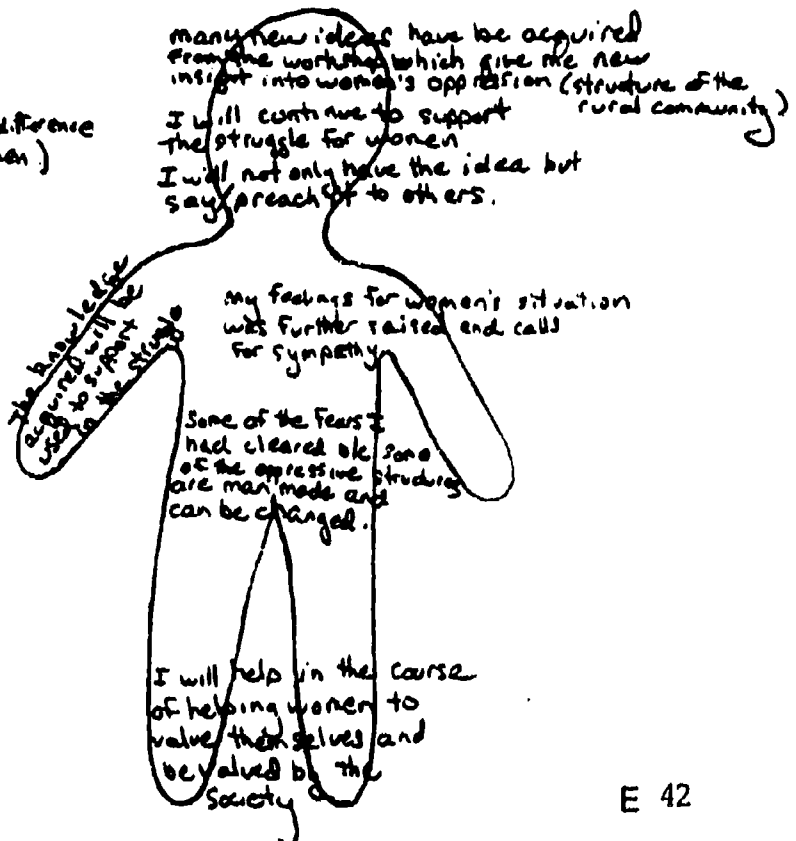
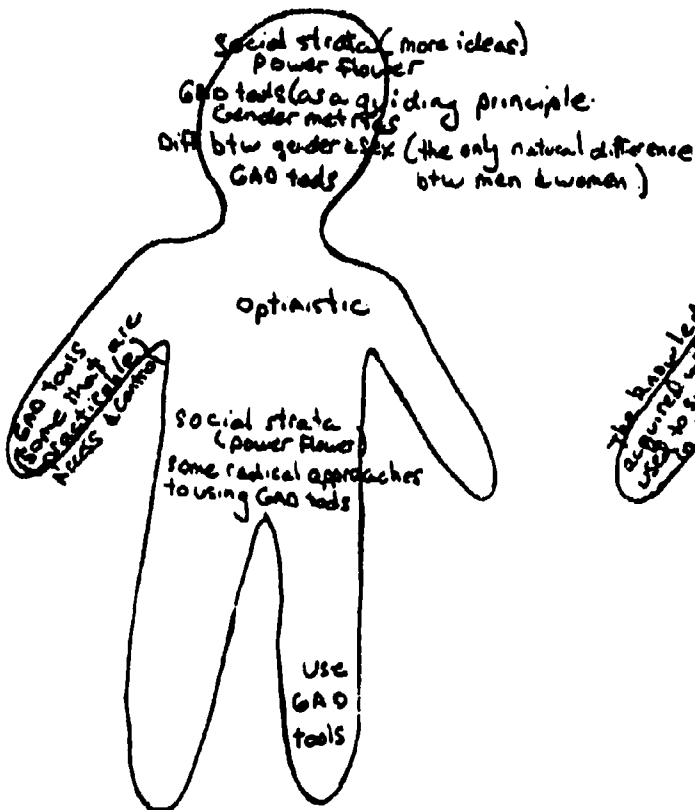
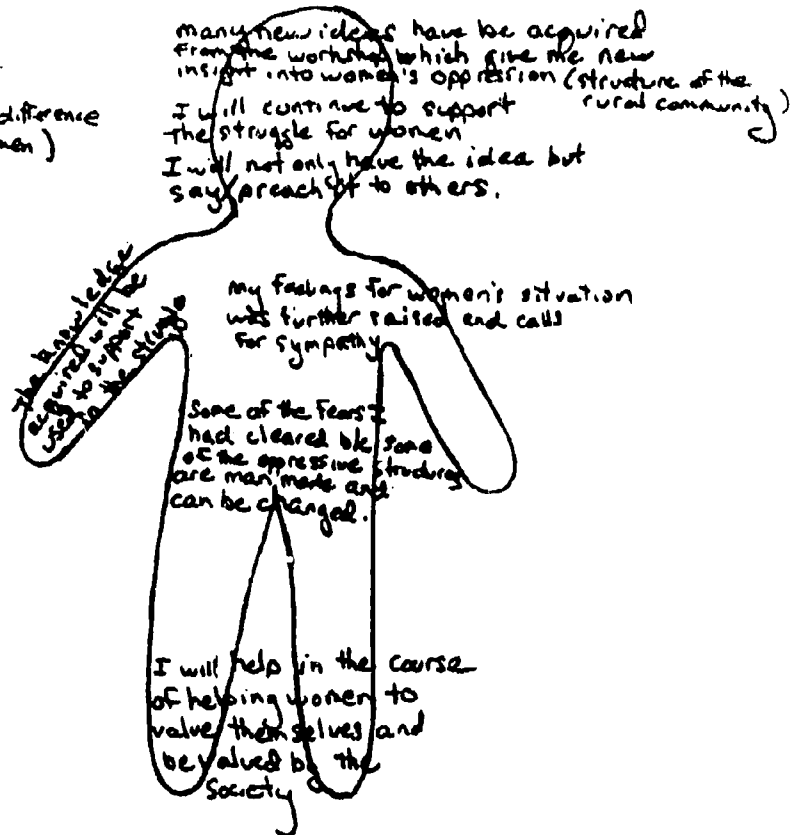
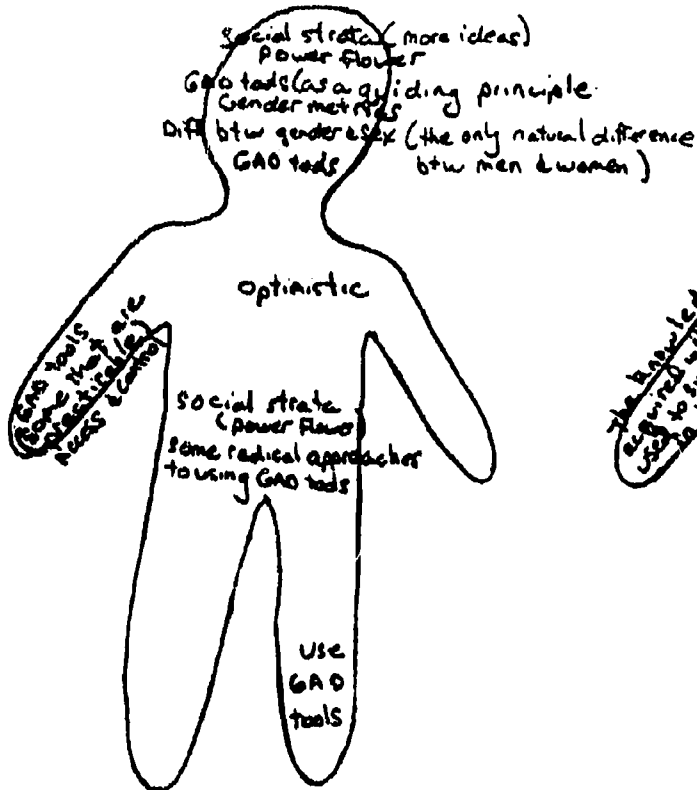
Responses:

Q 1 Some gender issues have been addressed but we have to go farther. We are aware of many obstacles and constraints and we have to go very gradually. DEC empowers women by raising consciousness of their potential, promoting democratic decision making and developing leadership. But we have not out-rightly raised gender issues or made links between these and wider gender issues such women's lack of power outside the group. This has to do in part with the obstacles DEC faced in the beginning of its work in the communities and still faces to a lesser extent. In the early days DEC was treated with a lot of suspicion. People were not used to NGO's and questioned DEC's motives or the motives of DEC's funding sources. They suspected DEC was either linked to a missionary organizations with a hidden religious agenda, or a family planning organization. Men have control over their wives and could forbid them to attend meetings with DEC. DEC has to win the trust of the women and the entire community by going slowly.

Q 2 When selecting groups in the past DEC was not very discriminating in terms of class or any other criteria. In the future we would use class as a criteria and work with disadvantaged groups, i.e., groups who belong to the popular sector (if we know how to identify them). Within existing groups we should try to discern disparity within the membership, between advantaged and disadvantaged members, so that we can ensure that our programs avoid reinforcing or increasing the disparity.

Reflection:

The purpose of this exercise was to enable participants to identify what they got out of the workshop regardless of what was anticipated or planned, and to assess the changes in themselves. For this a body outline tool was used. Participants were given a piece of paper containing the outline of an androgynous person. They were asked to find a space to work alone and to write things they have learned or changes that have occurred in them since the beginning of the workshop, on the relevant body parts - e.g., ideas on the head, visions on the eyes, communications on the mouth, feelings on the heart, fears in the stomach, skills on the hands and resolutions on the feet. Although the exercise was for the individual her/himself, they were invited to share them with others if they choose to do so. The following is a representation of these reflections.



Evaluation:

Everyone was asked to comment briefly on whether or not they felt the objectives were achieved.

Responses: objective 1 - good;
objective 2 - achieved, understanding deepened;
objective 3 - the women thought that the men felt encroached upon and hid some of their feelings and thoughts and because of this, the women felt they dominated the discussion. Joseph disagreed;
objective 4 - very well achieved;
objective 5 - yes, achieved, enables us to go through some of these exercises with groups.

Participants were also asked which activities they enjoyed the most. They responded individually:

Farida - gender metrics, how am I affected?, whole workshop but she wishes Musa had attended so as to reach a better understanding among people at the office.

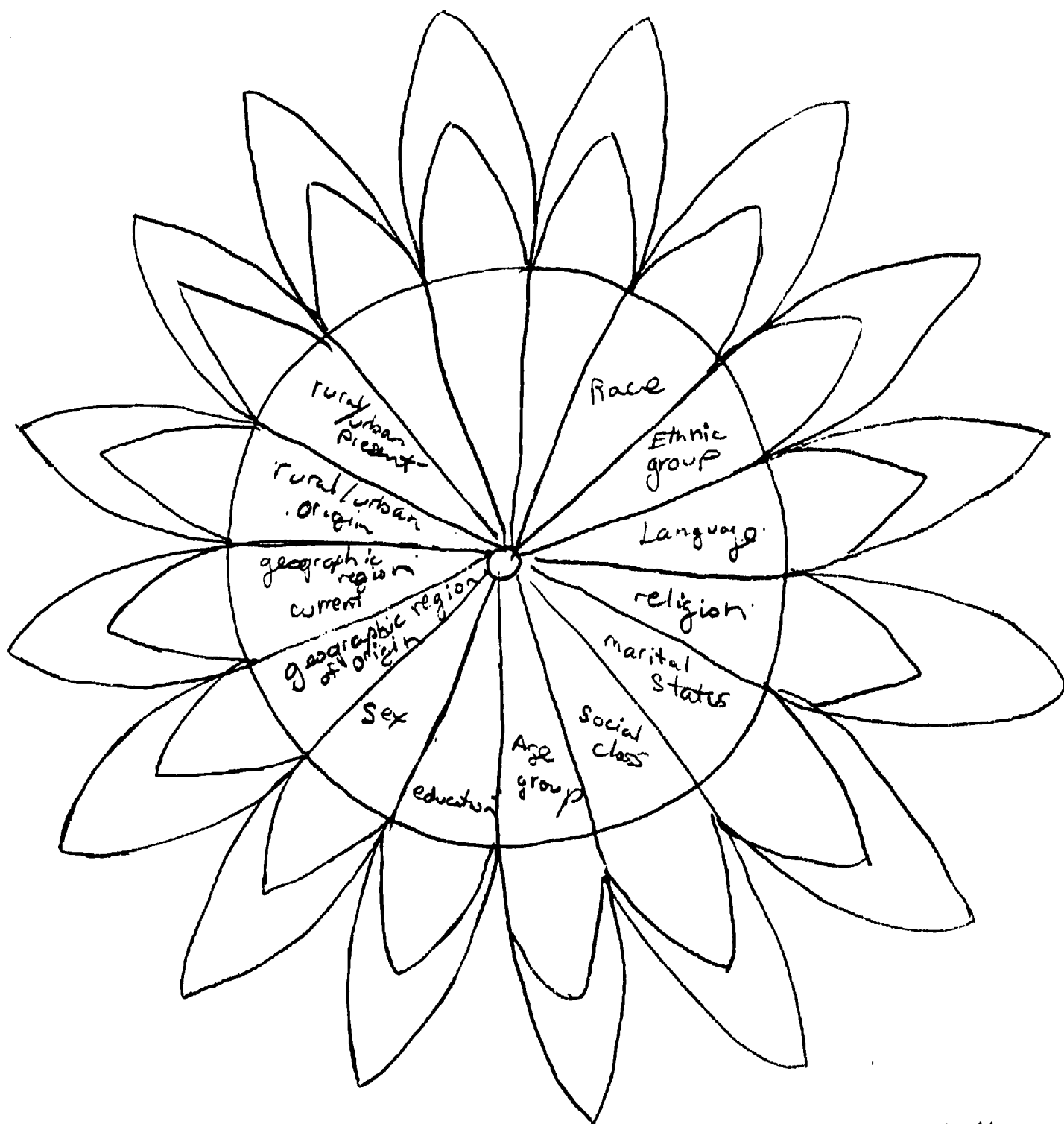
Hawa - gender metrics, the only natural difference between women and men is that women give birth, power flower (to know that we can change some of these things, we don't have to act on the part of the oppressor group because we happen to find ourselves in that category), GAD tools.

