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Transformation in Communities and Individuals in International Development

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TRANSFORMATION IN COMMUNITIES AND INDIVIDUALS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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SUMMARY

This study explores understandings of transformation and the meaning it has in the experience of communities and practitioners involved in development. Development practitioners and those working in communities are involved in the processes of change. Understanding of transformation as an occurrence, phenomenon or a goal could inform their interventions in community life. As a phenomenological study of transformation an approach of in-depth interview/observation is used to delve into the perceptions and understandings of international community development practitioners.

This study creates profiles of community development workers in international settings to probe their understanding and experiences in community transformation and the effect on their work and outlook. The interviews and observations used in this study develop a profile of the development agents perceptions and approaches to development before and after the transformations they describe taking place in communities in which they worked. The process of community transformation is explored and the implications for educators are discussed. Similarities of different transformation experiences are discussed to relate patterns of community and individual change. Themes that emerge from the profiles are; the importance of leadership in community development, the introduction of new ideas, the role of women and a community process involving discourse were common to each experience.
CHAPTER 1
Introduction
Research Topic
Inquiry into Transformation

Background issues

International development work has taken on many forms and approaches since World War II. The focus of these approaches with varying theoretical interpretations and assumptions has centered on effecting change and the repercussions of that change. Each approach has attempted to promote changes in people that will better their lives. Within the process of change the phenomenon of transformation occurs. Dramatic changes in world view, major alterations of behavior within and without an individual or organized body, developing whole new structures of social organization have been encountered in development. The aim of development is change and sometimes transformation in order to address the perceived needs of people. To understand development is to understand change. Transformation then is an important occurrence or phenomenon with some international development attempts. Transformation has been discussed in terms of paradigm shifts or dramatic changes in the way people conceive of and relate to the world.

Researchers have primarily addressed transformation from an individual perspective. Transformation as a part of the change process on a community level has been addressed to a lesser extent. This research probes experiences of development workers in communities that have undergone what the development practitioner consider as transformation. This is an open exploration of community transformation. Changes and effects of the experience on the development practitioner are also addressed. Exploration of specific occurrences of transformation in communities through the perceptions and understandings of development
practitioners allows those interested in group interaction an opportunity to view community shifts and changes in the context of their surroundings. Allowing themes to emerge from these experiences could give a fresh look at transformation that might support existing development approaches or suggest new understandings. This study is focused on community transformation as an initial step in exploring the nature of transformation in communities. The study also looks at the effect of community transformation on development practitioners in order to gain understanding of their perspectives.

In light of present state of international development and the need to seek more effective approaches to community development and adult education a fresh understanding of transformation from the international field is desirable and timely.

1. What is the nature of transformation as an occurrence in communities?
   
   **A.** Is there a relationship between individual transformation and community transformation?
   
   Is transformation in a community proceeded by individual transformation or does a transformation of a community evolve and effect individuals later?
   
   Are both transformations the same or different processes? What is the nature of individual transformation versus transformation in a group?
   
   **B.** Does transformation occur as a predictable result of repeatable causes or does it spontaneously occur as an unpredictable phenomenon?
   
   **C.** Are there a number of distinct processes labeled as transformation? If so what might characterize each type?

2. Do development approaches effect the process through hindering or promoting change?
Gaining understanding of what takes place in international development practice is the objective of this research. Beyond the scope of this study is a definitive understanding of the dynamics of transformation, its occurrence and the forms it may take.

These questions have been generated in conversation with other development practitioners. The recollections of community experiences by international practitioners have implied a overlap and a difference in what occurs and the understandings of the change process in community development. Discussion about this study prompted a question about the focus and area of consideration of transformation that made clear an assumption that was behind the inquiry. Transformation is generally regarded as a positive process. Yet if transformation is a phenomenon need it be positive? Is transformation necessarily development or growth? This raises the question of what distinguishes transformation from change?

The research participants of this study have asked for a clarification of the term transformation used in the inquiry. In an attempt to avoid limiting or predetermining responses to the probe of community experiences, the study has attempted to create an atmosphere for ideas about transformation to be exposed. The interview format of the study is structured carefully to elicit responses from respondents in particular areas yet the open ended questions allow respondents to express a wide range of emotion, ideas, narrative and reflection. From this generation of responses the concepts and concerns of the practitioners shape the results of the study. The flow of the interview and observations were strongly determined by the motivation and interest of the participants. The interaction with participants did not alter the focus of the study or alter the underlying questions.
The concerns of international development in relation to transformation are approached and pondered through the probing and analysis of development practitioners experiences with communities in change. The initial findings and implications of this study may inform educators, community workers and those who deal with groups of people in formative and transitional situations. Increasing the inquiry of change processes could benefit those fields that involve themselves in the perceptions and behaviors of communities.

Practitioner and research participant are terms used in this document referring to the community development workers who responded to the interview questions and were observed in the study. Participants refers to the community members referred to in the interviews.
CHAPTER 2. 
Literature Review

Transformation is a phenomenon in human experience that appears at times in the process of change. Various uses of the term transformation and many nuances of understanding are presented with transformation as it is addressed by various traditions and disciplines. Transformation has been documented in spiritual and religious contexts. Conversion to a new belief system and world view as well as attaining broader understandings and interpretations within a belief system are examples of transformation. Psychology has developed approaches to individual transformation through various therapy approaches (Curtis 1991, Diplock, 1996). People adapting to new languages and cultures in international relocation can undergo transformation. Dependency breaking programs such as AA utilize transformation in change strategies with individuals in a group process.

International development, community work and educational programs seek to effect change in international settings. Approaches to development have sought to promote change through various strategies. Infusing economic systems with capital and infrastructure resulted in little change (Todaro, 1989). Changing peoples thinking and culture to western formats was not effective and resulted in damage to indigenous culture. Some criticized the dependency created by first world countries creating debt and determining the approaches of people’s development (Alvin 1990). Community centered approaches promoted social change through development of critical consciousness and communities reframing the way they perceived their relation to history and social systems (Freire 1986). This approach aimed at allowing communities to take control of their relationship to society. These approaches have resulted in a variety of consequences involving community and individual change.
Transformation is the goal of some approaches to development. Freire (1986) has described a process of on-going transformation in communities understanding and relation to social systems that oppress and determine the communities quality of life. Transformation is also the goal of Liberation Theology (Berryman 1984) that sought to engage communities in a process of reorientation through relating biblical themes to their present social situation. This transformation of social consciousness allowed communities agency in determining its future and wellbeing. Many educational approaches sought to develop skills and critical thinking without a direct focus on social structural change but sought to address specific capacities (Bare-Stein 1987). Changes of a less encompassing scope have been the objective.

Positivists have thought of development as being inevitable and related to an absolute truth that can be known. Predictable patterns are believed to control social reality and the natural world, they can be managed and create one reality which all must learn to relate too. Interpretive approaches regard reality as a construction of individuals and agreement between communities. Regarding existing human understandings and meaning this approach does not critically analyze social structures. Critical consciousness regards the construction and maintenance of world views and social systems as political expressions that involve power relationships created by the system. Optimizing the balance of relationships setup by the system and radically changing an unjust system when needed are central characteristics of the critical approach (Benbow 1994). Transformation or significant change of a system is the goal of critical approaches involving change of individual and group assumptions.
A generational approach to critical reanalysis of society was envisioned by Freire (1986). Graybill (1989) wrote about Mezirow’s discussion of the role of youth in this process of social change. In adolescence individuals develop new perspectives and ways of understanding the world to replace former understandings and myths about the nature and cause of reality. With the new capacities developed in the onset of adulthood the individuals are faced with a need to develop new ways of understanding. Education then has the role of helping individuals create understanding of the way different people make meaning through their constructed perceptions of reality. Sanchez (1992) points out that institutions transfer the values and world views of the dominant social group and are part of the social system that needs to be critically analyzed. The inequalities of institutions can set up a dynamic of resistance in individuals who are not of the dominant social perspective. Critical approaches (Benbow 1994) accept that reality is socially constructed and can be altered by agreement among individuals composing society.

Regarding education Fox (1991) noted that writing and thinking constitute a world view not simply a technique. Changing a way of thinking also changes culture which can have far reaching results and consequences in people’s ability to function in their former social system. Writing reaches the depth of individuals personality, culture and interpretation of reality. Diplock (1996) establishes that there are many levels of resistance to change. That the perspective of those resisting change should be considered and that resistance to change may not be negative. In dealing with African American adult learners Robishaw (1995) remarks that internal changes in consciousness are needed before attitudinal and behavioral changes can take place. A stage of unlearning what a dominant educational system has taught needs to take
place before transformation to a self directed learning mode can take place. Some programs of learning do not allow people to learn in ways that are appropriate to them. Individuals need to be aware of their past experience to know what influences society has placed on them. Transformation then can take place involving: observation, comparison, challenging and breaking away. This individual transformation results in a better self. Social transformation however results in changing the system.

Smith (1975) writes that critical consciousness of individuals reaffirms the self and the individual is able to discontinue propagating the system. The individual is then in a position to replace the existing system with a more desirable and just system. Dialogue, polemics, comradeship and a scientific approach are needed to change the norms, laws and perceptions of the system. Action is required to enact this. Affolter (1994) agrees that change of consciousness is essential for social and economic development. Not only scientific thinking but human volition and social awareness are needed in transformation. Independent investigation of truth is needed for development to take place. Experience allows for this internal process of perceiving reality.