Mustafa - how I am affected, gender metrics, flower power, social structure

Joseph - gender (what is it), gender metrics, flower power, social structure

Appendix 1.

The Power of Flower



Workshop 4: Gender and Development Two

Objectives:

- 1) To identify ways in which the subordination of Nigerian women is created, maintained and reproduced.
- 2) To practice and strengthen our skills in applying a GAD analysis to our work situations.
- 3) Possibly to suggest a way forward for our work with a particular community/group.

Program:

Day One

- 1) What's On Top (10 min.)
- 2) Warm-Up, Animal Mates (20 min.)
- 3) Introduction To Program (10 min.)
- 4) Naming The Problem (10 min.)
- 5) Web Chart (1 hour minimum)
- 6) Circles of Analysis (30 min.)
- 7) Points Of Intervention (20 min.)
- 8) GAD Review (20 min.)
- 9) Begin Applying GAD Tools to a Chosen Community (2 hours)
- 10) Reflection (10 min.)

Day Two

- 11) Warm-Up, "The People Say" (5 min.)
- 12) Review And Recap (20 min.)
- 13) GAD Application Continued (2 hours)
- 14) The Way Forward For Tula Baule (30 min.)
- 15) Reflections On GAD (15 min.)
- 16) Evaluation (15 min.)

Day One

What's On Top:

Everyone was given the opportunity to share anything they have on their minds before getting on with the program. This was intended to allow people to leave external events behind in order to concentrate on the task at hand. Everyone indicated that they were in a happy mood, in particular because Nigeria triumphed in the African football series the previous night.

Animal Mates Warm-Up:

This exercise requires an even number of participants equaling the number of animals designated with one male and one female of each animal category. For six participants there were three animal types, one male and one female each. Each person was handed a piece of paper with their animal identity on it and asked not to reveal it to anyone. Everyone was spread out around the room and blindfolded. They were then asked to begin making the appropriate animal sound and to move across the room in search of her/his mate. When everyone had found his/her mate they were asked to tell each other what kind of mate they promised to be. Then, remaining in pairs they were asked to become humans again and share with each other the following:

- One thing they do that is typical of their gender
- One thing they do that is not typical of their gender
- One thing they would like to do that is not typical of their gender

There was some hesitation about doing the first part of this exercise. People were concerned that they would have difficulty finding their mate and that they might bump into each other in the process. Nevertheless, we proceeded. The elephant and hyena pairs got mixed up because their sounds were alike. Some people had difficulty with telling each other what kind of mate they promised to be because they were unfamiliar with these animal's behavior. During the debriefing several women revealed that they had difficulty identifying one thing they do that is not typical of their gender. They were surprised by this because they do not think of themselves as typical women and questioned whether or not they are trying hard enough to break gender stereotypes.

Naming the Problem:

Participants were asked to brainstorm words or phrases which come to mind when they think of the plight of rural Nigerian women. These were recorded on the flip chart and are as follows:

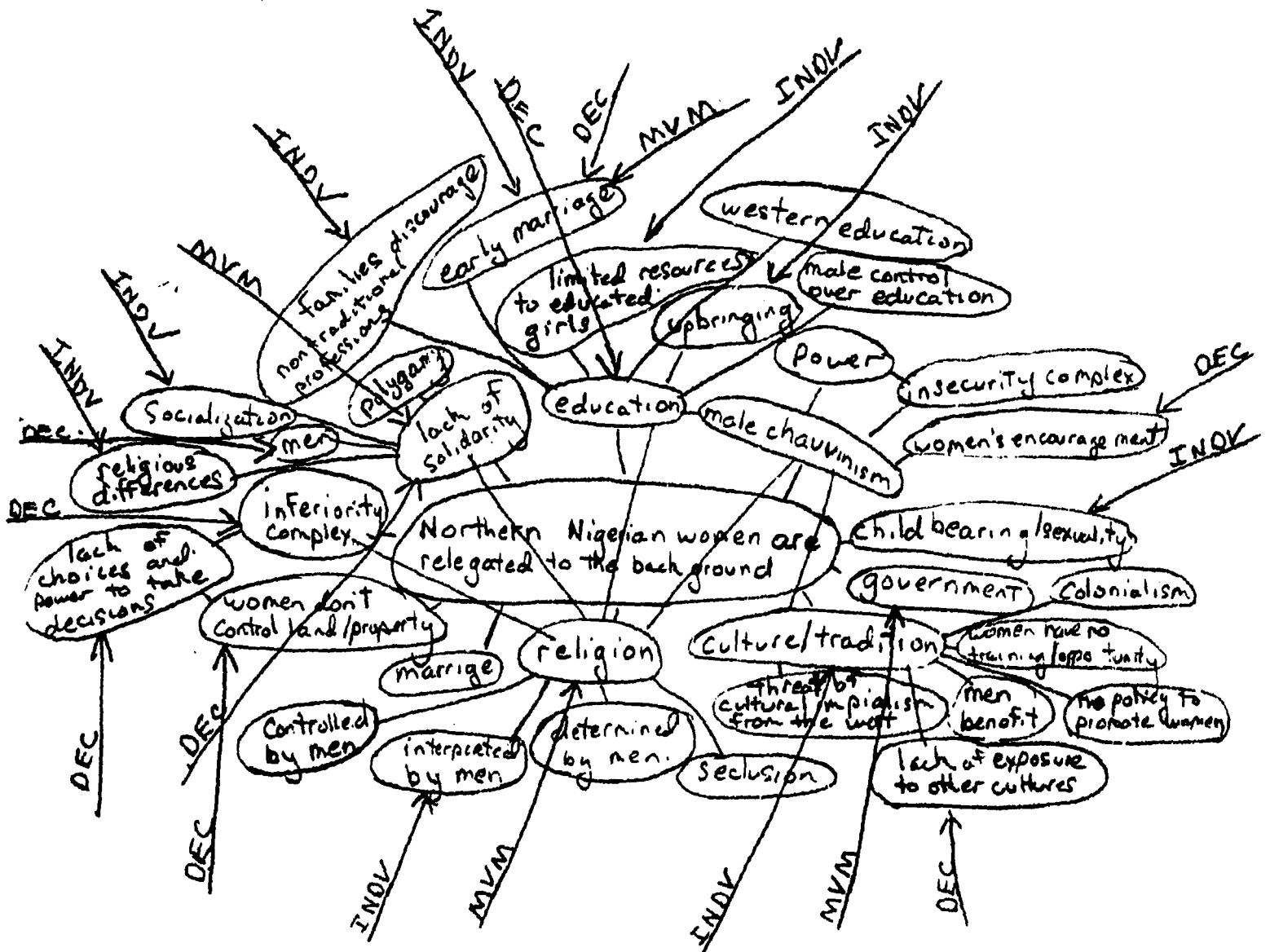
sympathetic	not appreciated
bad	not recognized
disastrous	enjoying
needs to be changed	poor
promising	rich
horrible	resilient
hopeful	hard working
improving	caring mothers
needs to be highlighted	concerned citizens
complicated	generous
suffering	honest
relegated to the background	lack education for change

The group was then asked to identify key words or phrases in the list which stand out as capturing the problem and these were circled in red ink as above. Participants were asked to consider if any of the words and phrases circled, alone or in combination, suggest a concise operating problem statement that can be worked during the workshop. After some discussion it was decided that the statement, "women are relegated to the background", encompasses other problems highlighted. Some discussion ensued around which women we were talking about — rural women, all Nigerian women, or northern Nigerian women. It was decided that since DEC's base and experience is with women in the north, the problem statement would be, "Northern Nigerian women are relegated to the background."

Web Chart:

The problem statement from the above exercise was placed in the centre of a large piece of flip chart paper and circled. Participants were asked to name the main causes of the problem. These were written around the main problem and circled. Connections between problems were noted by drawing a connecting line between them. Then the causes of these primary causes were named and written on the chart in a different color with clearly marked lines to connect them to the primary cause and also to other secondary causes identified. A complex mesh of related causes emerged and is reproduced below. (*A third level can also be attempted if time permits but this exercise usually prompts much discussion and therefore is very time consuming.*) Participants were then asked to identify places at which we

could intervene in this complex problematic as individuals, as DEC and as part of a larger movement. These potential points of intervention were indicated with red arrows. (see below).



INDV = individual
MVM = movement

For the sake of clarity , the web chart has been broken down here.

Primary Cause	Secondary Cause
- male chauvinism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - upbringing - insecurity complex - women's encouragement - power - education - religion - culture and tradition
- child bearing/sexuality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - marriage - women don't control land/property
- government - colonialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - men benefit and exploit women - no policy to promote women - women have no training and opportunities
- religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - seclusion - interpreted by men - controlled by men
- marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - religion - inferiority complex
- women don't control land/property	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - religion - inferiority complex
- inferiority complex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lack of power to take decisions - religion - socialization
- lack of solidarity among women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - polygamy - socialization - men - religious differences
-education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - early marriage - limited resources to educate girls - male control over education - families discourage non-traditional professions - western education - upbringing

Individuals can intervene:

- culture and tradition
- male interpretation of religion
- religious differences dividing women
- socialization
- families discouraging non-traditional professions
- early marriage
- limited resources to educate women
- upbringing
- child bearing/sexuality

DEC can intervene:

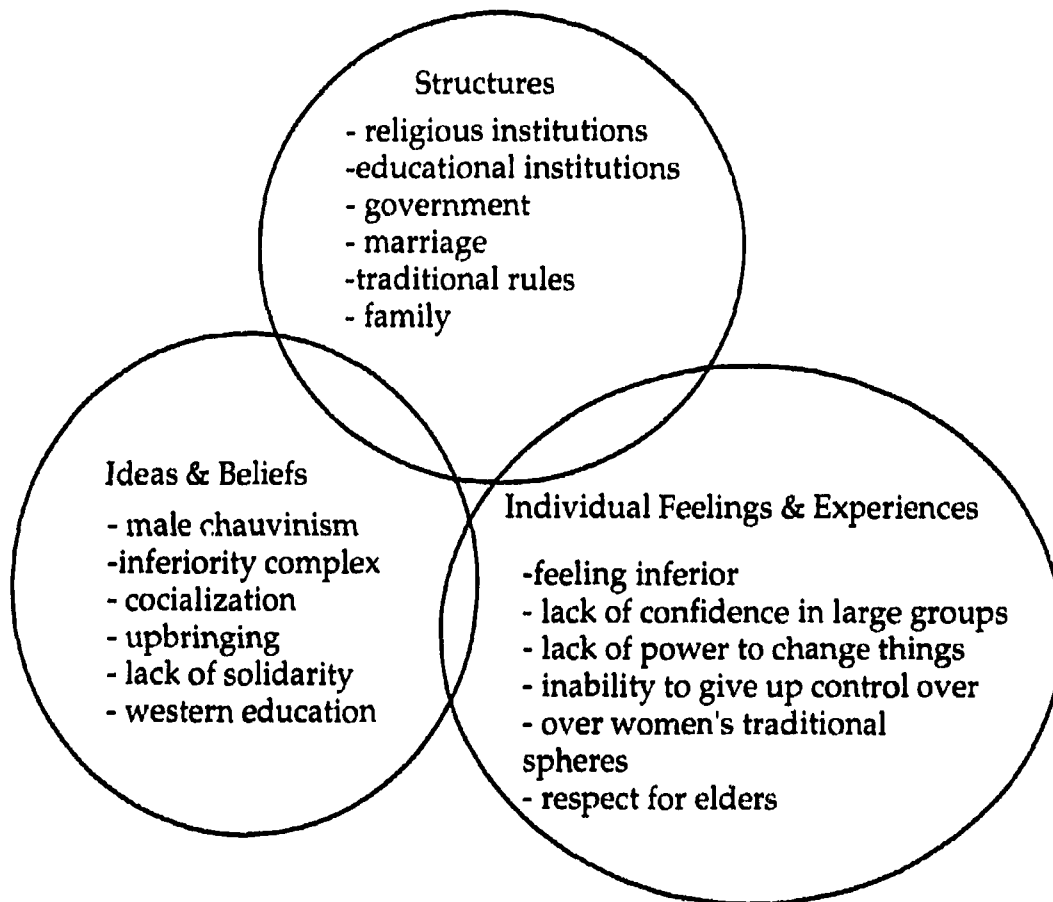
- lack of exposure to other cultures
- women's lack of power to take decisions
- women's lack of control over land/property
- women's inferiority complex
- men reinforcing women's inferiority complex
- lack of solidarity among women
- education
- women's encouragement of male chauvinism