Anello (1997) asserts that individual morality is needed in leadership development involving community transformation. This individual process of relating to personal values critically influences community level changes and development of the social systems. Transformation is seen as a twofold process involving first developing a vision of what the ideal person and ideal society looks like and secondly developing the capacities to create and accompany those changes. He quotes Lewis (1951) "If you want to understand something try to change it. If you want to change something try to understand it." Development of the individual consciousness
involves development of morality from negotiating an evolving sense of self interest to a morality centered on universal human and spiritual values. This morality Mustakova-Possardt (1996) asserts is contingent with critical consciousness and essential for those who alter the social system.

Transformation then is a process of individual and social alterations that can be consciously reshape individual perceptions and behavior and result in altered agreements and understandings between people thus changing the social fabric and the actions of communities of people.
CHAPTER 3
Methodology

What is transformation? A shift that occurs after preparation or a series of conditions are in place? A spontaneous event? Or an outcome of a planned procedure? This study is not designed to establish a specific definition or create a theory of how transformation takes place. It does look at individual understandings of experiences that have occurred. It will create profiles of individual experiences and find connections between the profiles. Themes of transformation emerge from this process.

Initially the prospect of studying transformation in communities seemed impractical. Transformation does not necessarily occur predictably. Though desirable direct observation of various communities would be time consuming, expensive and beyond the resources of this study. The choice of communities to observe, ideally before, during and after transformation occurred might be difficult because it would require anticipating what communities would undergo transformation. This selection itself would bias the study toward approaches to community change that may not expose the scope and breadth of transformation occurrences.

An alternative approach to accessing experiences of community development and possibly exposing incidents of transformation was to interview development practitioners who have had an extensive accumulated experience around the world. These individuals have been a part of the change process and are able to present their views as agents of change. The individuals involved in this study have been exposed to similar theories and approaches to development with their present academic association with theories of development involving social justice. This
common educational experience may influence interpretations of past experiences. The commonality educational experience may allow for shared understanding and aid interpretation of the data. The individuals have chosen to study at one of the best known schools for International Education. This reflects on their commitment and approach to development. The individuals come from vastly different ethnic religious and philosophical backgrounds as well as coming from different geographical regions. This compliment of commonality and diversity should be understood while considering the implications of the data.

This study investigates community transformation through narratives generated by interviews with international development practitioners and looks at the changes that occurred in practitioners from their experiences with the communities. In addition to interviews observation of practitioners in their present community work added inroads to understanding their approach to community work in the context of their present lives. Through the profiles generated from their narratives understandings of each occurrence of community transformation emerge as well as the effects on the practitioners. Connections between profiles and unique features of each yield meanings that may suggest understandings about distinct types of transformation, and the dynamics of transformation.

Questionnaires and surveys could be made of communities and individuals involved in development as practitioners, participants and others effecting or affected by the community. This approach could generate a quantity of information from potentially great numbers of people from distinct and diverse perspectives. Various issues and considerations of community change could emerge from this type of study. Mechanisms to ensure statistical validity and relevance to community shifts are critical.
Limitations include the focus and parameters set by the test devise. Questions and inquiries focus respondents on predetermined responses that could reflect the understanding values and belief systems within the test creators paradigm. Conclusions from the study would be within the context of the researchers world view even if the community transformation occurred in another framework. This condition will effect most research methodologies and approaches but is particularly critical for studies across cultures where meanings for the community involved in change may be determining factors in the change process and the consequences. Choosing questions and who creates the frame of questioning is important.

Other approaches that should be considered in a study of transformation include direct contact with communities experiencing transformation. Long term observation and interviewing ideally before during and after the transformation would provide some of the richest data and insights to the study. A case study of this sort could gain tremendous value from the access to a community. The researchers would gain the experience of being part of the community shift and have insights from involved contact. Similar case studies might then be compared to gain understandings and create theories of transformation types and dynamics based on their experiences. This would take time, funding and require placing people in places where transformation may occur or might not. Choice of sites would be important in regards to funding and effectiveness but would also limit the occurrences of community shifts studied.

Sample

Transformation in communities is the subject of this research. To understand the dynamics of transformation, possibly varying expressions of transformation and the
nature of transformation it is important to make inquiry into actual development situations. Development workers who are active in community development are chosen as a contact group because they have been involved in communities and have been consciously engaged in change processes. The group of people chosen have worked in various parts of the world and come from different ethnic, religious and cultural traditions. They offer one approach to community transformation.

Four individuals were chosen for a larger version of this study. These four people were taken from a larger pool of eight mid-career professionals who have worked as international development practitioners in countries throughout the world. Two are U.S. citizens who worked in foreign countries. Two were nationals of the countries in which they did community development work. Two are female and two are male. This sample was chosen on the basis of experience, representation of different cultural backgrounds and gender perspectives. Emic and epic perspectives were potentially expressed through nationals and U.S. development practitioners.

This study creates profiles of four individuals experiences involving transformation in communities. Themes emerging from narratives may support understandings current in international development dialogue. The purpose of this approach to transformation is not to prove or disprove current ideas or frameworks of thinking but to allow an exploration of transformation. International development writers along with those interested in social change have written about transformation and development strategies that aim at group transformation. The literature promotes a process of transformation that results in desirable consequences in relation to explicit and implicit value systems. Approaches to the subject of transformation generally deal with positive presentations of transformation and do not approach the
occurrence of negative outcomes from transformation. The encounters with communities by practitioners may bring out themes that have not been approached or have been minimized. For individuals who are active in community development, understanding the dynamics of change would be helpful as well as possible outcomes of transformation positive and negative.

Four cases have been selected to illustrate the perceptions of practitioners in transformation. This selection has been made and the data has been collected. Each has been observed long enough in their present community interactions to allow observation to inform the study. All development practitioners who have worked in other countries. Two are male the other two female. Two are from Christian upbringing though one has expanded religious association to another religion and world view. All have worked in different countries with different language groups. The work of one was community based the other expanded the scope to larger frames of community. This selection limits the contrast of host national experiences with expatriate experiences. Outsider views and cultural contrasts will be expressed more in this report than would be possible if one case represented a nationals view of a community transformation. The other research participants had less time and opportunity for as much observation to take place.

Each of the development practitioners has expressed some portion of their experience in classes and other public situations. Exposure to their experience was influential in choosing to develop and explore their narratives further. Previous associations with the practitioners has developed levels of trust and understanding that allows the interviews to tap some of the foundational values and life experiences of the participants. A challenge to data reporting was to present what informs the
study and brings to life the perceptions of the participants and not displaying non-critical data even though compelling from other levels. The importance of selecting research participants that are willing to offer their experiences and perceptions to the study is essential. Interviewing in person and being available for observation is also important. Use of written formats would not offer the interaction needed to delve into the depths of peoples lives to offer reactions and to respond to a need for clarification. This probe of community experience is designed to allow as much of the practitioners perspectives to emerge as possible. Ascertaining their world view is as important as understanding their perceptions of community transformation. Using the eyes and minds of the practitioners to view community experience expanded the study from community transformation to understanding the development practitioners framework of understanding and world view. With such a study the effect of the community experience on the practitioner was important and offers an opportunity to gain insight into personal involvement and change.

Respondents were readily committed to be part of the study after a brief explanation of the intent and focus of the inquiry. One respondent was resistant to be observed because the nature of the work environment was often confidential. With encouragement and an invitation to ask potential clients for permission the observation was consented too. Other practitioners were readily available for interviews and observation. Confidentiality and convenience for busy people was important. Collaboration came mainly in the form of willingness to take part in the study and setting up the observations with their clients and communities. Accommodation on the part of the researcher and a willingness to address concerns was instrumental to developing a relationship of trust. Feeling a depth of respect and authentic interest in the practitioners and their stories.
The format of the study utilizes interviews and observations to develop profiles of individuals' perceptions from which to draw out themes relating to community transformation. Developing a sense of individual core values and world view is essential to understanding these individuals' understandings of community change. Understanding how individual practitioners change through their experience is also desirable. Observations of their work with communities in their present activities can offer insights into aspects of their nature that they may not express verbally as well as adding to the content of their verbal self-disclosure. This in-depth and focused study of four peoples' perceptions of community change in the context of real events offers an opportunity to support or contrast with current understandings of transformation and allows new perspectives to emerge in respect to the worldviews of the practitioners. These perceptions may allow the research to reach beyond some of the current thinking about change processes and create a ready environment for new insights. The goal then is to be creative and get beyond description. The process of critical analysis involves breaking down meanings to understand core concerns and values. This can allow for synthesis of new conceptualizations in response to new needs and aspirations. This study will not create new theories of development or reach conclusive definitions of transformation but it does create a vehicle to view transformation from experiences and perspectives of development practitioners.

The approach to transformation used in this study involved a long interview ranging from two hours to three hours in length in which the research participants were asked to respond to predetermined questions in four areas relating to community transformation and the motivations, roles, and changes in themselves. Follow up
conversations and informal interviews allowed participants to add more information or express concerns about the study. Observations were set up at participants convenience at places where they could be observed interacting with a group of people. Sights for observations ranged from visits to private homes to addresses in lecture to academic and religious audience, and interaction in classrooms. Observation time varied per session between one and two hours. All the observations were arranged ahead of time and agreed too by the parties involved. Two observations taking place in public places were discussed with the individual observed and not the larger group. Use of other peoples words and identities is not needed for the study. Altering the atmosphere of these public events by announcing that an individual was under observation for a study seemed unnecessary and might have been a greater intrusion in itself.

One development practitioner who took part in this study was a nun in the Roman Catholic Church. She worked in Brazil for fifteen years and was involved in Liberation Theology during the 1960's and 1970's. She worked with development of Base Christian Communities that were intent on enabling communities to address their own perceived needs through a process of developing critical thinking in villagers around social issues in relation to biblical contexts. The main interview was conducted over dinner at the researchers home on Friday, October 18, 1996 at 5:00 to 8:00 pm. This main interview was followed up with informal conversations over the phone and in passing. An observation was conducted October 10, 10:00 to 12:00 am at the home of her client in an outreach program to international students families. Other observations included programs at her church and observation in classes she took part in. A classroom observation October 15 and 23, 12:45 to 3:30 pm where
Liberation Theology was discussed in relation of counseling at UMASS. An informal discussion on Liberation Theology Wednesday, October 30, 12:00 to 1:00 pm in a classroom at UMASS. At an Interfaith service she helped organize November 21, 7:00 to 9:00 pm. The study was greatly enriched by the depth of personal expression and spiritual commitment of this individual who brought a wealth of experience of dedicated service to the Base Christian Communities of South America. An established friendship and work relationship allowed for an easy disclosure of ideas and critical information. This relationship benefited the study.

The second development worker has a career in international community health, created a University in Bolivia, created a community outreach program to develop leadership capacities among primary school teachers and continues to do consulting work throughout South America. He was interviewed at his temporary home in Massachusetts October 30, 6:00 to 9:30 pm. Observations were made at public community events and academic presentations he participated in while finishing his doctoral work. One observation occurred October 22, 10:30 to 12:00 am when he gave a presentation of his work to his department on his work. A second observation was conducted October 25, 8:00 to 10:00 pm when he addressed a public discussion on his Faith at a private home in Amherst. A third opportunity to observe came at his dissertation defense November 22, 1:00 to 4:00 pm. It was not possible to observe his present institutional work environment. It was a great fortune to be able to include the expanse of his experience from community level to institutional approaches to community transformation. Although not known by the researcher before the study a sense of trust and mutual interest in the study of transformation created conditions for a meaningful disclosure of experiences.
Understanding of transformation could be developed further in other studies to include the responses and understandings of other people involved in the community's change process. Community member perspectives might tell a distinctly different story than the development practitioner. Outsiders to the community might offer different insights and those in institutional positions might view what transpired in a different way. These perspectives are all important to understand. Observation of the community by the researcher in addition to interviewing individuals could create a clearer understanding of the situation and create a case study. This would be time consuming and require great effort but would create a deeper understanding of a specific communities experience than the present study. The current study does probe the depth of practitioners understandings which are then compared. Themes of the change process by the community and practitioner have undergone will be contrasted to yield commonalities and distinctions. The outcome of this approach will be insights and implications that may provide direction for further research.

**design**

Interviews were conducted to explore experiences and perspectives of practitioners with transformation. Interviews were recorded on audiotape while field notes recorded the setting, body language and gestures as well as what was happening. Other information pertinent to understanding the interaction was written down while the interview was in progress. Processing of the interview data involved listening to the tapes in November and creating a written summary for each case. Portions of the collected data was transcribed. Although a complete transcription would be desirable as a first step in analysis time restraints create a need to modify the process to transcription of key portions of the interviews. From these a profile of each persons perspective is created. Themes and issues emerge from these profiles to give
insights into understanding the community transformation experience. The world view of the practitioner is revealed by the interview and will be clarified by analyzing the themes. Consistency and distinctions between self-disclosure, themes and observed interactions with people will compose material for analysis.

Findings and understandings from these distinct profiles can then be compared with other profiles to determine if there are patterns and commonalities shared in the profiles. Distinctions between the profiles will be equally important. Overlapping themes may imply that there are common processes going on in the change processes at the community level and in individual practitioners. This might also reflect shared world views of practitioners. Referring back to the individual self-disclosures and backgrounds might create an understanding to clarify the cause of commonalities. Similarities in transformation scenarios might indicate that a single set of dynamics is at work that might be researched to further enlighten development work. Education could also benefit from the implications of this possible outcome.

Distinctly different themes emerging from the profiles may indicate that there is a need to determine the lack of common themes. Different world views might be responsible. The distinctions might imply that different processes are going on that are defined as transformation by practitioners. Each practitioners definition of transformation could be considered in the analysis to see if this were the case. Differences might also reflect the differing context of each community or the experience of the practitioner. Each of these possible outcomes could have vast implications for the field of development and for the organization of peoples. If distinct differences are implied more investigation into these differences could be made.
Participants in this research have not been involved in the data analysis. The advantages of their input would bring the study to a greater level of understanding and meaningfulness. Time and opportunity for that process is not available on the part of the research participants. The practitioners indicated that they were available for the interviews and observations only. An expansion of this study with greater resources would be desirable. It could include practitioners input into the analysis and evaluation of insights. An agreement with development practitioners from the outset to participate in the processing of profiles and theme analysis could could create greater level of participation and would allow a stronger voice of the practitioners to be heard. This work would create a great need for collaboration and interaction between the researcher and practitioners. The interaction with the material may make confidentiality between practitioners more difficult to maintain.

Motivation of practitioners in the study is a combination of believing in the study and being willing to help the researcher. This motivation may also be effected by the flattery of being asked to be part of a study that values their experience and perceptions. The practitioners have taken on the study to the point of responding to interviews and observations. They have not taken on the research as a process of their own. Inclusion in the process could take on a number of possible levels of input that might allow clarification and add more at the level of profile formation and analysis. Since the profiles reflect on the perceptions of the practitioners their input would create the greatest accuracy. Input about comparison between profile themes might bring out more complete understandings.

Participant motivation is also important to consider. The study is very basic and does not attempt to create readily usable approaches to development or create readily
adoptable definitions of transformation. The practitioners are offered an opportunity to reflect on their own life experiences in relation to transformation in communities and in their own change. If the process of analysis filled some usable outcome for their lives and work or a measurable result they might be enticed to enter into a true collaboration. A collaboration promotes an interactive relationship that allows both parties to fulfill their own ends and to address a mutually held concern. Participation in this study requires cooperation of the parties to attain an end. Participants are asked in the interviews to respond to a series of specific questions that are meant to stimulate responses. The ready responses indicate more than accommodation. The participants share and recall incidents that move them emotionally. The participants are asked to analyze and define criteria of community transformation and expose the meaning of transformation from their perspectives. Different roles are played by the researcher and the participants which could be more blurred in a more collaborative exchange.

Arrangements to share the results of the study have been made through the request of one practitioner. The other has requested that a dialogue continue on leadership and the dynamics of transformation. Presentation of preliminary results were made in an oral presentation which some participants attended. One practitioner has corrected and responded to written materials. This has created an opportunity to clarify some of the points discussed that were to greater and lesser extents important to the study. The corrections were important to make to respect the experiences of the communities. Sharing the results with the communities directly is not a consideration of this report. Though the material concerns their past history they have not been identified and will not be directly acknowledged for their contributions. Still they can be presented in a way that is most true to the practitioners first hand account.
Reflections by the community will not be solicited for this study. A larger study could include that into its plans.

ethics

The greatest issue dealt with in this study is the need to keep the identities of individuals and communities confidential. In some instances the identity of people could endanger their future well being. The individuals involved in the study are also known by peers who may read this report. Keeping the privacy of the individuals is important because they have revealed a lot of information that is personal and used to inform the studies. In former presentations and discussions the detail has been so reduced to conceal identity that the presentation has been compromised. This presentation of the data will include those details which are supportive and illustrative of the themes that emerge from the profiles. Personal information and expressions that do not directly address the study will be excluded from the information conveyed in the written format.
CHAPTER 4
Data Analysis

1st Profile
Sarah
background

Sarah’s family background and peer group developed a sense of inclusion and feeling for the poor that permeates her life and has motivated her to seek social justice through the vehicle of her deep faith. Sarah grew up in a family of 10 siblings. Her Father and his matriarchal Mother greatly influenced her wanting to serve others in a faith context. An experience at five while playing alone brought into focus her desire to include everyone and developed a sense of doing something wide reaching in her life. The game she played culminated with her imitating her father saying “Sur Sur, Take the whole world to the movies.” This left her content and happy. She remarks it was a touchstone experience in her life. Another experience at five involved developing compassion for the wounds of Christ seen in a statue and wanting to take away the pain. She says this was a significant spiritual experience for her that connected her to God. The Catholic School and Church brought her organization and predictability that she lacked at home. She saw the number of children in the family as a limiting factor to the families ability to gain housing and a better life. Alleviating poverty became a central focus of her vocation.

Her family disapproved of her friendships with people of different races. She herself looked different than her peers and felt she didn’t quite fit in. She continued to meet with her friends without her families knowing. Her desire for inclusion of all people branched out to a new arena when as a nun her order opened missions in a South American country. She was one of the first of her order to go to this region where she was able to serve the rural poor. A particular priest was very influential to her approach to community work. He went into the rural communities forgoing his own
comfort and upper class upbringing to engage Christian communities in self awareness and consideration of their needs and position in the social system. As a sister working under his guidance she chose hardship to serve others. She learned to be a catalyst to change others in the next decade and a half.

Sister Sarah was greatly influenced by experiences that changed the way she related to the world from the way she had been taught by her family. Her perspectives were so changed that she was regarded by the family as thinking differently. During her experiences she immersed herself in activities with others and helping them address their own needs. She stimulated dialogue around issues identified and brought up by them. She was patient and worked with the communities despite the needs she saw in the community. Ownership of the process and faith in the peoples capabilities are elements she gained from her work with the people.