A broader movement can intervene:

- government
- religion
- lack of solidarity among women
- early marriage

Circles of Analysis:

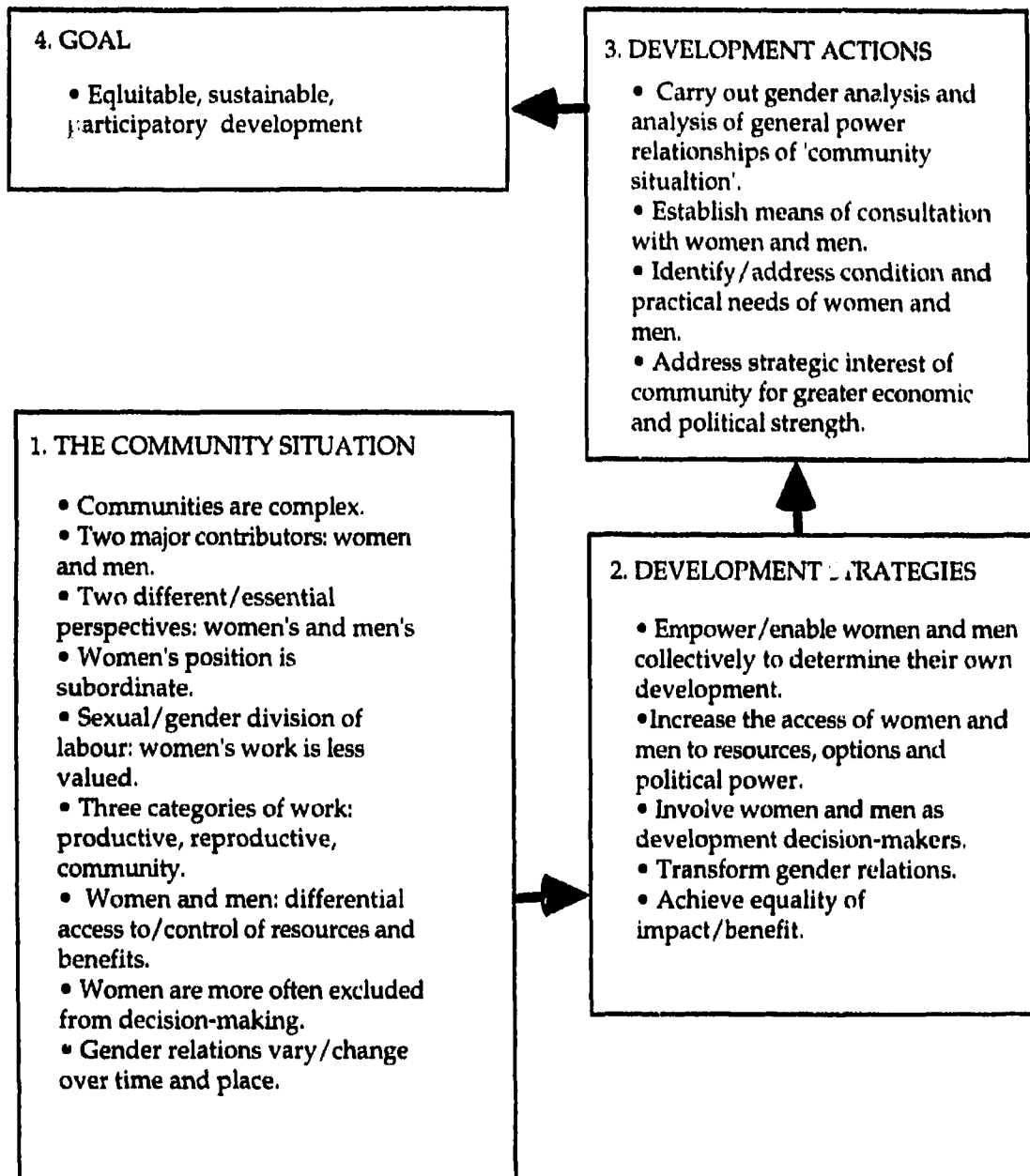
The group was divided into three pairs, and each given a large circle on which was written one of the following three categories: *ideas and beliefs, structures, individual feelings and experiences*. Drawing from the web chart, each pair was asked to complete a list of things that maintain the problem (northern Nigerian women are relegated to the background) within their category. Each group's work was then shared and posted on the wall as concentric spheres of the problem.



GAD Review:

Selected flip charts from the first GAD workshop were posted on the wall, these included: the social structure of the rural village, the WID/GAD summary, and the eight GAD tools with summaries of the discussion around their application to DEC's work. Time was set aside for everyone to review the charts and ask questions. Then a summary of GAD was presented using the following chart from Two Halves Make a Whole: Balancing Gender In Development.

(CCIC et al. 1991: 77)



Applying GAD Tools to a Chosen Community:

The group chose Tula Baule as a community on which to apply the GAD tools because we had been having problems deciding which way to take our work with this group and we thought that the GAD analysis might suggest a clearer direction. The group was split into two smaller groups. One group was asked to apply tools #1, "the sexual/gender division of labour" and #2, "types of work," to Tula Baule. (see GAD 1 workshop for complete details on the eight GAD tools, or Two Halves Make A Whole) The second small group

was asked to work with tool #3, "access and control over resources and benefits."

1) The sexual/gender division of labour

- What work do women and girls do, paid and unpaid?

paid work:

- sell labour on farms and food processing
- brewing
- petty trading
- livestock rearing

unpaid work:

- child bearing and rearing
- household chores: cleaning, cooking, fetching water, gathering firewood, etc.
- farm work
- house construction

- What work do men and boys do, paid and unpaid?

paid work:

- sell labour, farm work
- trading
- government work
- income from farm produce

unpaid work:

- hunting
- help in roofing
- communal work, e.g.. roads

What are the implications of these divisions for our work?

- Women have too much work to do. They don't have enough time for outsideactivities, e.g. DEC activities.

- The present division of labour favors men so they might resist, discourage, challenge, or frustrate the work DEC does with their women.
- DEC does not challenge the existing division of labour, neither do we reinforce it.

2) *Types of work , productive, reproductive, community*

- What types of work do women and men, (boys and girls) do?

Women:

productive — farm work, house work, trades

reproductive — child bearing, child rearing, cooking

community — structures (e.g. school), dams, boreholes, church, etc.

Men:

productive — farm work, trades

reproductive — nil

community — some community work, especially contributing labour and funds.

In what ways are the productive, reproductive and community work of women and men affected by DEC's programs, and in which ways are our programs affected by these?

- DEC has supported the women in some productive and community work.
- Women's responsibilities for farm work affects DEC's work with them.
- Child bearing and rearing affects meetings and workshops organized by DEC.

3) *Access and control over resources and benefits*

- What productive resources do women and men each have access to?
- What productive resources do they each have control over?
- What benefits do women and men each receive from their productive, reproductive and community work?

	Access		Control	
	male	female	male	female
a) land	✓	✓	✓	—
b) farming tools:				
hoe	✓	✓	✓	✓
garmal plow	✓	✓	✓	—
ax	✓	✓	✓	✓
cutlass	✓	✓	✓	✓
margirbi	✓	✓	✓	✓
c) skills:				
farming	✓	✓	✓	—
smithing	✓	—	✓	—
handicrafts	—	✓	—	✓
d) animals:				
cattle	✓	✓	✓	—
goats	✓	✓	✓	—
chickens	✓	✓	✓	—
e) capital	✓	✓	✓	—
f) fertilizer	✓	✓	✓	—
g) time	✓	✓	✓	—
h) literacy	✓	✓	✓	✓
i) transportation	✓	—	✓	—
j) building materials	✓	—	✓	—
k) salary	✓	✓	✓	—

What are the implications of this differential access and control for our work?

- Gives us the idea that women need more help than men.

- As women do not have control over their resources, this limits DEC's work with them.
- More benefits for men, little benefits for women for productive, reproductive and community work.
- Men have more control over the use of benefits.

How can we contribute to improving women's access to, and control over, resources and benefits?

- Create awareness on the part of women.
- Create awareness on the part of men.
- Provide capital for women.

Reflection on Day 1:

Participants were asked what stands out for them about the day's activities, why, and what learning they take away from it? The following are some of the comments.

Re. access and control profile:

- Power should go with responsibility. The Tula women have many responsibilities (family, community) but they have little control over much of the resources and benefits that they have access to.
- I always thought that since the Tula women have such a big role, they have a lot of power, but now I see that this is not so.

Re. web chart:

- When solving a problem, all the other repercussions should be taken into consideration.
- I realize that there are more causes than our culture and religion.
- The intervention areas were identified easier using the web chart.
- I realize that polygamy contributes to the problem.
- Using movements for intervention seems more feasible.
- It brought out areas where changes would be difficult to make, an eye-opener, problems and how they can be approached.
- There are so many things in the web chart, it is overwhelming. There is also optimism in that (in the interventions).

Re. animals warm-up:

- It is difficult to say what is not typical of your gender. [things you do that are not typical of your gender] It means I have to be more radical.
- It was difficult to find one's mate because of the male/female segregation in this society. (Physical touching between women and men in such a setting is inappropriate.)

Evaluation of Day 1:

Participants were asked to evaluate the extent to which objective 1 had been met by choosing a number from 1 to 10. Response were: 9, 8, 8, 8.5 and 7. One person commented that it would have been helpful if we had discussed how to actually make the interventions in the places identified on the web chart.

Day Two

Warm-up, "The People Say" :

Taken from the popular children's game, " Simon Says" , this activity requires everyone to mimic the actions of the leader, but only when s/he prefaces the instructions with " the people say" . If the leader says, "The people say do this" and she puts her hands on her head, everyone must do the same. If she says only "do this" and puts her hands on her head, the others should not move. If someone makes a mistake, s/he must then become the leader. The game begins slowly and speeds up as the leader tries to catch someone making a mistake.

Review:

Flip charts from Day One were posted on the wall and everyone was given the opportunity to review them individually and to ask questions for clarification or add something more to them.

GAD Application Continued:

We resumed the task of applying the eight GAD tools to DEC's work in Tula Baule.

4) Influencing factors

- What key factors, past, present, and future, influence and change gender relations, the division of work and access and control over resources and benefits in Tula Baule?
- What constraints and opportunities do these factors present for promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women in Tula Baule?

These questions were answered together in the large group.

Influencing factors:

1. Structural adjustment program — drastic cuts in services [health, education, public works etc.] increase in petroleum prices , inflation, price increases on all commodities and reduced quality of commodities.
2. Modern farming techniques - The introduction of fertilizers and other modern farming techniques in the late 70's and early 80's encouraged local farmers to switch from traditional techniques. It was promoted heavily by the government. Fertilizer was available and cheap. A dependency on it was created. Then prices rose. The fertilizer supply which was controlled by the government, began to be used for political purposes , for example to win support, and became very difficult to obtain. The rural farmers are in a fix, because the more you use fertilizer, the more you need. The types of crops people were growing also changed due to these techniques (more maize). Now, as a result of the scarcity and high prices, many farmers are beginning the painful process of switching back to traditional methods. Tula has been less affected by these developments because of its rocky terrain and isolation. (It was also pointed out that most, if not all, the fertilizer sold in Nigeria is produced by foreign companies.
3. Political - Political control over agricultural inputs as above .
 - Men migrate to other places in order to acquire land to have bigger farms to compete in the modern system.
 - Women were not represented in the political organizations of the Tula community. At one point in recent history municipal boundaries were being redrawn and there was some debate over which LGA Tula would come under, the implications of which affected both women and men but perhaps differently. The women had no confidence in male leadership to make the right decisions for them, so they forced the village council out, took over, and installed themselves as chief and council. Their tenure in office lasted only a short time but brought shame to the men because the women had been decisive and they had not. The government held the men responsible for the disturbance. It forced the men to pay more attention to the women.
4. Education - Increased education among women changes the domestic division of labour and other responsibilities.