Sister Sarah’s approach has been self effacing. Because of the needs of the poor she often fore went spending time for reflection and prayer which was important to her and would go to bed only after feeling exhausted. Her current work style and approach has altered from her previous approach. She takes the time for her personal growth and to reflect which allows her to be more effective in her work with communities. She lets the community identify and approach concerns at a natural pace. She does not impose what she feels is needed to advance the group but patiently works with the concerns people feel they need to address and allows the issues to come up in the community. Community ownership of the approach to a concern is central to her work style. Sister Sarah summed up what she learned from her experience in her present perspective in development work. Deal with people from your own abundance not depletion from overwork. Honor peoples perceptions.
Pay attention to the individual as much as the process itself. Know your own needs, answer them and you will be sensitive to others needs.

themes

Inclusion, relieving suffering and dedication to Peoples relation to their Faith were major values Sister Sarah brought into her work. Development of the community process, valuing others ideas, approaching community issues at the communities pace, and protecting the welfare of those involved in the change process were values she developed during the experience. Afterward she took time to reflect and return to her inner world to find a balance between service and growing internally by satisfying personal needs. The original values she brought to her service were developed further and different values created as new approaches to her work evolved.

community change perspectives

A large village of 600 people was a challenge to work with as a whole. In demonstrating to another nun how to work with large communities a villager made an observation relating how Jesus wanted people to work together to solve problems. The village was influenced by a smaller neighboring village that was stimulated to a level of organization by a large family that was talented in singing and that brought people together. The small village acted together with love and was able to construct a simple chapel which inspired the larger village to develop a chapel of their own. Building the chapel in the large village entailed political positioning and greed that divided the community. After the small village created its chapel meetings moved out of peoples homes. Men stopped coming to meetings because of the association of entering a chapel in a morally pure condition. They did not feel comfortable entering
the chapel to attend meetings and were not involved with the community process except by informal encounters at their home's with Sister Sarah. The construction of the chapel was accompanied by a drought and most men left the small village to find work. The women and children were left to fend off starvation. Over the next few years the community members were preoccupied with reuniting their families. Community work was set back.

The shift in the village involved organization within the community. Relating Gospel stories to the problems in their lives allowed them to step into a way of thinking that allowed them to take steps to control their future and to justify thinking that was in stark contrast to their previous way of seeing themselves in relation to their social context. Changes that distinguish that new way of thinking involved discussing common problems as a group rather than interpersonally in secret. Reflecting on their own situation in conjunction with the sister, an outside influence, communication enabled the community to take action, individuals identified the roles they would like to take on. One outward indication of this shift was building the chapel in their small village. This resulted in stimulating the larger village to make plans to build their own chapel. A question remains on how sustainable the community interaction is after the sister has left.

Questions:

1. What is the nature of transformation as an occurrence in communities?
   A. Is there a relationship between individual transformation and community transformation?
   Is transformation in a community proceeded by individual transformation
or does a transformation of a community evolve and effect individuals later?

Are both transformations the same or different processes?

What is the nature of individual transformation versus transformation in a group?

B. Does transformation occur as a predictable result of repeatable causes or does it spontaneously occur as an unpredictable phenomenon?

C. Are there a number of distinct processes labeled as transformation? If so what might characterize each type?

2. Do development approaches effect the process through hindering or promoting change?

Discussion of individual transformation in relation to community transformation in these villages demonstrates through the catalytic agency of the sister and previous to her arrival in the villages the influence of the large family from the small village. Both villages had developed abilities to initiate and organize people to take action. Previous to the sisters arrival that action was limited to creating great community festivals where success was measured by the number of people attending and the prestige the community and individuals gained by hosting a big event. This capacity stemmed from the families strong faith and did not extend to social and political arenas. The women mobilized more readily than the men. After the sister worked with the community they were able to identify and address problems and community needs. Because of the smaller numbers of people it was hard for them to achieve much in the political /social environment. Community transformation took place before individuals were influenced.
In the larger village one farmer realized they did not have to be cheated all the time. He brought up concerns and suggestions that influenced the community. In this instance an individual transformation stimulated community transformation. They were strongly influenced by the smaller villages actions. One communities transformation influences another community to engage in their own process of transformation.

The Sister's influence as an individual agent is important to consider in the dynamics of the community transformation. She had undergone a lot of changes and skill development previous to entering the villages. Her personal transformation previous to first contact had its effect on the communities change process.

The predictability of the transformation process seems connected to the approach the sister made in the villages. She helped them see that their lives were connected to their religious scripture and that God did not want them to suffer. She then walked them through the process of developing solutions to their problems. This process was deliberately engaged in and though specific results were not predictable the conditions in which transformation to take place in were encouraged as they arose. The small villagers previous and continued preeminence in faith capacities was not enough to allow them to address the social/political community issues. Small numbers and low participation by men were critical aspects of that limitation.

Both large and small villages underwent transformation with different results. Both went through a similar experience of study of scripture and community reflection of community concerns. This reflection led them to taking action around pertinent concerns. Acting as a community from a previous condition of being resigned to the conditions of life as individuals, was a major change in the way people in the villages
responded to their world. This type of transformation can be developed deliberately through a systematic approach that develops the capacity of communities to change their perception of their condition and to develop the organizational skills to mobilize the community in transition. A distinguishing feature of this experience is the level of conscious reflection and deliberate action that communities take.

Sister Sarah's experience and dedicated service to these two villages is an example of Liberation Theology, an approach to international development. It has direct implications to development efforts that are faith based and by development workers that bring their spirituality into their work. Faith is a strong reality in most peoples lives. Development efforts that do not account for faith may be passing up opportunities in communities or may neglect to address important realities that motivate and give meaning and value to peoples lives. Connecting people to the reality of God and the conditions of their lives has enabled Sister Sarah to work from their strengths when they had little else to work with. Sister Sarah has reported feeling a lesser experience when dealing with very effective politically active farmers who were not actively faith based. She reports having gained much from them yet felt sad to not be able to relate to them and share on a level of spiritual reflection. The process the village communities undertook enabled them to act as a group and take action because the process was introduced from their existing position. The issues and concerns were addressed at their pace and people chose what they would commit to do for the group effort.

Outcomes of the process have been identified as an ability to view their condition in a new way and to act as a community. The consequences of some of the actions taken by communities have had both negative and positive effects on the
communities. Organizing and meeting to take political action on land reform and other social injustices was countered by opposition by those landowners and others who felt threatened or would be adversely effected by community change. The lives and welfare of individuals and communities was threatened and sometimes lives were taken. Political issues in the large village and retreat from participation by men in the small villages occurred around building of the chapels. These challenges came out or were intensified by being involved in the change process. A portion of this may be attributable to resistance to change. The form and extreme of the response to community change are attributable to the specific context and individual players acting in the country and the system that allows and propagates their actions. These extreme responses are not the result of transformation or even to the actions communities have chosen to take.

**Observations**

Sister Sarah demonstrated strong organizational skills during her visit to an international students home. The Sister was able to introduce different topic areas into the conversation without steering the interaction. She brought up issues and let the other person express interest where it made sense in life. She was able to create a warm and open interaction quickly. Sister Sarah did not impose but implied possible actions the person she was visiting might want to engage in.

In discussions of Liberation Theology Sister Sarah was quick to point out the human needs and welfare of people with a conviction that showed she had reflected deeply on the issues and saw a critical need to address issues of gender, justice and peoples spiritual reality. These concerns and approach to her present community interaction demonstrates some of the skills that she developed as she worked in the
villages. Her ability to dedicate herself to service and let the people in the community chart their course in light of their context rather than imposing her conclusions is critical to the interaction that results.

2nd Profile
Guido
*background*

Guido's background influenced his motivation for working in communities, orienting himself to serving causes greater than himself and adopting new frameworks to understand the world. An American from Italian and Mexican ancestry he grew up in an extended catholic family which emphasized solidarity and hospitality. Role models known through reading and personal contacts nurtured a sense of "being committed to things greater than myself" and social justice. He was attracted to public health people who worked over seas and a South American country that had a great diversity of indigenous peoples. He recounted a critical time in his college years when he experienced a "existential crisis" the problems of the world seemed too great and any answer was doubted. His options included 1. changing the system, 2. buying into the system, and 3. escaping the system.

Guido recounts his acceptance of a different world view. A chance meeting with a childhood catechism teacher encouraged his search and continued belief in Christ and God despite his not believing in the church as an institution, saying "God will guide you.". Guido responded by searching through the religion section of the library where he noted the religions basically promoted "similar teachings in a different form". He met a Persian student who was kind and saw truth in both sides of an argument Guido was involved in offering perspectives of an evolving human condition and the need to develop human potential. Guido recounted a dream from that night in
which he reached a fountain in an oasis in the desert. He bathed and drank of the fountain and woke up. He felt happiness and joy. He pursued an interest in his friends religion and became impressed by peoples lack of clergy, their volunteerism and commitment. It was a grassroots movement that made sense and could work because it had organization at the local, national and international levels. He had not realized it was more than a social movement until he had committed himself then developed the mystical aspects which he explains. He wanted and longed to grow spiritually, develop a relation to the creator. Remark ing the great contributors to society are motivated by love of God and service to humanity to express that love.