Constraints (C) and Opportunities (O): These influencing factors present.

1. Structural adjustment:
 - C- serious constraint, everything more expensive
 - O- produce more groundnuts for sale (new markets)

2. Modern farming techniques:

- C- fertilizer is scarce but the soil is used to it
- O- return to traditional methods saves money and time

3. Political:

- O - the women's uprising forced men (through embarrassment) to take more responsibility
- C- women tasted politics and found it good and now there are no opportunities for them

4. Education:

- O - when both wife and husband are educated, they tend to share more responsibilities
- C- this only impacts on some women

The group was split into two smaller groups to address tools #5 and #6.

5) *Condition and Position*

- How does DEC currently impact on the conditions of the lives of Tula women?
 - DEC's work is women focused
 - group funding
 - group training
 - group work promotes sharing of ideas
- How does DEC's work currently improve the Tula women's position within society?
 - visits by staff make women look more important in the village
 - the water project (boreholes) gave women more status

How can DEC better improve the condition and position of Tula women?

- more visits
- more training in group skills
- modify/improve methodology and program activities

6) *Practical needs and strategic interests*

- How does DEC help to meet the practical needs of women and men?
 - Women:
 - DEC has given the women a grant to start a group project
 - group strengthening skills
 - DEC has supported women in their productive and communal work

Men:

- DEC has offered them training on leadership and the importance of women's contribution
- DEC has supported communal work
- How has DEC pursued women's strategic interests?
 - DEC has encouraged solidarity among women
- How can DEC better help women pursue their practical needs and strategic interests?
 - reorganize the group in terms of size, projects, and leadership
 - organize consciousness raising workshops

Tools #7 and #8 were addressed together in the large group.

7) *Levels of Participation*

- What is the level of women's participation in DEC sponsored programs now?
- What decisions do they make?
- What decisions does DEC make?
- At what stage are the women involved?
- How can the women's level of participation be improved?
 - The women are fairly involved given the fact that they live far from DEC offices. The agenda for each meeting with them arises from the last meeting. The women can contribute agenda items. They contribute ideas about what kinds of things DEC can do with them. They decide what kind of projects they want, the size of the group and sometimes when DEC staff will visit them.
 - DEC decides when to visit, some of the topics to be covered, what to fund, and what problems to solve.
 - The women are involved from the start. Our program comes from their expressed need.
 - Sometimes the women want to be treated as mere beneficiaries since it is the way they are used to being treated by other organizations and it is less responsibility for them.
 - We can improve the participation of women in DEC by getting their input into what should take place during the annual all-women's workshops. We can also train them to be more self-reliant.

8) Potential for transformation

- How can DEC contribute to the transformation of gender relations in Tula and in general, to the relations of inequality?
How can we address inequalities in the group?

- hold consciousness raising sessions with women and men (separately at first) on gender issues
- strengthen the organization of women by holding more sessions with them on group skills and leadership and helping them to reorganize
- give the women loans to promote more economic independence
- encourage everyone to be more participatory in decision making
- find ways to discuss other group's experiences around leadership with them in order to enable them to see that leadership should be spread around
- encourage less advantaged women to take up positions of leadership
- hold leadership workshops with individual subgroups on leadership with an action plan at the end of each and follow-up
- insist that those who have not previously attended the annual workshop attend the next one
- do consciousness raising around functional issues, particularly agricultural practices.

The Way Forward for Tula:

The following question was posed to the group: "Has the GAD analysis suggested a way forward for our work with Tula?" The response was a definite yes. Many of the steps we could take have already been mentioned above but most importantly are listed below:

- Help to reorganize the group into smaller units which are more workable and democratic
- Do more work with them on group skills and shared leadership
- Conduct consciousness raising sessions with women and men separately on such issues as access and control of resources and benefits
- Consider them for loans
- Help to get the group project up and running again

Reflections on GAD:

The group was asked if they found the GAD analysis beneficial and what specifically they found most and least useful. The following points were made during the discussion:

- All eight tools are useful
- The first three tools are more revealing
- Tool # 3 (access and control) is the most important
- It reveals the problem but change will be gradual. It is discouraging to see the problem but what can you do?
- It helps to deal with each tool separately
- Condition/position and practical needs/strategic interests analysis help us to know what DEC is doing
- The issue of level of participation is critical
- An analysis of the organizational structure of the community is missing. This analysis may reveal the obstacles and leverage points to change. This could be done with the women themselves because they know their community. However, such an exercise might be discouraging for them because they might not be in a position to resolve it. A force field analysis would be useful in this instance.

Evaluation:

As we had previously evaluated activities designed to meet objective one, participants were asked to evaluate objectives two and three only — that is, the extent to which the design and content of the workshop achieved the objectives. Participants felt that overall, the objectives had been met, but the following comments were made:

- We needed more time, too much in a short time
- Too much work at the office at this time of the year. It would be better to hold these workshops during the rainy season.
- Not good to hold it at the office, too many distractions
- The animals warm-up is not appropriate for mixed groups

Workshop 5: Participatory Approaches

Objectives:

- 1) To identify the elements of a desirable participatory approach.
- 2) To assess the extent to which DEC is practicing/promoting the most desirable participatory approach.
- 3) To identify the limitations of, and barriers to, implementing the most desirable participatory approach, and identify ways to reduce/remove these limitations and barriers.
- 4) To enhance our ability to be more participatory and better participants in our day-to-day lives.

Program:

- 1) Warm-up (10 min.)
- 2) Introduction To Program and Objectives (10 min)
- 3) The Why, Who, What, Where and How of DEC's Participatory Approach (30 min.)
- 4) Sharing Our Experiences As Participants (50 min)
- 5) Tableaus (1.5 hours)
- 6) Lessons From Tableaus (20 min.)
- 7) Energizer (10 min)
- 8) Definitions of Participatory Development (50 min)
- 9) Naming Our Ideal (20 min.)
- 10) Limitations And Barriers (20 min.)
- 11) Reflection And Evaluation (30 min.)

Warm-up:

Abigale conducted the warm-up activity using a local children's game and a song and dance.

The Why, Who, What, Where and How of DEC's Approach:

DEC expounds a participatory approach to working with rural women, but just what do we at DEC mean when we talk of participation? We divided into two groups, each with the task of answering the following questions:

- *Why* does DEC promote a participatory approach?
- *What* is DEC's approach to participation?
- *Who* uses it and with whom?
- *Where* do we use it ?
- *How* do we implement it?

Responses:

Group 1

- What ?
 - empowerment
 - involvement in decision making
 - part and parcel of decision making
- Why?
 - to empower popular groups (class)
 - for better decision making
 - collective decisions
- Whom?
 - popular class
 - underprivileged
- Where?
 - in a class society
 - where there is no democracy
 - in oppressive society
- When?
 - in everyday decision making
 - whenever it is necessary
 - in resolving conflict
- How?
 - by giving equal opportunity to contribute in decision making
 - by involving all parties concerned
 - for equal justice

Group 2

- What?
 - getting whoever is concerned involved, (e.g. in projects, activities, etc.)
- Why?
 - to share ideas, information, experiences, get support, etc.
- When?
 - Most of the time, from the beginning and through the project cycle
- Where?
 - at the office and in the field
- Whom?
 - staff and rural women
- How?
 - through the whole program, (workshops, meetings, etc.)

Sharing Our Experiences:

Everyone was asked to think of situations or episodes in their lives when they were invited to participate — in an organization, meeting, program, etc.. Then each person was asked to identify one experience which met their expectations of meaningful participation and one which did not. The unsatisfactory experiences were shared first.

Joseph was a leader in the church youth league. One day the elders of the church made a decision that anyone who is married, regardless of whether or not they are in the youth age bracket, must leave the youth league and join the adult section. This decision was made without consulting the youth league members or their leaders. When the members heard of this they were very upset and went to Joseph for an explanation, which he could not give because he had not been consulted. Some people were so upset that they left the church altogether. Joseph felt ashamed.

Hawa attended a program staff meeting at which the issue of how much money should be handled by Mustafa alone was discussed. Hawa suggested that when Mustafa is sent to make big purchases, someone should go with him. Everyone agreed. Later Hawa learned that someone had told Mustafa that she did not want him to handle money. She felt betrayed because her contribution had been welcomed and encouraged at the staff meeting and then used against her.

Farida was part of a team of people from Bauchi state who were to go to IITA for a workshop on appropriate technologies. They were asked to do some advance research and testing of their ideas. It was a lot of work and it was a struggle to get together since they all lived in different parts of the state, but they managed. When they made their presentation at the IITA workshop, it did not go over well. The IITA people said their method was wrong. Later, they tried it the IITA way and it didn't work. Their method was better and they felt vindicated.

Abigale was working for the civil service. A decision was made by the administration to deduct a certain amount from each employee's pay cheque as a contribution to the provident fund. These contributions were not voluntary and the employees were not even informed of it. They only learned of it when they noticed the deduction from their cheques and asked for an explanation. Abigale feels they should have been consulted.

Musa could not think of such an experience to share.

On a flip chart we then brainstormed the characteristics of such unsatisfactory experiences. These are as follows:

- puts people off
- frustrating
- challenge to prove you are right
- one way decision making, downward
- no consent, no consultation
- humiliating
- embarrassment, shame
- makes people resentful of others
- creates mistrust
- input not appreciated

The above procedure was repeated for satisfying experiences.

Hawa was married with one child, expecting another and planning to go to university in Zaria, away from home. People were speaking to her husband privately, suggesting that he should not allow her to go, that she would not be able to manage. He sat down with her and told her what people were saying and asked her what she felt about it. Did she think she could manage? She said she thought she could. He respected her position and she went to school.

Abigale had finished secondary school and has gained admission to university, but did not have the funding she needed to attend. Her mother called her to a meeting with her elder sisters to discuss what they could do about it. This was an unusual approach for the culture. More often such decisions are taken by the elders alone. Abigale really felt good.

Farida was attending university and staying in residence. One of her friends had a birthday coming up. In Hausa tradition birthdays are not usually celebrated, especially not for adults. Nevertheless, Farida and others decided to plan a surprise birthday party for her. They planned everything, sneaked into her room, decorated it, etc.. When the time came the friend was really surprised. It was a lot of fun and they felt good.

Musa's cousin wanted to get married and Musa knew the man she wanted to marry. This man had already been to visit the family to state his intention. The family called Musa (as an adult male) to ask his opinion of the man. Musa felt proud that he was included in the decision making and he felt respected as an adult male.

Joseph attended a meeting of elders or executive of the church where a big decision was to be made involving a significant expenditure of church funds (e.g., building construction). Joseph and others felt that the general membership of the church should be consulted to see if they agreed with the decision. Others felt that this was not necessary, that the decision could be taken by this central body alone. The first position prevailed. The membership was consulted, their views differed from the executive and the

decision was changed. Joseph felt very good that things worked out as they did.

Characteristics of the above experiences were identified as follows:

- exhilarating
- involved
- satisfying
- empowering
- strengthens relationships
- creates respect
- creates understanding
- feel recognized, valued
- creative

Tableaus:

Using the characteristics identified above, the group was asked to use their bodies to collectively create two frozen images, one representing meaningful participation and one of unsatisfactory participation. (*Tableaus are meant to be like a photograph, painting or realistic sculpture — one moment frozen in time*) When the group was ready they were asked to take up the first pose and hold it for a few minutes . Then, one person at a time is allowed to step out of the picture for a moment or two while the facilitator took her or his place, in order to see the entire picture. When everyone was back in their original position the facilitator activated (allowed each person to come alive) for a few seconds by tapping them on the shoulder at which time they were to stay in character and say anything that comes to mind. After everyone had a turn to speak and had returned to the frozen pose the groups was asked to relax and the experience was debriefed using the following questions:

- What did you notice when you stepped out to look at the image?
- What did it mean?
- Why did you say what you did when you were activated ?
- How did you feel?
- Were you surprised with what others said?
- How do you think they feel? Why?

This procedure was followed for both negative and positive experiences. The responses to the debriefing questions were recorded on a flip chart.

Tableau #1

- sad faces
- everyone concerned with their own problem , own agenda
- no cohesion in terms of activities
- process is stuck
- no understanding
- no explanation
- not appreciated or taken notice of when I put in my best.

Tableau #2

- happy faces
- relaxed atmosphere
- looking forward to another good time
- involved, happy
- put in my best continuously
- satisfied
- environment was good
- safe, secure, had a friend
- belonging
- love
- concern for others
- part of a group
- felt supported

Finally. people were asked to identify lessons that can be drawn from the tableaux. They were as follows:

- When people are not involved they don't feel happy and the group misses out on their ideas.
- When people's contributions are not appreciated they become frustrated, withdrawn, and as a result, the process is stalled.
- People work best in an honest and open atmosphere.
- When people are involved they become creative.
- When people are recognized and valued they become part of a group.
- The participatory approach has its difficulties (e.g., time wasting) but it is worth it.
- Not everyone has the same know-how.
- This method is against the established way of doing things.
- People participate better when they feel supported.
- When people enjoy themselves they will come back.

Energizer:

Joseph facilitated the energizer using a children's song/game.

Definitions of Participatory in Development:

Four definitions of participatory development were written on large pieces of paper and posted at various places along the wall. These definitions were as follows:

- 1) " ... an active process whereby the beneficiaries influence the direction and the execution of the development projects rather than merely receive a share of the profits."
(EDI, World Bank)
- 2) " Groups who are generally left out of the existing power structures making a collective effort to increase their control over the institutions and decision making processes which affect their lives."
(UNRISD)
- 3) "... people organizing themselves so as to develop who they are and what they have by and for themselves."
(Max Nerfin)
- 4) " The breaking up of the traditional relationship of submission and dependency whereby people are treated as objects, and transforming it to one of equality in which everyone is considered subjects of their own destiny, in all aspects of life, economic, political, domestic, ...
(Orlando Fals-Borda)

[Please note, the sources of these definitions were not included in the text posted on the wall and were revealed later in the process. Also note that for the purposes of this exercise, the language of definitions #2 and #4 was simplified slightly without changing the meaning. The actual excerpts and reference information can be found in Appendix 1]

Everyone was asked to read all definitions carefully and to reflect on their view of what participatory development should be and to stand beside the definition which most closely reflects their individual views. Then each person was given the opportunity to explain their choice.

Farida chose #3. She rejected #1 because it focuses on development projects and economics. She rejected #2 because it includes only some groups and she believes that transformation needs to involve and take place for all of

us. Everyone needs to be more participatory. She agreed with some aspects of #4. After some discussion she said that for now, the approach has to focus on excluded groups, until they are on a stronger footing. It does have to incorporate the breaking up of traditional relationships of submission and dependency, to allow people to grow and stand on their own. Ultimately, we all have to be liberated in such a way.

Hawa chose #3 because it goes beyond economics to suggest that people should develop who they are.

Joseph chose #2 because he can relate to the need for excluded groups to gain more power and to organize themselves. He gave South Africa as an example. He also likes #3 but leans towards the need to empower disenfranchised groups.

Abigale chose #4 because it speaks to the need to challenge the established, traditional, top-down way of doing things and the need to retrain our minds to do things differently. She also said that it takes a lot of effort to transform the system into something that is participatory.

The group was then divided into two smaller groups and each was given one of the four definitions to analyze further. One group was asked to work with # 1 and the other #3. They were asked to uncover the assumptions hidden in the definitions about present society, the desired future society, human nature, development, decision making, change, participation, etc..

Group 1, Definition 1:

- The people are to be the beneficiaries.
- They are not involved in decision making.
- They do not influence the direction and execution of development projects.
- People only receive a share of the profits.
- They are not satisfied with the share they are given.
- People are not aware that they can influence decisions.
- Influencing the direction and execution of projects is better than controlling the project.

Group 2, Definition 3

- Society is unjust and there is inequality.
- Society needs to be changed through struggle (power is sweet).
- Change does not come overnight, so people need to be organized.
- People need to know what they are, what they have, and they have to do things by themselves.
- People need to be active and not passive if change must come.

- Rights go with responsibilities.

At this point the facilitator revealed the sources of all four definitions and related them briefly to development theories. (e.g., modernization, dependency, alternative/participatory, see Background Paper #3). She discussed the difference between manipulative and authentic participatory approaches using Denis Goulet's four axis. These are:

1. whether participation is treated as a goal or a means,
2. the scope of the area in which participatory processes are introduced
3. the originating agents
4. the moment in which participatory processes are introduced.

Each of the four definitions were discussed in terms of these axes.

EDI's definition (#1) treats participation as a means to achieve project goals, operates within the scope of traditional development projects, is rooted in a modernization paradigm, is initiated by external project managers, and is typically introduced to the affected community or group after the initial planning stage when many major decisions have been made.

UNRISD's definition (#2) expands the scope of the arena to include society's decision making structures and institutions, but focuses on increasing the popular sectors control over these processes and institutions rather than transforming or creating new ones, and thus is highly reformist. The goal is increasing control rather than participation for its own sake, or the creating a more just and participatory society. The agents are likely to be the people themselves and/or external professionals or activists. Since it is not framed within the project cycle, participation could begin at any time but the sooner the better.

Fals-Borda and Nerfin's (#3 and #4) definitions belong to the alternative school of development in which a more fundamental transformation of society is called for — a more egalitarian, participatory society. Participation is both a goal and a means to people's empowerment. Typically, it begins in small arenas such as community projects, but envisages ever-widening circles of participation and influence. It begins in the conception phase and continues throughout. The initiators may be from the community itself, or external activist(s).

Approaches which treat participation as a means only are highly manipulative. Only participatory approaches which see participation as a goal in and of itself are authentic. It follows that such participation begins early and focuses on people's own felt needs.

Naming Our Ideal Participatory Approach:

Everyone was asked to consider the lessons drawn from exploring our personal experience in the morning and from the debate on the broader issues of participation in development, and then to name what they feel are characteristics of the ideal participatory approach. Responses were recorded on a flip chart and are as follows:

- people oriented
- bottom-up
- introduced from the beginning or people initiated, depending on the circumstances
- participation should be a guiding principle from beginning to end
- collective decision making
- empowering both the individual and the group
- outside agents act as facilitators, they don't take decisions but help in the process
- respect people's knowledge
- creative
- enhances relationships

The facilitator then asked to which extent DEC practices this ideal approach. It was felt that we are not fully bottom-up and do not always practice collective decision-making between DEC and the rural women, although we do practice it among ourselves and promote it within the rural women's groups.

Limitations and Barriers:

Participants were asked to identify the limitations of the ideal participatory approach and/or the barriers to implementing it. These were listed on a flip chart. When the list was complete, we returned to the beginning of the list and went through it, identifying one way to overcome or reduce each limitation or barrier. In the following list "B" refers to barriers or limitations and "O" refers to a way to overcome or reduce it.

- B- consciousness level of the women
- O- increase consciousness raising work with them — skills development and enhanced self-concept go together.
- B- time consuming
- O- look at the benefits

- B- different levels of technical know-how
- O- acknowledge and utilize these skills while sharing and information with others, (e.g. through internal workshops)

- B- new method which is not understood and people expect the traditional method.
- O- more training with participants, (e.g. on what is participatory education)

- B- slow progress
- O- patience, perseverance — someone will reap the benefits

- B - difficult to let go of control
- O- self and group reflection — asking, " are we really trying to manipulate to get our way?"

Reflection and Evaluation:

The same graphing tool was used for both reflection and evaluation. Everyone was asked to take a blank piece of paper, draw a line across it and list with abbreviations the activities of the day in consecutive order along the line. Then, as a personal reflection, they were asked to graph their experience of the workshop, high points and low points, in between . At extreme highs or lows they were asked to write something they learned or experienced. Then, using a different color marker on the same page, participants were asked to graph the workshop according to whether or not the objectives were achieved. Finally, there was a general sharing. What follows is a transcription of participant's comments. (See Appendix 2 for a sample.)

Reflection Comments:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| Farida | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sharing [personal experiences] made me learn more about other participants. - Making frozen images [tableaus] is always difficult for me. - This [definitions] was particularly informative as definitions tally with objectives. |
| Hawa | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I enjoyed sharing my experiences cos it enabled me to relate the learning to a personal experience. - I have also enjoyed discussing other definitions. I am able to compare other views about development. |

- Abigale**
- I felt relaxed after the energizer.
 - It [5 W's &H] was too taxing.
 - [sharing experiences] I couldn't think fast enough of experiences, felt uneasy.
 - I enjoyed this activity [tableaus] coz it was fun and I also learned different ways people react to decisions made.
 - [definitions] I was sleepy during this activity.
 - [limitations and barriers] I couldn't contribute and felt off track.
 - I learned for the first time what participatory development is, and the characteristics. Although it is a new method and more progressive than the traditional established one, but one thing that concerns me is that it would need a lot of time to make people aware and adopt this approach to development.

Musa (morning only)

- [5 W's &H] A new experience.
- [sharing experiences] Nothing new at the beginning but later impact.
- [tableaus] learning through signs.
- [lessons from tableaus] summarize my learnings, good.

- Joseph**
- [warm-up] Welcoming me to the workshop.
 - [intro] Not very clear yet.
 - [5 W's & H] Have an idea.
 - [sharing experiences] Excited in getting to know what workshop is about.
 - Got excited to know other definitions.
 - Very clear of [about what is a] participatory approach, though with limitations.

Evaluation:

- Farida**
- The objectives were reached. The program was designed to perfection.
- Hawa**
- I enjoyed numbers 2 and 3 more.
 - Objective 2 enables me to assess DEC's work and my contribution.
 - Objective 3, participatory approach is believed to be the best. However, it has its own limitations and barriers.
- Joseph**
- Objective 1 was achieved because they [elements of a participatory approach] were identified.
 - Objective 3, [barriers and limitations] clearly identified. DEC has

- to work toward removing barriers.
- Objective 4, learned to apply it personally as I work with people daily.

- Abigale
- Objective 1, I am not sure if the elements of a participatory approach were identified.
 - Objective 2, achieved.
 - Objective 3, achieved.
 - Objective 4, to me this objective is met only partly.

Musa had to leave early and did not complete the evaluation.

Appendix 1.

Definition 2.

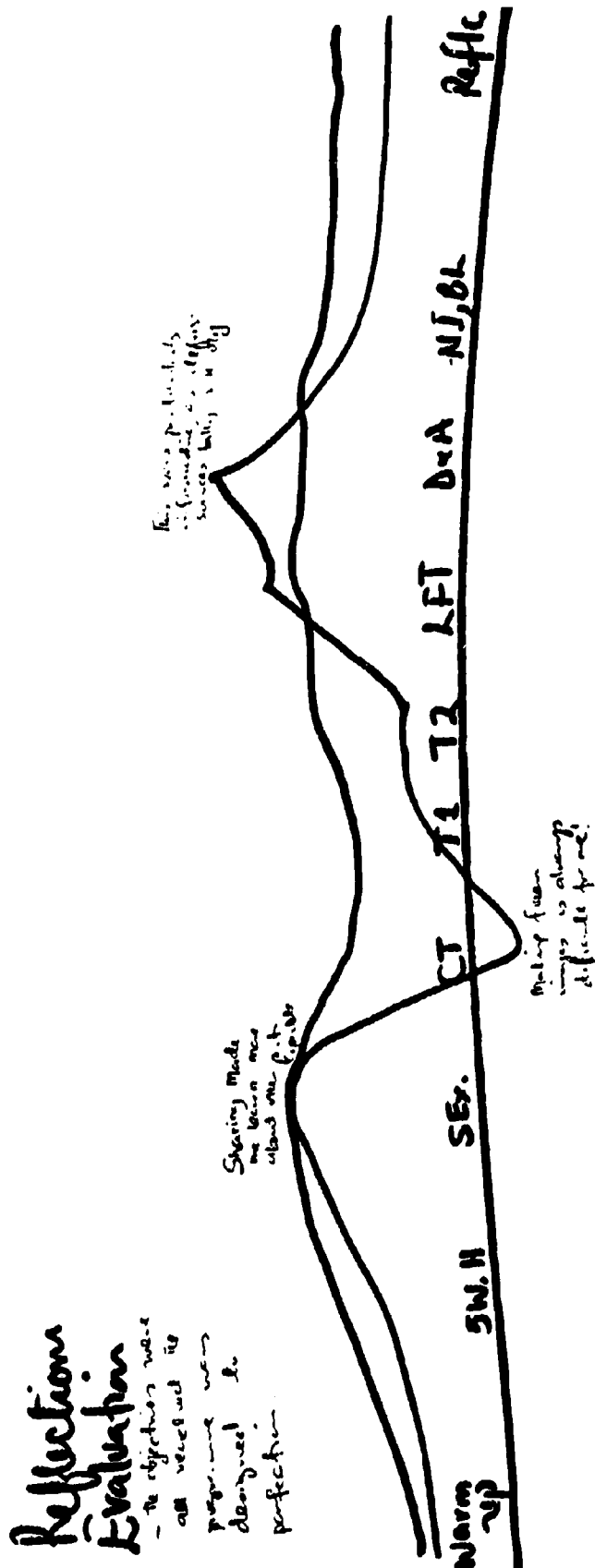
[Popular participation is] ... the organized effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control." (Siefel and Wolfe, 1994:5).