The range of his exposure to diversity expanded through his family, work abroad and his relationships. He was a minority in an Anglo social environment which led to a search for cultural and personal identity. He was selected by youth to direct a social activist center which served youth organizations promoting power for different ethnic groups. He promoted "uniting youth for social change" as a solution to the struggle between groups for use of the center. He designed and taught a course in Chicano history at the same time adding teaching to the administration he was involved in at the youth center. Teaching and administration became his vocation.

His exposure to diversity evolved when he moved to Puerto Rico to "consolidate... Youth" of his religion and study public health. He learned about differences in Latin culture which was enhanced later when he volunteered in a South American country to train indigenous members of his faith in rural villages to organize and develop their administration. This exposure to indigenous people offered him an opportunity to understand village conditions and different cultures. This exposure was furthered as he worked for seven years in rural public health and helped establish the
countries first nursing school, later a language and business school followed by formation of a non-government development organization and a university now educating 2000 students. The university has an outreach program that trains primary school teachers to work in village development. His first wife from a upper middle class Anglo-Saxon background introduced him to the nuclear family concept. A second marriage to an Iranian woman provides another cultural exposure. His children function well in a number of cultures. Now he is not aware of cultural differences because he adapts so quickly. These experiences with family of origin, different countries and different ethnic groups has altered his personal perception and style of interaction from his initial orientation.

community change perspective

Guido's perspective about community evolved as his experience with local development grew into creation and administration of institutions. Working with public health in rural villages was difficult because there was no structure in place for the community to organize itself. The traditional structure was paternalistic, authoritarian and manipulative with know it all attitudes rendering it dysfunctional. Organizing village health programs was difficult under these conditions.

Many outside organizations created committees for their purposes overwhelming villages with ungrounded entities that did not function on their own. Plans made in offices where they are funded then brought to the people in efforts not coordinated with other organizations activities. Committees were often formed by NGO's and headed by local leaders who did not allow villagers a voice. Elections for committees using nomination systems ended up with the same dysfunctional members as before. Approaches from outside the community worked only as long as the
outside influence was present. Little community ownership accompanied failures.

Guido saw a need to use a different approach which would develop the capacities of villagers in leadership and administration. Elections were held with no nominations. Qualities of a good leader were discussed and criteria needed for the offices was determined. Six people were elected in a village by this process. Different people were elected. As a result of this process the voice of men and women was heard. Women knew that they were heard which contrasted to being ignored or having their ideas blocked or appropriated by men. Issues brought up by women were considered. Women also were supported by men in their work outside the home. Guido sees a change in the concept of leadership from one of power to an orientation to service. The power based leadership tradition was stagnant and resulted in fear. In a model of participation individuals transcend their own interest for the common good and people are willing to take action, to collaborate and cooperate.

This system of leadership development has been written up in a set of twelve training manuals for use in communities. Values are needed to accompany the new system or it could lead to replacing old leaders with those better able to function and reach self serving ends that may be more harm to the community. With new capacities comes new responsibilities. Developing morality is essential for that purpose. The system develops administrative abilities based on moral principles needed in participatory models. The system was used with thirty-five trainers who worked with three hundred fifty primary school teachers who could initiate development projects in communities during a two year pilot project. Ideally situated in villages teachers are respected and are everywhere. Education receives the resources of the country so it makes sense to develop a training program for teachers to foster adult education to increase human capacities.
Villages affected by the program are now able to be self organized, popular will is expressed as people choose their own leadership from within the community. Previous leadership was imposed from outside. The Spanish conquest destroyed traditional systems. A shift from domination was needed. Capacities to participate and develop leadership were needed. To create a shift individual transformation involved new ways of thinking and developing capacities to be self directing. He quoted Abdul Baha ‘The reality of man is his thoughts’. We are what we think. We behave like we think. It influences our conduct and what we become. All our lives we have been indoctrinated by our families and society. Consciously developing mental models to develop human potential to serve humanity is the aim of his work. “Conceptual frameworks, values and visions these transform”. The model has had effects nationally as two laws defended, promoted and advised by Guido have gone into effect involving educational reform and popular participation.

He believes that transformation is guided by revelation which provides normative ethical standards, gives direction and vision. A recipe for life is not given. Guiding principles are given. How these are applied in different spheres of life and how they are brought into action is up to people. The outcomes depends on volition. The critical points of transformation are capacities and mental models. He quoted Abdul Baha; “Independent search will unite humanity because truth is one.”

Questions
1. What is the nature of transformation as an occurrence in communities?
   A. Is there a relationship between individual transformation and community transformation?
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or does a transformation of a community evolve and effect individuals later?

Are both transformations the same or different processes?

What is the nature of individual transformation versus transformation in a group?

B. Does transformation occur as a *predictable* result of repeatable causes or does it *spontaneously* occur as an unpredictable phenomenon?

C. Are there a number of distinct processes labeled as transformation? If so what might characterize each type?

2. Do development approaches effect the process through hindering or promoting change?

Transformation of individuals is important in Guido's understanding of transformation in communities. The importance of leadership and developing structure in the community requires an orientation to the change process by the primary school community trainers. The primary school teacher undergoes an orientation to development work. Individuals teachers undergo the the training process as community developers then begin the process of working with communities to develop organization and approaches to community needs.

Transformation occurs on the community level and in individuals at the same time. Communities transform when they begin to consider working together in a coordinated manner. Community transformation appears as a coordination of internal community activities which external organizations must comply with. Transformation of individuals goes along with community alterations. An extension of those personal changes occurs outside the community activities when individuals transformation is internalized. Individuals begin to think and act differently than before to address
concerns and needs. Indications of personal transformation are the change in roles of women in their households supported by male family members which was not done before.

The conditions for transformation in the community are consciously developed through the approach taken by the teacher in the local community. The efforts of the community are determined by their concerns and volition which is determined by their world view. Changes in the community involve changes in the world view of individuals. The process is introduced but not imposed as previous cultural changes have done. People take on the process of transformation in a community interaction.

Developing capacities is essential. Developing new capacities must be accompanied by a moral understanding to use new capacities to benefit or serve others. The process then is deliberate. Changes and outcomes will be determined by the community. Institutional and national efforts are quite deliberate and consciously made.

Transformation is occurring in some individuals leading to alterations in behavior outside the community activities. This internalization of an alteration in thinking and behaving suggests a process that is different than the community process. Differences between examples of transformation are not possible from the data. More detail of individual communities would be needed to see if distinct types of transformation were occurring in a community or between communities. Development of institutions and laws show a change in thinking of the groups of people initiating these alterations and in the bodies of people that accept and adopt them.

Guido has described an application of a development approach and some of the preliminary results of the process of initiating the program. In time greater
understandings of this particular approach will emerge as communities adopt or abandon this system. At present it would support the idea that development efforts effect the transformation process. At present the results are enthusiastic acceptance of the process by those involves in initiating organization of communities at the local level. Long range understandings may offer knew insights to the complexity of the topic. Research at the community level would be desirable.

**observations**

Through three public presentations Guido demonstrated an ability to engage his audience in the narrative he delivered. He was able to gain the interest of his listeners using eye contact and gestures to deliver the points he intended to convey. By speaking from different positions in the room he was able to bring attention to key points. At one point he squatted over his 12 manuals holding one to his chest and pointing out the important importance morals accompanying new capacities. At another point he emphasized participatory planning by first writing it on the board and then underlining it later. The voice was soft, Guido spoke slowly, deliberately and with confidence which did not overwhelm the audience but drew them in to hear what he had to say. The audiences went through spells of paying attention by looking at Guido to periods of looking or staring at some other point in the room. He responded to questions and asked if they had been answered to the satisfaction of the person asking. In private conversations he was attentive and listened to the other persons comments and concerns.
Profile 3
Bhaate

background

Bhaate grew up in a household where the father, grandfather and great grandfather had all been leaders of the village in a remote area of the Himalayan mountains. A sense of service and loyalty to the village was developed in him through a thorough understanding of his ancestors histories in relation to the village. Each of his ancestors developed a unique leadership style that distinguished them in the community. Bhaate expresses a desire to combine the best qualities of each ancestor to be of the greatest benefit to the community. One ancestor listened carefully to the concerns and ideas of others then offered his ideas. Another was more direct and pragmatic. He was able to introduce new crops that became commercially important to the income of villagers. At times the village supported Bhaate’s ancestors in times of need. One ancestor was literally carried home when he fell ill in another place a days walk away. These family interactions with the village creates a desire to pay back the help the village gave to his family in past generations. A strong sense of loyalty to the community even when not in the village directs Bhaate’s focus on leadership and addressing the needs of the community.

Leadership is the focus of Bhaate’s relationship to the community. His role in the community have been one of service. What benefits the community benefits Bhaate. The group of people Bhaate descends from are indigenous to the Himalayas. Before the influx of Brahmin Chetris displaced by Muslim invasion his people ruled themselves. After this invasion the trusting and generous people were considered second class citizens. Now they are an ethnic minority in their own homeland. This marginalization combined with the remote location of the village has kept the ethnic group isolated from the outside world. One of the first contacts with an outside ethnic
group involved Bhaate directly and called upon his leadership capacities and the position his ancestors held in the village. He served as a mediator for a group of Japanese botanists who came to study the flora of the Himalayas during the harvest season when religious and cultural traditions forbade outsiders from the village and the mountains where the Goddesses and Gods reside. Letting people through was believed to bring misfortune to the village. Bhaate translated for the Japanese and interceded along with others to eventually allow the foreigners through reasoning with the village elders that there might be some benefit to the village through their study plus a contribution to the school. This effort was successful but lead to a backlash of sentiment regarding Bhaate's role in supporting village interests in the face of outside influences. Bhaate's education was meant to help him help the village. This experience has caused a reflection on the breaking of tradition in light of introducing new ideas and behaviors. Bhaate would now approach this same situation with more reservation and respect for traditional beliefs.

Bhaate along with his brother served as a role model to other youth by gaining an education. Now his area is highly educated. He worked as an educator in the village for many years and was instrumental in having a 10 room and 3 room school built to serve the needs of the village children. His concern for education continues as he has created a scholarship program to benefit disabled girls who are normally ignored and considered a burden in the community. Both he and his brother have married outside the traditional group. This has increased his understanding of other peoples and created an opportunity for others to marry outside the traditions. He respects his families decisions but also acts as an agent of his own will.

Community shift

Bhaate recounts the establishment of a permanent water system in his sisters
village by the women. A few of the women of the village gathered to discuss some of their concerns. They continued to gather and include more women in the conversation. They designed a plan to develop a water system to eliminate the need to walk for hours for water in the dry season. Previous attempts at water systems by the returned soldiers fell to disrepair as no one was responsible to do repairs. The women raised money through singing and dancing at events and asking for donations. More funds came through Bhaates brothers conservation program. The women had little assistance from the men and were able to purchase and carry the materials from the town a day's hike away. They had technical assistance through the conservation program and were able to construct a permanent system and train two individuals to repair the system. The results were renowned through the area. The women went on to address other needs through the introduction of new types of vegetable and planting trees for animal fodder and fuel near the village. Bhaate was impressed by one elderly woman who reasoned that planting trees would benefit others and that would indirectly benefit her as well. The effect of the women's self development went beyond the village to effect other women who seeing the success of the women formed their own groups to solve local problems.

Bhaate noted that though women are political they are able to work together for the benefit of the group more easily than men who have issues of social position and a history of misappropriation of funds that damages trust. The change in the women from a position of acting independently to acting as a group arose from their desire to answer their own needs. Outside leadership was not utilized though external ideas and openness to new ideas came from the ex-soldiers and through the conservation program. Leadership among the women developed through their process of problem solving. They adapted traditional systems of group lending for family and individual
benefit to a new form of organization to address community needs. The spread of the idea to other groups of women in different communities demonstrates the systems appropriateness and acceptability to the communities in the area.

Questions:

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   C. Are there a number of distinct processes labeled as transformation? If so what might characterize each type?

2. Do development approaches effect the process through hindering or promoting change?

   In Bhaate's sisters village the group of women underwent a change as a group. Bhaate's sister does not claim to be crucial to this process. The group of women through their discussion decided on a course of action through their discourse and agreement. Here individual transformation occurred from the community interaction. Bhaate was impressed by the effect of the women's discussion on an old woman who planted fodder trees even though she had no animals to feed. She remarked that it
would help others and so help her indirectly. She also recalled when people did not have to walk so far for firewood. Transformation of behavior and thought proceeded out of community changes.

The change in women and communities outside this original village demonstrates that the process is transferable and can be duplicated. Although the original transformation occurred spontaneously from the women's conversation it's spread was conscious on the part of women in other villages. Now mothers clubs are prevalent in the area. At these clubs women in neighborhoods develop the concerns of the community to develop solutions that actively address the issues. This more formalized, more structured collaboration of women has community acceptance that the original group of women lacked. Outside organizations recognition of the groups and inter community acceptance of the groups allows the women to readily take action. Before the original group met resistance and had to prove itself.

The change in the original group seems to be distinct from the change in other groups that followed. This first group had to create a way to make things happen within a social environment that did not believe it would be successful. We see that from the lack of participation of the men who did not help in carrying or setting up the system. The women had to establish their credibility in the community while doing something new to themselves. Groups of women in other villages were able to refer to the first groups success and were able to utilize the process the first group had developed. There is a difference in the establishment of the first group and the establishment of subsequent groups which further research may explore more fully.

The conservation office learned to work with the women's community groups rather than try to effect change from outside of community action. The development
process had been on going. The village had a water system set up before by the returned soldiers. They let it fall into disrepair. That introduced the idea of the water system and people benefited by it. It was not till the women who most directly benefit from use of the water system were determined to develop a permanent water system that people were gradually motivated to do what they could to address their needs. Without the former try at introducing water a permanent system would not have been developed. Development efforts could benefit from understanding that the process of introducing something new can involve introducing the idea, generating motivation and the will to take action.

The projects undertaken by the women involved outside sources of money and technical knowledge. The women however generated the solution around their needs and the approaches they felt would help them reach their objectives. Development projects should be open to the suggestions and perceived needs of community members. By introducing what outsiders feel is a benefit to a community the communities perceptions and will may be left out. The community may not engage in the project. Bhaate's village had three water systems installed by external organizations. Each time they fell into disrepair because springs were abundant in the village. After seeing the permanent water system in the first village people in the community decided to establish one for themselves and now maintain the system. It took several tries to establish the system. Until the will of the people motivated them they did not create the conditions for a permanent system.

Observation

Bhaate listens carefully and completely to others in a way similar to his grandfathers approach which he admires. He is very courteous and does not interrupt despite the habit of people in his present social environment to do so. When people
listen he offers deep insights and offers suggestions to benefit the programs he is involved in serving. He presents narratives which could allow his listeners to develop their own understanding come to their own conclusions and to see the evidence for the line of support that will back up his conclusions and perspectives. He shows respect for others and is willing to allow the group to come to its agreements and establish their course of action. He is dedicated to serving the people targeted by his program. He shows this dedication by coming up with ways to approach other groups of people that have not been contacted before. He approaches the people through groups they are already associated with in order to gain the widest hearing. His work addresses well being of people through educating people about health issues.

Profile 4

Nuri

*background*

Nuri grew up in a family of six siblings. She moved into the extended family of her father where five children were assigned to a grandmother for care of daily needs. Few possessions and little privacy marked the household of 20 children. The neighborhood was made of similar families. Neighbors were at liberty to guide children of other families. It was safe and developed a sense of the common good as well as looking out for your own needs with so many children. Nuri was part of a swim team that struggled to gain recognition and admittance to competitive circuits. The team did community service in the neighborhood to earn the money to support the team.

As a youth she faced a conflict of identity as her mother was from two different ancestries. One group was despised by her peers and the other she shared with them. She had to resolve her condemnation of the other group by the people around her. She was also troubled by the unjust prejudice against 'slaves' or dark skinned
people from the south of her country. Her family was challenged to create acceptance of her siblings within the family as well.

From a highly religious background Nuri encountered an existential crisis when she encountered prejudice against the poor and limited options for women. Her questioning was aided by reading from various authors of western philosophy. She abandoned the structure of religion because her principles would not allow her to live a contradiction between belief and practice. She became an activist and feminist determined to work for the betterment of women and society through social and structural change. She was one of the first wave of women to be university educated in fields outside of education and medicine. Her study of agriculture brought her to government work where she worked in rural communities struggling to establish credibility for women in the field of agriculture. Through her work she was able to break down many barriers for women in her department. She had little effect in organizing rural women in gaining their rights because they had other needs. Nuri took many years to shift her focus and then her approach to serving rural women's needs. From presenting her agenda she moved to enabling them to address their own needs. 'My mother had that belief that God creates some people to work with other people just to be there for the people, to work for them. And she believed that she was one and I was one. You take a lot from them.'

Community shift

Nuri recounts the change in attitudes and behavior in her work environment as she and another female agricultural extension agents struggled to gain the opportunity to work in rural projects as male counterparts were doing. Nuri approached her supervisor to be allowed to go into the field after finding out that only men were
advanced at work because they had field experience which women were not allowed to engage in because that took them away from their families with whom they were obliged to live. Nuri insisted on being sent out to the field threatening to sue in court if not allowed equal opportunity. She was discouraged and refused many times but managed to reason her way into an opportunity. Her supervisor refused to be associated with a team having women in it and stayed behind. Nuri and a friend were allowed to go and took part in the leadership of the group which proved to be so effective that the project requested more women be sent because they did not gamble and drink as men did and they accommodate other team members. The group became cohesive as a team and efficient in developing the capacity of the irrigated farm land. Through long work hours the team was able to complete its work in eleven months.

The department changed as supervisors and peers male and female saw the women integrated into the work force and involved in the leadership of an efficient team. The department underwent a permanent change where women now are able to work in positions formerly held only by men. The rural population was effected too. The traditional farming community was so surprised to see a woman working as men do that they questioned whether Nuri were a man. Nuri feels that they were able to accept women from the city working but doubted whether they could accept their own women taking on similar positions.

A few farmers were effected. One very traditional man named his daughter after Nuri saying he wanted her to grow up to be like Nuri. Failed attempts at educating the rural adults in literacy signaled Nuri to redirect her focus to serving the needs of the rural people rather than developing what she thought were solutions. She remarks that it is change in behavior that denotes transformation. That change doesn't happen at the will of the developer but takes time. Change has to be the
desire of the people undergoing change. She remarks that she underwent a complete change in her own way of thinking.

Questions:

1. What is the nature of transformation as an occurrence in communities?

   A. Is there a relationship between individual transformation and community transformation?

      Is transformation in a community proceeded by individual transformation or does a transformation of a community evolve and effect individuals later?

      Are both transformations the same or different processes?

      What is the nature of individual transformation versus transformation in a group?