Definition 4.

In the rising view of people's movements, participation is the breaking up of the traditional relationship of submission and dependency where the subject/object asymmetry is transformed into a truly open one of subject to subject in all aspects of life, from economic and political to the domestic and scientific. (Fals-Borda. 1985:66)

Appendix 2.

Evaluation/Reflection Graph



Workshop 6: Giving and Receiving Feedback

Goal:

To be able to use feedback constructively, to enhance our work and interpersonal relations.

Objectives:

- 1) To improve our skills and increase our comfort in giving feedback to our work-mates, both positive and critical, personal and professional.
- 2) To increase our comfort in receiving feedback from others, both positive and critical.

Program:

- 1) Thermometer and Word Scramble Warm-Up (15 min.)
- 2) Introduction of Objectives and Agenda (10 min.)
- 3) What is Feedback (20 min.)
- 4) Sharing Experiences, Creating Skits, Small Groups (30 min.)
- 5) Group Presentations and Debriefing (30 min.)
- 6) Generating Guidelines (15 min.)
- 7) Making "I" Statements (15 min.)
- 8) Sequencing (10 min.)
- 9) Practice New Method — Role Plays (50 min.)
- 10) Reflection (15 min.)
- 11) Evaluation (15 min.)

Thermometer:

Everyone was asked to write their name on a small piece of paper and then attach it to a large pinned-up thermometer at a position which reflects their current emotional and physical state, given that 20° is normal. When all the names were placed each person explained to the others why they placed their names where they did. Responses indicated a significant level of stress due to work or personal issues, and low energy levels.

Word Scramble Warm-up:

Each person was given two words of a sentence written on individual pieces of paper and were asked to work together to construct the sentence. The original sentence was, "Two halves may make a whole but the whole is greater than the sum of the parts." The team came up with, " The sum of two halves may make a whole but the whole is greater than the parts." The two were only slightly different and everyone was satisfied with their accomplishment.

3- What is Feedback:

First we brainstormed situations in which feedback is called for. These included:

- 1) when someone does something nice,
- 2) when someone hurts or disappoints you,
- 3) when you want to encourage someone to do something differently,
- 4) when you need to correct someone,
- 5) when a question is asked,
- 6) when you are given an assignment,
- 7) when you want someone to improve their behavior,
- 8) when you suspect someone is harboring bad feelings towards you.

We agreed that feedback takes place in any situation where one person talks to another about their behavior, whether positive or critical, personal or professional. The group then selected two situations from the above list that were most relevant to DEC by asking each individual to choose the two most significant to her or him in order to determine those which are most popular. Out of this process we agreed that numbers 3, 4 and 7 could be combined into one situation (when you want to encourage someone to do something differently). Number 1 was the second most popular situation (when someone does something nice). The group was then split into two smaller groups, each with the task of sharing experiences around the theme — especially those that

were unsatisfactory — and then to come up with a skit which captures the common elements of their experiences. The skits were then performed for the others, and debriefed.

Skit One

A staff meeting was in progress with Abigale chairing and Hawa and Joseph in attendance. Joseph made many suggestions towards reaching decisions on agenda items and Hawa indicated agreement but was mostly quiet. Later, as part of her monthly feedback to him, Hawa commended Joseph for making so many useful contributions during the meeting and taking the lead in decision making. Joseph was not happy with this feedback because it implied that he was dominating the meeting which was contrary to DEC's philosophy. He resolved to go and talk to her about it. End skit.

Debriefing

The spectators felt that the chair should have played a larger role in equalizing participation. They were not clear as to why Joseph had mixed feelings about the feedback but he explained and they all felt he made the right decision to go and talk to Hawa. Hawa explained that she was not up to greater participation and therefore was glad that Joseph was able to see that decisions got made. Everyone felt that perhaps she should have chosen different words when giving him feedback but could not specify what. The facilitator suggested that instead of making a general statement about Joseph leading, she might have told Joseph how his behavior affected her on that day and why she appreciated it; something like, "I really appreciated the way you took the lead in the decision making at the meeting because I was not feeling well that day and could not contribute fully." Everyone agreed that this would work better.

Skit Two

Mustafa went to meet Farida and asked to discuss something with her. She was obviously very busy but nevertheless agreed. As he tried to approach the topic she appeared preoccupied with other matters and urged him to hurry and get it over with. Her manner was very abrupt. He had his comments written down and began, "Last week..." but hesitated again. She again pushed him to hurry in a not-so-nice way. He was put off and canceled the discussion.

Debriefing

The spectators thought that Farida was not very receptive to Mustafa and should have put her work aside and given him her attention. They also thought that Mustafa should have shown more confidence in what he had to say, and should not have hesitated. They also agreed that Mustafa's timing was off since he was about to bring up something that happened a week ago. Farida revealed that she did not want to hear criticism of herself and appeared busy so as to put Mustafa off. It was agreed that Farida should have either put her feelings aside in order to listen to Mustafa or told him that she was not ready to hear it, or that it was not a good time for her. If she chose the second

option, she should have re-scheduled it rather than merely say "some other time". Mustafa did well to have the issue worked out beforehand (he had it written down) and to ask Farida's permission to discuss the problem, but it may have been better if he had brought the problem up closer to the time that it occurred. It also would have been better if he had his approach well rehearsed beforehand.

Generating Guidelines:

Drawing on the lessons from the above experiences, we generated the following guidelines for giving and receiving feedback:

- feedback should be given as soon as possible after the event.
- the giver should take time to sort out her/his thoughts and feelings before meeting the other party.
- ask for permission to give feedback.
- the receiver should say so if she or he is not ready to hear the feedback and re-schedule it.
- when emotions are too high it is not the best time for feedback.
- rehearse before giving feedback.
- choose the right words, specific and non-judgmental, non-generalized.
- speak for oneself.
- the receiver should try to control defensiveness — don't try to explain your behavior away.
- the receiver should give clarification only when asked for.

The facilitator then suggested a few additional guidelines from "Working Collectively" of the North Vancouver Women's Collective:

- Feedback should be balanced, containing both the positive and areas for concern
- Feedback should be descriptive and directed towards behavior
- It should take the needs of both parties into consideration
- It should be checked to see if it was understood as intended

The group added:

- The receiver should check what they think they heard with the giver.

All guidelines were posted for future reference.

Lecturette: Making "I" Statements

The facilitator gave this brief presentation.

No one is an authority on anyone else. You cannot know for sure what motivates someone to say what they say, or do what they do, unless they tell you. You can only know for sure how that person's behavior affects you. From this perspective, there is no right or wrong, no placing of blame, just a chain of actions and reactions between people. This approach requires descriptions of how you felt when such and such a thing happened, rather than accusations of what another person did to you. Therefore, it is best if you speak for yourself and use "I" statements.

This is easier said than done. Often, when someone is trying to give feedback, they cannot find the right words. They may confuse thoughts and feelings ("I felt that you were wrong"). They may accuse the other of making them feel bad. They don't expect to have to change themselves. The receiver of feedback often becomes defensive and is unable to listen to how the sender feels.

Feelings are important to express and listen to when giving or receiving feedback, because unlike interpretations of events, you can't argue with feelings. Describing feelings first, often breaks down defensiveness. Thoughts or interpretations and feelings go together, so feedback may also include a description of what was/is going on in your mind. Finally, the feedback statements may logically include a statement of desire for the next time. If it is positive feedback, the desire might be for more of the same, but more often some sort of change is needed. Example: "When you said you preferred her idea, I felt disappointed and hurt because I had worked on mine a lot, and I thought that now that there is someone new in the office you have no more interest in working with me. I would like to suggest that next time you explain more fully why you supported one idea over the other."

We then brainstormed a list of words that can be used when giving feedback in the categories of feelings, thoughts and desires.

Feelings

irritated
discouraged
dejected
encouraged
hurt
embarrassed
sad
annoyed
humiliated
frustrated
happy
satisfied
concerned
excited
proud
exalted
comfortable
depressed
betrayed
uncomfortable
offended
insulted

Thoughts

assumed
suspected
sensed
guessed
believed
perceived
thought
conceived

Desires

request
solicit
plead
ask
beg-o
wish
hope
would like
need
suggest

Sequencing:

Now that we had a list of guidelines, and choices of words, we collectively drew up the sequence of steps both the giver and the receiver should follow in situations where feedback is called for.

Giver:

- 1) sort out thoughts and feelings.
- 2) plan presentation and rehearse.
- 3) approach the other person, greet, and perhaps break the ice with a joke or two. Ask for permission to give feedback. (if you can tell before asking that it is not the right time for feedback, have a back-up plan)
- 4) name the event. Describe your feelings and thoughts, and perhaps ask for an explanation or clarification.
- 5) check to see if you have been understood.
- 6) make your request.

Receiver:

- 1) respond to the greeting.
- 2) search your own feelings to see if you are ready for feedback and if not, reschedule.
- 3) listen, especially to the other person's feelings. Try to be open and flexible.
- 4) check to see if you understand.

- 5) make a commitment to think about it and get back to him or her, accept it, or to do something differently next time

Practicing New Method:

We again split into two groups, each with the task of creating a role play which demonstrates an effective way to give and receive feedback. Each skit was presented and debriefed.

Skit One

Mastiff approached Musa and asked permission to give him some feedback. Musa agreed. Mustafa said he wanted to remind Musa of something that Musa did to him one day. Mustafa described how one day when he was going out of the door and Musa was coming in, Musa shut the door on Mustafa's hand and kept on going without apologizing. Musa listened quietly to Mustafa's description and then said he has heard what Mustafa is saying and will get back to him about it later.

Debriefing

Mustafa asked for permission which was good. It was observed that Mustafa did all the talking and Musa listened intently. Others thought that Mustafa's choice of words, "... something you did to me..." sounded a bit accusational. Mustafa did not tell Musa how he felt. Musa did not say anything in response to Mustafa, but made a commitment to get back to him. Musa explained that he did this because he did not remember the incident and wanted time to think about it. It was good that he did not dismiss Mustafa's claim but others felt that he should have said he was sorry anyway so as acknowledge Mustafa's feelings. Perhaps the feedback was not being given soon enough after the event, which could explain why Musa could not remember it.

Skit Two

Joseph Greeted Hawa and made light conversation. Then he asked to talk to her about something that happened when they were out on trek together. She agreed. He described an incident in which he was facilitating a session which was not going very well, and she jumped in. He felt discouraged and thought that her actions would cause the women to lose confidence in him. He requested that they look for different ways for the other staff in attendance to contribute ideas when sessions are not going well. Hawa repeated what he had said in her own words, said she understood his feelings and thoughts, and agreed to look with him for better ways to handle similar situations.

Debriefing

Everyone felt that the encounter went really well. Both actors felt good about it. The facilitator commented that it might have been better if Joseph checked

to see if Hawa understood his thoughts and feelings before making` the request for a different approach.

Reflection:

Everyone was asked to identify and share ways they had changed, or things they had learned during the workshop by completing before-and-after statements, using the following format:

"I used to think that _____ but now I _____"
"I used to feel that _____ but now I _____"
"I used to (reaction) _____ but now I _____"

Hawa asked what to do if her learning did not fit into this format. The facilitator explained that it is only a tool that should be used if it works for the individual. We only had time for each person to share one reflection.

Hawa - "I discovered that checking to see if you were understood is helpful."

Farida - "I used to feel uncomfortable giving and receiving but now, at least at work, I think it will be easier for me, because everyone has the tools and the sequence."

Musa - "I now know input and output tools and can apply them, hopefully."

Mustafa - "I used to think if I gave feedback it would hurt him, but now I will give it to him comfortably, because we both have the tools."

Abigale - "Before I used to not give importance to the choice of words but now I will consciously choose my words."

Joseph - "Similar to Abigale I used to think that all words were available to me, but now I have the tools to use (to choose the right ones)."

Evaluation:

The objectives of the workshop were reviewed and everyone was asked to rate the extent to which they felt they had been reached, using the thermometer again as a measure, with temperatures above 20° reflecting a high degree of satisfaction and below 19° suggesting that the objectives were not fully met. Time did not permit participants to share the reasons for their grades with each other.

Farida - 40°, Hawa - 35°, Joseph - 35°, Mustafa - 35°, The facilitator - 30°, Abigale - 30°, Musa - 30°,

Workshop 7: Wrap-up Session: Action Planning

Objectives:

- 1) To identify the most significant resolutions or recommendations to arise from the workshop series pertaining to DEC's work, and to plan how to make these happen.
- 2) To identify and discuss issues and questions which arose during the workshops which were not resolved, and to identify ways to resolve them.

Prioritizing Desired Changes

Prior to the meeting the facilitator reviewed all the notes, flip charts and other documents arising from all the preceding workshops and selected themes and statements of desired change. These are contained below:

Desired changes or actions:

1. Work more intentionally with popular sector women but we don't know how to identify them. ***
2. Do more consciousness raising with women on class issues (e.g. agricultural practices). ***
3. Do more consciousness raising with women on gender issues.
4. Address more private sphere issues with women (e.g. domestic violence) but what are they and how?
5. Do more consciousness raising with men at every opportunity on gender issues and women's position and condition. ****
6. Do access and control profile with women themselves.
7. Conduct workshops with individual groups on leadership styles. ***
8. Do an analysis with women's groups on the structure of the community.
9. Encourage less advantaged women to take up leadership in the groups.
10. Reorganize the groups to be more democratic.
11. Increase women's participation in DEC by getting their input into DEC's annual all-women's workshops. ***

12. Challenge the existing division of labour.
13. Make more visits to each group.
14. Do more training with the women on group skills.
15. Modify and improve methodology and program activities.
16. Share skills among staff (e.g., internal workshops). **
17. Tula:
 - consciousness raising with women and men separately (e.g., access and control).
 - reorganize groups into smaller, more democratic units.
 - encourage more participatory decision making through workshops on leadership and participation.
 - consider them for loans.
 - help to get the group project up and going again.
18. Encourage regular elections and encourage new people to try leadership positions. **
19. Do sessions with women on what is participatory education. *
20. Train groups to be self-reliant. ***
21. Design a way to find out if we are having an impact on women's position within the community. ***

Action Planning:

The above issues were posted on the wall. In order to determine group priorities, everyone was asked to put an asterisk beside six issues which were most crucial to them (see above). The eight most popular items were brought forward into action planning. The group was split into two smaller groups, and each group was assigned four items. Taking them one by one, they were asked to discuss how to go about addressing it, when these actions should be taken, and by whom. These were then shared in the large group. A commitment was made to revisit these during regular program planning meetings.

- 1) *Work more intentionally with popular sector women.*
 - How? - Draw a deliberate policy for choosing groups of the popular sector (e.g., needs assessment, group profile and DEC loans scheme selection.
 - When? - When selecting new groups or groups for the loan scheme.

- For consideration during the next work plan.
 - Who? - All program staff.
- 2) *Do more consciousness raising with women on class issues (e.g. agricultural practices),*
- How? - DEC to be more involved with the work of extension workers who work with the groups.
 - More work with individual groups on class issues
 - When? - During loan scheme training
 - Who? - All program staff, extension workers and the women.
- 5) *Take every opportunity to do more consciousness raising with men on gender issues and women's position and condition.*
- How? - Organize more workshops with CDA's on leadership and sandwich gender issues in. Follow-up according to reflections of participants and staff in six months time.
 - When? - May/June
 - Who? - Program staff and CDA leaders.
- 7) *Conduct workshops with individual groups on leadership styles.*
- How? - Organize a series of workshops for individual groups using the WIS style.
 - When? - In the next work plan, a pilot with two WIS groups.
 - Who? - All program staff and group members
- 11) *Increase women's participation in DEC by getting their input into DEC's annual all women's workshop.*
- How? - Write to individual groups asking for agenda items.
 - When? - Nov/Dec., before the yearly workshop.
 - During the workshop evaluations ask individuals to suggest things that they would like to discuss in the next workshop.
 - Who? - All program staff and the groups.
- 16) *Share skills among staff.*
- How? - A. Organize internal workshops.
 - B. Feedback from relevant external workshops.
 - C. Staff development tracker.
 - When? - A. Once every three months depending on our need.
 - B. As soon as participants are back from an external workshop.
 - As soon as relevant materials are available, circulate.
 - Who? - Any member of the program team could be asked to facilitate an internal workshop or invite outside resource persons depending on the need.

(Do an action plan on how the new skills or information could be used.
Take turns facilitating workshops in pairs)

18) *Encourage regular elections and encourage new people to try leadership positions.*

How? - A. Through DEC visits.

- B. Designing a session and acting on the concept of shared leadership, (which will include those to hear how they have/not been in the group leadership).

- C. Articles in the newsletter on shared leadership.

- D. Monitoring elections during DEC visits.

When? - B. During the rainy season two staff could be assigned to sit and do the planning, and we rehearse it first before receiving the groups.

- C. In series

- D. As we visit then we'll monitor it

Who? - DEC and group members.

19) *Do sessions with women on what is participatory education.*

How? - An introductory activity during workshops/visits to women's groups showing the difference between participatory and traditional education and thereafter continue with the rest of the agenda of the day.

When? - During workshops/visits to women's groups.

Who? - DEC staff

Outstanding Issues

The facilitator also presented the group with a list of outstanding or unresolved issues that had arisen in the course of the workshop series. Time did not permit us discuss how to resolve these problems (she was to depart for Canada the following day), so the group quickly identified which of the list were most important to address (indicated below with asterisk) and made a commitment to return to them at a latter date.

Outstanding issues:

1. How do we identify women of the popular sector? What is their profile?
How do marginalized women differ from women ordinary citizens? *
2. What are private sphere issues and how do we approach them, especially given the lack of privacy we have with them?
3. If we do not challenge the existing division of labour, are we not reinforcing it? How do we challenge it? *

4. What is the path to women gaining more power in their homes?
5. How do women currently participate in the community? What avenues exist for increasing their participation?
6. Is there a contradiction between valuing women's reproductive work and challenging the existing division of labour?
7. What are gender issues? Which shall we raise?
8. How do we as individuals perpetuate "the relegation of women to the background"? *
9. We may see the need for group reorganization, but what if the group does not? How can we address this problem in keeping with DEC's participatory philosophy?
10. Places where DEC could intervene on web chart, how do we do it?
 - lack of exposure to other cultures
 - women's lack of power to take decisions
 - women's lack of control over land/property
 - women's inferiority complex
 - lack of solidarity among women
 - lack of education
 - women's encouragement of male chauvinism
11. What exactly is meant by equality of opportunity versus equity of impact? *
12. What are class issues?
13. How can we stop men from interfering in our work with the women?
How can we get the privacy we need with them in order to raise sensitive (gender) issues? *
14. The women in the village are used to being treated as beneficiaries rather than agents. How do we undo that?

Section F: Bibliography

- Ahooja-Patel, Krishna. (1993). "Gender Distance among Countries." Economic and Political Weekly, 28 (7).
- Alschuler, Lawrence. 1990. "The Conscientization of Domitila: A Case Study in the Political Psychology of Liberation." Contemporary Crisis, 4: 27
- Annis, Sheldon. 1987. "Reorganization at the Grassroots, Its Origins and Meanings." Grassroots Development, 11 (2).
- Anonuevo, Carol, 1987. "Feminist Education and Research: Towards Strengthening Basic Women's Organizations." in Challenges for Feminist Popular Education: A Resource Kit. Toronto : ICAE Women's Program.
- Antrobus, Peggy, 1989. "The Empowerment of Women." In The Women and International Development Annual 1. ed. R.S. Galin, M. Aronoff, and A. Ferguson. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Arnold, Rick and Bev Burke, 1983. A Popular Education Handbook. Toronto: OISE.
- Arnold, Rick., Bev Burke, Carl James, D'Arcy Martin, and Barb Thomas, 1991. Educating for a Change. Toronto: Between the Lines and the Doris Marshall Institute.
- Arnold, Rick., Deborah Barndt, and Bev Burke. N/D. A New Weave: Popular Education in Canada and Central America. Toronto: CUSO and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Bamberger, Micheal, 1986. The Role of Community Participation in Development Planning and Project Management: An EDI Policy Seminar Report.
- Bandt, Deborah. 1980. Education and Social Change. A Photographic Study of Peru. Toronto: Kendell/Hunt Publishing Co.
- Beneria, Lourdes and Gita Sen. 1981. "Class and Gender Inequalities and Women's Role in Economic Development - Theoretical and Practical Implications." Feminist Studies, 8 (1): 157-176.
- Benjamin, Lehn and Shirley Walters, 1994. " " The Women Can Also Dig the Graves" The Centrality of "Power" and "Resistance" for Gender Training in South Africa." Convergence, 27 (2/3).

- Bernard, A. and Margaret Gayfer 1983. "Women Hold Up More Than Half the Sky: A Third World Perspective on Women and Non-Formal Education and Development."
- Bhola, H. S., 1994. " Women's Literacy: a Curriculum of Assertion, Resistance, and Accommodation?" Convergence, 27 (2/3).
- Bishop, Anne, 1988. "Cartoons and Soap Operas: Popular Education in a Nova Scotia." Convergence, 21 (4).
- Bopp, Micheal. (1994) " The Illusive Essential: Evaluating Participation in Non-formal Education and Community Development Processes." Convergence, 27 (1).
- Boserup, Ester, 1970. Women's Role in Economic Development. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Briskin, Linda. Feminist Pedagogy: Teaching and Learning Liberation. Social Science Division, York University.
- Bunch, Charlotte. 1983. "Not By Degrees: Feminist Theory and Education." In Learning Our Way: Essays in Feminist Education. eds. C. Bunch and S. Pollack. New York: The Crossing Press.
- Burton, Emily. 1994. Women, Religion and Social Change: Gender Consciousness in Ecclesial Base Communities in Esteli, Nicaragua. M. A. thesis, International Development Studies, Saint Mary's University, Halifax.
- Butterwick, Shauna, 1986. "A Comparative Review of Conscious Raising and Conscientization. In Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education." eds M.A. Gillen, and W.E. Sinnet. Antigonish, Nova Scotia.
- Cadena, Felix, 1991. " Transformation Through Knowledge-Knowledge Through Transformation." Convergence, 24 (3).
- Callaway, Barbara. J. 1987. Muslim Hausa Women in Nigeria. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Canadian Council for International Co-operation, 1994-95. One World Campaign Kit. Ottawa: Author.
- Carmen, R.E., 1991. "Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Gained: Self-Reliance in the Post-Developmentalist Nineties." Development 3/4.
- CCIC, MATCH and AQOCI . 1991. Two Halves Make a Whole : Balancing Gender Relations in Development. Ottawa: Author.

- Cebotarev, E.A. 1987 a. "The Family and Social Change." The Ecumenist . May/June.
- _____ 1987 b. "Women's Action in Third World Communities: Popular Education Isn't Enough. Paper presented at the conference " The Rural Community in Crisis", Nov. 4-7, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, N.S.
- _____ 1980. "A Non-Oppressive Framework for Adult Education Programs for Rural Women In Latin America. " Convergence 13 (1-2):
- Chambers, Robert, 1982. Rural Development: Putting the Last First. Essex, England: Longman.
- Chetwynd, Heather. 1988. The First Steps: Adult Popular Education In Nicaragua. Toronto: Participatory Research Group.
- Coady International Institute. 1989. A Handbook for Social/Gender Analysis. Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Coady International Institute
- Coles, Catherine and Berverly Mack. 1991. "Women in Twentieth-Century Hausa Society". Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century. Catherine Coles and Beverly Mack, eds. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Collins, D. E., 1983, Paulo Freire: His Life, Work and Thought. New York: Paulist Press.
- Culbertson, Debbie, 1994. Doing the Gender Boogie: Power, Participation and Economic Justice. Toronto: Ten Days for World Development.
- CUSO. 1993. "West Africa Programming Framework."
- CUSO. "West Africa Regional Plans for 1996-97."
- CUSO, 1985. Basics and Tools: A Collection of Popular Education Resources and Activities. Ottawa: Author
- Development Exchange Center. "Plan of Implementation, 1993-1996."
- Doerge, Susan, 1992. "Feminist Popular Education: Transforming the World From Where Women Stand. " Toronto: OISE, unpublished.
- Dube, S. C. 1988. Modernization and Development - The Search For Alternative Paradigms. London: The United Nations University Press.
- Ellis, Patricia, 1993. " Training for Democracy: Adult Education Practices." Convergence, 26 (1).