   B. Does transformation occur as a predictable result of repeatable causes or does it spontaneously occur as an unpredictable phenomenon?

   C. Are there a number of distinct processes labeled as transformation? If so what might characterize each type?

2. Do development approaches effect the process through hindering or promoting change?

   Nuri had changed her way of thinking from that of her family through the process of confronting contradictions in her social environment and the professed beliefs of society members. Nuri altered her thinking through exposure to others ideas and reflection. In her effort to make social change through action she was able to develop skills in organizing and see the power of group efforts. At her workplace she was instrumental in demonstrating that women were capable of doing excellent work.
along with men. That was a new concept in that social context. Her altered thinking and altered behavior allowed the community of coworkers to develop a new way to understand women as professions in their field. Community transformation followed community transformation.

Nuri's transformation was not planned consciously. She was deliberate in finding answers but she did not intend to break from her previous understanding of the world until she was forced to by her conviction to principle. Her effect on her peers in their working environment was deliberate. She wanted her peers to accept women in an agricultural role. The attitudes of the people and the department were changed permanently. The example her and her friend colleague presented left little room for people to hold to the previous way of thinking. Nuri's logical arguments were not enough to change ingrained attitudes about women's abilities in the work place. Demonstrating competency and defying expectations of quick failure with determination and success required that the peers in the department alter their attitudes and behavior in regard to women peers.

The change in attitudes did not effect the rural people in the same way. Nuri learned she had to approach them from their own set of concerns. The effect of Nuri went outside the department which invited development agencies to enlist Nuri and others in their work. Other departments did not follow Nuri's department lead in respecting the contribution of women. Hearing about the departments change in attitudes and way of acting did not alter other departments. The process of transformation may not simply be a mental change. There may need to be a perceived desire and motivation for change to occur. The department went through the experience of Nuri and her friend breaking with assumptions that were held strongly by society. The drama of the event forced the department to rethink and examine their
previous assumptions. Other departments not forced into the process may not have felt the need to confront their long held notions.

Nuri examines her own approach to development initially. She realizes she was aiming her efforts at changing perceptions of women in the work force using union techniques that are confrontational. Her efforts would benefit upper class women who might be seeking a place in the work force. Through her experience what she wanted to do changed. She wanted to relate to women in the rural areas and address their needs. In order to do this she needed to alter her way of thinking and her approach. When she later returned to work in the country she brought two children and wore traditional dress which bridged gaps between her and the local people. She learned from her experience and looks to address their agendas not her own. Her original approach had the effect of bewildering the traditional rural people. They considered her an oddity and did not enlist in fulfilling her agendas. Her return to the country saw her approaching the community from the perspective of their agendas. Development efforts are introducing new ideas. If the ideas do not relate to peoples understanding they will not utilize them in their lives.
Comparison

The profiles of Sarah and Guido show common themes in the backgrounds of the individuals. Strong family and childhood influences created a desire to dedicate themselves to causes greater than themselves. Role models and critical events in their experience that focused their attention to working to help people, to be open to diversity and to work abroad. Each developed a strong mystical sense of connection to God which led them to develop their lives in an expression of love through service in a Faith context. Each spent years working in rural communities in a combination of spiritual activity and social welfare to benefit the communities they lived with. Both learned from the people they worked with and was changed deeply from their experiences. Their present work is focused at helping the communities they work with and not loosing site of the individual. Both worked to develop the capacity of people to better the community and infuse their work with a love and devotion derived from their spiritual relationship with divinity and their connection to the rest of humanity.

Nuri and Bhaate like Sarah and Guido grew up in families that developed a sense of the common good. Both desired to help others and go outside of tradition to bring in new ideas. Both came from backgrounds that had strong spiritual and cultural traditions but both place little emphasis on religion in their professional practice. Having worked in rural communities in their native countries they have altered their understanding and approach to community work through their experiences. Each holds more respect for tradition and each desires to work with people from the perspective of their concerns.
Leadership

Common themes of all four approaches to working with communities involve a conscious effort by people outside the rural community bringing in systems of leadership to develop the abilities of people to organize and direct their own course to address concerns, needs and aspirations that are generated through consultation and dialogue in a community format. Guido’s system creates committees and Sarah’s takes a slower approach to reach consensus with a full community format. Nuri attempted to introduce organization to the rural village but on her terms not theirs. Bhaate recounts how leadership developed in the community through the women’s dialogue and consisted of their consensus. Only later did they appoint leaders to represent the group to the outside. Recognition of these individuals in the community gave credibility to the women’s group that allowed greater acceptance and access to community resources.

Both Sarah’s and Guido’s systems involve introducing processes through village agents (sisters or primary school teachers) that initiate a process in the community to first see that they are not subject to stay in the conditions in which they find themselves. Second they are able to develop or adopt another idea through a group discourse. Third they develop a course of action and develop the capacities to carry out the community tasks. In these systems an outside catalyst introduces the processes and remains active in enabling the community to function with the new system. Neither has shown where in the process the outside influence is not needed and stands out of the process. In Guido’s case the institute that develops the training may be providing links to other development resources as well as mobilizing the local resources. Both systems require the active role of training and agents to educate and facilitate self organization and mobilization of communities.
Nuri aimed her efforts at her peer group. This required that she provide initiative and leadership to demonstrate a different approach to women's capacities. Through her actions the appointed leadership of the department altered its behavior and attitudes toward women in the workplace. That adoption of new ideas by management no longer required Nuri to continue in her assumed leadership roles, for women’s rights or for running the project in the field. Leadership stands out in each of the profiles as an important factor in the change process and present in each community shift. This leadership has come from within the groups in the case of the women in Bhaate’s profile. Leadership development is the goal of Guido’s community development strategy. Sarah’s efforts utilize the leadership of sisters and the consensus of the community through meetings.

**Introduction of new ideas**

Introduction of new ideas from external sources is common to each incidence of transformation. Guido’s concepts of developing the perceptions and capacities for self directed change at the local community level is distinct from the existing system. The present system developed after Spanish conquest displaced the indigenous systems. Colonization and exploitation by a few has not created any place for self rule outside of the family. Guido’s concepts of democratic community organization originate from an external source. The approach is well received. The process of developing the system involved community engagement in thinking through the needs of leadership for the community. Guido’s system is designed to develop community dialogue around community concerns in order to develop plans of action.

Sister Sarah’s profile also introduces new ideas through the process brought in by the sister to the community. The issues as they come up are the communities but
the process of addressing these issues as a group was introduced. Left on their own a rapid alteration of community behavior would likely not be experienced by the community. This external influence was essential to the change process.

Nuri was stimulated to change from what she had read. She in turn introduced some of these thoughts to others in the work situation via the example of her and her peers work on the irrigation project. The government had given equal rights to women. Yet at the department level people did not have an alternative way of perceiving and acting in order to institute the change in the law. Nuri provided arguments and her example. From those influences and their own processing the males and females in the department were able to develop perceptions and attitudes that fit into their ways of understanding. The ideas Nuri introduced were processed and internalized which allowed for a change in behavior. Nuri’s assertion was put upon the department. She insisted on equal opportunity in the workplace. If the department were asked as a group what the solutions to main issues to deal with were, undoubtable they would not have decided to change their mind frame on women at work even though the influx of women in the workplace was an important issue. Through discussion the group may have developed more control systems for female employees rather than creating a new concept of women.

Role of women

The role of women is a prominent theme in each of the accounts of community transformation. In Bhaates exploration of the community process that took place in his sister’s village with the women’s group the women formed their own development group at the local level to meet community needs. The women initiated the process. They engaged others to join them. They came to a consensus through discourse as a group and enlisted the aid of other organizations to provide resources they did not
have available. The example and success of the project allowed other women to create groups in their communities. Bhaate sited the unique features that allowed women to work easily with other women for a common cause. The role of men was minimal in the process. The development of women's groups was not encountered in the area before. Yet women developed this means to address the concerns they had.

Nuri directly had the agenda to prove that women were competent to work as well as men were. She was directly confronting her employers and peers perceptions of women's capacities. Her efforts and strategies worked in the educated sphere of her workplace. She found however that the confrontational approach did not result in acceptance by the rural community. Women's issues there did not involve equal professional opportunities but involved having enough food and other basic issues. Later Nuri learned to conform to some societal expectations in order to address issues that were important to the rural people.

Sarah related the role of women was always stronger in the religious context. The men of the small village had little to do with the activities of the community. The women arranged the religious celebrations and later were the key participants in community discourse because the men excluded themselves because of contradictions in their moral behavior. The women ran the community in the absence of the men. In the larger village the men were more active in the community. There political positioning around building the chapel nearly tore the community in apart.

Guido's program for community development included women's participation in the process. Traditionally women's ideas were either ignored in public or coopted by the men. This was a distinctive break from cultural norms. The results were promising and spread beyond the confines of the community meetings. Women were able to find
work outside the home. Men listened to women in the community meetings and acted on their suggestions. In the home women had a greater voice in the decisions made for the family. Including women in the process of community decision making. Women were included in leadership roles of the community as well. The role of women was directly addressed by Guido's development process.

**Discourse**

In each case discourse was essential for the ideas to be related to community concerns, for incorporation of new approaches into the expectations of the community and for action to be taken. In Sarah's, Guido's and Bhaate's experiences the discourse took place in a community setting. Formal discussion was held at community meetings. In Nuri's encounter with the agricultural ministry the discourse took place in a less structured arena. Informal conversations held over periods of months allowed individuals and subgroups within the department to consider different understandings as events unfolded.