- Esteva, Gustavo, 1991. "Preventing Green Redevelopment." Development: Seeds of Change, 2.
- _____. 1986. "A New Call for Celebration." Development: Seeds of Change, 3.
- _____. 1985 a. "Beware of Participation." Development: Seeds of Change, 3.
- _____. 1985 b. "Development: Metaphor, Myth, Threat." Development: Seeds of Change, 3.
- Fals -Borda, O. 1985. "Wisdom as Power." Development: Seeds of Change, 3.
- FFHC/action for development, 1892. "Editorial." Ideas and Action, 5.
- Fink, Marcy, 1992. "Women and Popular Education in Latin America". in Stromquist, ed., Women and Education in Latin America: Knowledge, Power and Change. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Freire, Paulo, 1983 a. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum.
- _____. 1983 b.. Education for Critical Consciousness. New York: Continuum.
- _____. 1985. The Politics of Education: Culture Power and Liberation. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvery.
- Freire, Paulo and Donald P. Macedo, 1987. Literacy: Reading and the World. South Handly, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvay Publishers.
- Friedmann, John, 1992. The Politics of Alternative Development. Cambridge, Mass. : Blackwell.
- Gayfer, Margeret, 1992. " The Sound of People Learning and Organizing for Change." Convergence, 25 (4).
- Garcia, C. 1983. "Latin American Traditions and Perspective." International Review of Education, 29 (3).
- Gatt-Fly, 1983. Ah-hah! A New Approach to Popular Education. Toronto: Beyween the Lines.
- Ghai, Dharam, 1989. Participatory Development: Some Perspectives From Grass-roots Experiences. UNRISD
- Goulet, Denis, 1989 a. "Participation in Development: New Avenues." World Development, 17 (4)

- _____ 1989 b. Incentives for Development. New York: New Horizons Press.
- Graf, William D., 1994. " Reappropriating the Past: History in Ideology and Discourse in the Third World." Paper prepared for presentation to Tenth Annual Conference, Canadian Association for the Study of International Development, Calgary.
- Hall, Bud (N/D). "Participatory Research." Toronto: International Council on Adult Education.
- Haque, W., N. Mehta, A. Rahman and P. Wignaraja. 1977. "Towards a Theory of Rural Development." Development Dialogue, 2.
- Harding, Susan, 1987. "Introduction: Is There a Feminist Method?" In Feminism and Methodology. ed. S. Harding. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Hart, Mechthild U., 1990. " Liberation Through Consciousness Raising." In Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood. ed. J. Mezirow. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hasan, M.,1991. "Empowerment, Democracy, Participation and Development in South Asia." Development 1.
- Henriques, Jane, 1995. " No woman is an island." The New Internationalist , No. 270, August.
- Hettne, Bjorn.1990. Development Theory and the Three Worlds. UK: Longman Group UK Ltd.
- Hirschman, Albert O., 1984. Getting Ahead Collectively: Grassroots Experiences in Latin America. New York: Pergamon Press.
- hooks, bell, 1984. Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre. Boston: South End Press.
- Hope, A., S. Timmel & c. Hodzi. 1984. Training for Transformation: A Handbook for Community Workers. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
- Jacquette, Jane, 1982. " Women and Modernization Theory: A Decade of Feminist Criticism." World Politics, 34 (2).
- Jara, Oscar, 1984. "Speculating About Practical Activity or Popular Eucation Seen From the Perspective of Organized Action of the Masses." in Four Approaches To Popular Education, Antigua Workshop, Dec 11-15.

Caribbean Conference of Churches education Unit.

- Kidd, Ross and Krishna Kumar. 1981. "Coopting Freire: A Critical Analysis of Pseudo-Freirean Adult Education." Economic and Political Weekly. 16 (1/2).
- Kirby, Sandra and Kate McKenna 1989. Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods From the Margins. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Lehmann, Carolynn, 1990. Bread and Roses: Women Living Poverty and Popular Feminist Education in Santiago Chile. M.A. thesis, Department of Education, University of Toronto.
- Luft, Murray, 1983. "Popular Adult Education: The Bolivian Experience." Toronto: unpublished.
- Mackenzie, Liz, 1992. On Our Feet: Taking Steps to Challenge Women's Oppression. Cape Town: Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape.
- Maguire, Patricia, 1987. Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach. Amherst, Massachusetts: The Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts.
- Manoukian, Violeta, 1989. Participatory Development: Paradigm Shift in Theory and Practice. M.A. thesis, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University.
- Martel, A and L. Peterat. 1988. "Feminist Ped-Agogies: From Romanticism to the Success of Authenticity." unpublished.
- Max-Neef, Manfred, 1982. From the Outside Looking In: Experiences in Barefoot Economics. Upsalla, Sweden: Dag Hammerskjold Foundation.
- _____ 1988. " The Pruning of Language." Development, 2/3.
- _____ and others. 1989. "Human Scale Development: An Option for the Future ", in Development Dialogue .1.
- _____ 1991. Human Scale Development: Conception, Application and Further Reflections. New York: The Apex Press.

- Mazrui, Ali. 1994. "Bondage of Boundaries." The News.
- Miles, Angela, 1989. Women's Challenge To Adult Education. The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 3 (1).
- Molyneaux, Maxine, 1985. Mobilization Without Emancipation? Women's Interests, The State, and Revolution in Nicaragua." Feminist Studies, 11 (2).
- Moser, Caroline. O. N., 1989. " Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs." World Development, 7 (II).
- Moser, Caroline O. N. 1993. Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice & Training. London: Routledge.
- Mosse, Julia Cleves, 1993. Half the World, Half a Chance. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Murphy, Brian K., 1991. "Canadian NGOs and the Politics of Participation." in Swift, J and B. Tomlinson, eds. Conflicts of Interest : Canada and the Third World. Toronto: Between The Lines.
- Nerfin, Marc, 1987. " Neither Prince nor Merchant: Citizen- An Introduction to the Third System." Development Dialogue, 1.
- Oakley, Peter et al., 1991. Projects with People: The Practice of Participation in Rural Development. Geneva: ILO.
- Obadina, Elizabeth, 1985. "How Relevant is the Western Womens Liberation Movement for Nigeria?" Women in Nigeria Today. London: Zed Books.
- Omanufeme, Steve. 1993. "These Trying Times." Finance News, July 19.
- O'Neil, M. Carol, 1989. "Freire and Feminism." Dalhousie University: unpublished.
- Participatory Research Group, 1982. Weaving Our Lives. Toronto: Participatory Research Group.
- "People's Participation - Problem or Promise? Summary of a Panel of the World Conference." 1985. Development: Seeds of Change, 3.
- Perchonock, Norma, 1985. "Double Oppression: Women and Land Matters in Kaduna State." Women in Nigeria Today. London: Zed Books.
- Picon, Cesar, 1991. " Adult Education and Popular Education in the Context of State and NGO's." Convergence, 24 (1/2).

- Pineda, Magaly, 1987. "Feminism and Popular Education: A Critical but Necessary Relationship." In Challenges for Feminist Popular Education: A Resource Kit. Toronto: ICAE Women's Program.
- Pinto, J. B. G. 1985. "Participatory Action Research: An Analytic Paradigm." University of Guelph: unpublished.
- Pigozzi, Mary Joy, 1982. "Participation in Non-Formal Education Projects: Some Possible Negative Outcomes." Convergence, 15 (3).
- Pitten, R. 1985. "Deconstructing the Household: Relations of Production and Reproduction in Rural Nigeria."
- Plewes, Betty and Stuart, Rieky, 1990. Developing an Organizational Gender Policy. Ottawa: Match International Centre.
- _____. 1991. "Women and Development Revisited: The Case for a Gender and Development Approach." in eds. Swift, J and B. Tomlinson, Conflicts of Interest : Canada and the Third World. Toronto: Between The Lines.
- Poirier, Colette, 1992. "Women in Development in Rural Malawi: A Case Study of Income Generating Programmes." Halifax: International Development Program, Saint Mary's University.
- Prajuli, Promod, 1986. "Grassroots Movements, Development Discourse and Popular Education." Convergence, 19 (2).
- Proulx, Jaques, 1993. "Adult Education and Democracy: Popular Education, A Tool for Maintaining and Developing Democracy." Convergence, 26 (1).
- Rahman, M. A., 1985. "The Theory and Practice Of Participatory Action Research. in ed. O Fals-Borda, The Challenge Of Social Change. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Rahnema, Majid, 1985. "NGOs, Sifting the Wheat from the Chaff." Development: Seeds of Change, 3.
- _____. 1990. Participatory Action Research: The "Last Temptation of Saint Development." Alternatives, 15.
- Rao, Aruna., Mary B. Anderson and Catherine.A Overholt, eds., 1991. Gender Analysis in Development Planning. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
- Rathgeber, Eva M., 1989. "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice." Journal of Developing Areas, 24.

- _____. 1991. "Operationalizing Gender and Development." Paper presented to the Association of Women in Development Meeting, Washington, D.C. November 20-24.
- Reed, David, "Conscientization, An Experience In Peru."
- Rosero, Rocio, 1988. "Developments In Latin America." Voices Rising. April/May.
- _____. 1993. "Challenges of the Democratization of Popular Education from the Perspective of Gender." Convergence, 26 (1).
- Rowell, Andy, 1995. "Shell Shocked," Village Voice, November.
- Sasora, A and A Mia Serra, 1991. "A People's Development Agenda for the 90's." Development: Seeds of Change 3/4.
- Schumacher, E. Fritz. 1974. Small is Beautiful. London: Sphere Books Ltd.
- Sen, Gita and Caren Grown, 1987. Development Crisis and Alternative Visions. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Sherwood, Carol. 1991. Women's Groups in Seclusion: A Handbook for Strengthening Groups. Bauchi: The Development Exchange Centre: unpublished.
- Shittima, Kole, 1996. "Making Connections: Structural Adjustment and Political Repression in Nigeria." Economic Justice Update. Toronto: The Inter-Church Coalition on Africa, 1 (12).
- Starhawk, 1987. Truth or Dare. Harper and Row
- Stiefel, Mathias, and Marshall Wolfe, 1994. A Voice for the Excluded: Popular Participation in Development, Utopia or Necessity. London: Zed Books.
- Stromquist, Nelly P. 1986. "Empowering Women Through Education: Lessons from International Co-operation." Convergence , 9 (4).
- _____. 1987. "The State and the Education of Women: Toward a Theoretical Understanding." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Washington D.C., March 12-15.
- _____. 1988. " Women's Education in Development: From Welfare to Empowerment." Convergence, 21 (4).
- Tatamagouche Centre. 1985. "A Model of the Reflection Process."

- Tatamagouche Centre. 1985. "The Tatamagouche Education Design Model."
- "The Feminist Challenge to Adult Education: Highlights of a Seminar." 1988. *Voices Rising*, April/May.
- Thompson, Jane. L. 1988. "Adult Education and the Women's Movement: A Reader. In ed. Tom Lovett, Radical Approaches To Adult Education. London: Routledge Press.
- Tobias, Kathleen Jo 1981. What Is Participatory Research: a handbook for fieldworkers. Toronto: International Council for Adult Education and the Participatory Research Group: unpublished.
- Turner, Terisa E. 1991. "Women's Uprisings Against the Nigerian Oil Industry in the 1980s." New York, New York. International Oil Working Group.
- Vella, Jane, 1994. " Learning to Listen/Learning to Teach: Training Trainers in the Principles and Practices of Popular Education." Convergence, 27 (1).
- Umar, Abdurrahman, 1993. " The Protest Tradition in Nigerian Adult Education: An Analysis of NEPU's Emancipatory Learning Project 1950-1966." Convergence, 25 (4).
- Walters, Shirley, 1992. " Gender and Adult Education: Training Gender-Sensitive and Feminist Educator in South Africa - An Emerging Curriculum." draft, CACE, University of Western Cape.
- Weiler, Kathleen, 1991. " Freire and a Feminism of Difference." Harvard Educational Review. 61 (4) November.
- _____. 1988. Women Teaching for Social Change: Gender, Class and Power. Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc.
- Wignaraja, Ponna. 1991. Participatory Development, Growth and Equity: No Trade Offs. Development 3/4.
- _____. 1977. "From the Village to the Global Order." Development Dialogue 1.
- Women in Nigeria. 1985. Women in Nigeria Today. Zed Books Ltd., London.
- Women's Programme of the International Council on Adult Education. 1987. "The Women's Program: Our History. In Challenges For Feminist Popular Education: A Resource Kit." Toronto: Author.

- _____. 1989. The Moon Also Has Her Own Light : The struggle to build a womens consciousness among Nicaraguan farmworkers. Toronto: Author.
- Women's Research Centre, 1987. Action Research for Women's Groups. Vancouver: Women's Research Centre.
- Women's Self -help Network, 1984. Working Together For Change: Women's Self-help Handbook, Volume One. Campbell River, B.C.: Ptarmigan Press.
- Young, Kate M. 1980. "A Methodological Approach to the Analyzing the Effects of Capitalist Agriculture on Women's roles and Their Position Within the Family." In Women in Rural Development: Critical Issues. Geneva: ILO.
- _____. 1988. "Introduction: Reflections on meeting women's needs." in Women and Economic Development: Local, Regional and National Planning Strategies.
- Young, Roger. 1989. "Structural Adjustment in Africa Roles and Challenges for NGO's." Toronto: CCIC.
- Yudelman, S.W. 1987. Hopeful Openings : A Study Of Five Women's Development Organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- Yusuf, Bilkisu. 1991. Hausa-Fulani Women: The State of the Struggle.' In eds. Catherine Coles and Beverly Mack, eds. Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.