In the three communities that engaged in group discourse processing ideas together allowed people an opportunity to incorporate pertinent new ideas into their lives at their own pace. In Nuri's situation accepting women in the work force was instituted into law be the government of the country. People at the level of workers had to find ways to fit equal opportunity into their specific situations. Nuri pressured the professional community to address that issue. Resistance to her efforts were significant but by setting an example as well as logically supporting her stand Nuri confronted people with a contradiction between what they assumed about women in proficiency and the reality of her example. They were able to come up with a new view about women's roles.
CHAPTER 5
Conclusions

Findings from this study are the perceptions and understandings by international community development practitioners regarding community transformation and the effect experience with those encounters had on their perceptions and approach to community development. From these perceptions themes emerge which show commonality and distinction between the experiences. These findings are preliminary. They may stimulate thinking about some key ideas that may inform an understanding of transformation. They will not be complete enough to create a generalizable definition of transformation. They may however add to the understandings that are important to constructing that definition. These findings may be used to challenge or support key elements to define transformation and what constitutes its make up. Further evidence is needed to develop a fuller body of knowledge and understanding of experiences in practice to generate definitions that are central to the formation of developmental theories in international development.

The implications for educators is that conditions for developing conscious changes in ways of thinking and behaving constitute a powerful means to create the conditions where communities can explore different ways of thinking to approach ongoing concerns and make changes to the political and social systems in which they function. Development efforts can benefit from the inclusion of faith in the development process and the need to consider individual issues and concerns as well as developing the communities potentials.

The accounts imply that transformation can be encouraged and stimulated through facilitation of community dialogue by trained development agents. The process they engage in develops the shifts in thinking of people that allows them to
develop new ways of thinking that they are able to use to address issues in the context of their lives. In the process of change, capacities to organize and function as a community rather than as individuals are developed. The actions they take have consequences within the community and outside. Changes in individual autonomy reflect changes in the community. Communities outside are effected by observing the changes and make efforts to engage in the change process within their own communities.

These perceptions of transformation rely on developing capacities for critical thinking and analysis of community conditions. Reflection and action form a dynamic of change. Outcomes of these experiences are a capacity of communities to function from their own volition in taking action to address concerns they have identified. Transformation in these understandings consists of altering ways of thinking and taking action to respond to internal and external influences.

Future research can look at cases of spontaneous transformation coming from within communities without external agents of change. Comparison of accounts of transformation with current development models could create new understandings of the relationship between theory and practice. Transformation experiences that do not overlap present understandings of transformation may allow international development practitioners to understand the processes of transformation that may occur in different cultures.

An intensive search of literatures across different fields of inquiry could distinguish some of the assumptions about the change process that may be culture or gender bound. Other assumptions about the nature of individual versus community transformation could be brought out through study of findings in psychology and sociology.
An expansion of this study could involve more follow up study with individuals to delve deeper into their experiences. Working with other people involved in the change processes within the communities they worked in would allow a case study to be developed that would create a wider frame of understanding the shift that occurred in the community. The possible lead up or preconditions for transformation could be ascertained from the viewpoint of different people in the study.

The study of four practitioners experiences gives an opportunity to view perceptions from people who worked outside the US and in their own countries in community development. Their experiences reflect different perceptions from their unique experiences and distinct cultures. These perceptions contrast with each other. The study could be further enriched by study of the perceptions of people outside the influence of western models of thought.
APPENDIX A
Interview questions

background of individuals - motivation for community work and experience

I. What specific influences or events from your family influenced or generated your interest in community work?

1. What may have influenced your awareness in the diversity of people?
   - What significant changes occurred in your family? How frequent were these changes? What specifically did you and your family do to handle changes?
   - What encounters might you have had with different cultures and environments?

2. What experiences in your childhood and adolescence influenced your understanding of working in communities?
   - What events influenced the way you perceived the world?

3. Describe your interactions with family, school and friends? experiences, feelings, relationships, ways you treated each other and behaved as a group? How could specific experiences influenced your interactions?

What were your expectations, goals and intentions in international work when we were entering the field? What did you hope to get out of it?

What were your main difficulties in doing development work in communities?

II. Community Transformation

1. Have you witnessed short term shifts in a community? distinct changes in; ways of behaving within the group, ways the community relates to the outside world, ways of relating to significant influences to the community
   - Describe a shift you observed in a community?
   - What shifts in meaning underlie this change?
   - Describe the circumstances the shift occurred in?
   - Were there changes in attitudes associated with this shift?

2. What criteria distinguishes this as a shift? What factors were important? Why is it a shift to you?

3. What took place in the community before the change occurred? While the change took place? What was the condition of the community after the shift occurred? What is the community like now?

4. What effects has this shift made to those inside the community? What impact has this change in the community had outside the community?
III. Individual Experience of the Practitioner

1. What was your role in the community?

2. How did your role change over time? Were there expectation changes? Was there a change in what you did?

3. What was your perception at the beginning of the process? Was there a change during or after the community shift?

4. Was there a shift in your personal understanding?

5. How did the shift effect your interaction with the community?

IV. Practitioners Present Community Involvement

1. What have you taken from the experience with the community? How does the experience effect your own way of being?

2. Does your experience influence your current work?

3. Are you doing International Development work? Why? Why not? How is it different?

4. Looking back how do you view this experience? Since reflecting on the experience.
Appendix B
Sample Interview Transcripts

Sarah
Friday, October 18, 1996 5:00 to 8:00 pm  interviewers living room over dinner

There would be villages within the basic Christian Community experience would be having the celebration of the word of God on Sundays. The Gospel is shared there will be some singing and the shift takes place when...and the reflection of that Gospel... They start making a ink with their local problems. Alright I am going to give you give you one of the example of a reflection where there was a shift for the people.

Can you tell me about just one ///

Yeah this particular village um was a huge village and there was probably like um um maybe there was six hundred people in this village and and one of my friends came to see you how did you work and a huge village ' I want to see how you work with a huge village. I am in a new county now and there is huge villages and I want to see as opposed to the little hamlets. Right So what I did was divided this huge village up into four pieces. And I visited during the day all the families in this part of the village and then at night we have a Gospel reflection and then move on to the next part of the village. Which stay their over night visit all the families the next day, stay over night have the meeting. Go on to the next and repeat that. Because you had to do something like that because there is NO way people from this end are going to come all the way down this end for a meeting. So you had to make it cut it up to make it manageable. Because it was so huge.

Um it In the Gospel reading that I used that was the reading that um I regret to inform you that I am forgetting this. Its the saint Luker er Its the one where the sick man is coming through the ceiling to they couldn’t they brought a sick man to the door for
Jesus to heal and there were so many people that they said ‘Oh let’s put him up on the roof’. You might recall this story and what I wanted them to do that night was for the... the people to have the focus on the people with this reading, not look at Jesus as much as look at the people. So in my questioning I asked um How did the man get to the roof of this house? And I said Well somebody had to get a ladder or something to get him up there. Well then what happened once he was up there? Somebody had to tie around a rope. Well what about this rope where did it come from? Somebody had to go get that rope. You know then that other person had to tie it. Well what about when the person was coming through the ceiling? and I said somebody had to be there to receive him. Well How did all this happen all these you know what took place here that this person would be healed by Jesus? What had to happen? And And they said ( in Portuguese) ‘a division of tasks ‘ and they go on to see it was people organizing to get that done.

So one Farmer says ‘You know what Sister I think that Jesus could have healed that man from the door but he wanted to see everyone mess around and do all of that.’ Now I can never read that Gospel that I ever again in the same way. That man transformed me I’ll tell you. In terms of years of of the Scripture and all the rest that we did in our own formation. And he didn’t loose sight of of Jesus but he saw that Jesus wanted the people to organize. That they wanted whatever the problem was you divide up and you go ahead and organize and get this thing done.

Um now they began to understand that and they went ahead and and they and they developed and they went ahead .. How do you say they constructed a little lean too if you will for meetings outside in the sun. And all this and you had to to get together to pull that off. Then there would be another I forget there was a little
community action that we did and the folks started to recruit folks to do... They would respond with it. It was out of that particular reflection that. The genius of that that night for me was yeah it was a win win situation. I got them to look at the people but they didn't lose sight of Jesus in the process of doing that. And I thank that man for excuse me for the appendage if you will that he added that on because the people got that that organization that's right. We had a bigger reflection about organizing that was meant to divide the tasks. One person can't do everything. That we need everybody. A whole community has something to give Whatever it is we want to do. We are all into that and then this other guy comes in and does that. And for me it was a clincher. I absolutely loved it because it was win win all around so exhilarating. I mean I went to bed so high that night. It was beautiful.

That Sister took that passage and used it in 60 different villages when she went back to her county. She thought it was so productive. She was visiting from another parish to my community. And knew I was working in this particular ... She was visiting and her whole point was How did you work in number one the geographic location of the place. What do you do um Because where she was working before there was smaller places and Yes I did work in smaller places too but I also found myself in this huge um development and um And she found that very productive encounter and and then was able to duplicate that. If you will. I mean bring that passage to reflect upon and totally and one hundred percent the same way but the fundamental question would be there and the reflection would take place. And she found it so helpful.

Can you tell me more about the village before this occurred?

They were all farmers and there was some small stores. And they were huge
enough some kind of lighting. Um it was probably some sixty miles outside of where I lived. So it took about two hours to get there. It was in a broken down old bus that was their And sometimes there would be an old car that would go there. Um So then there was some electricity would get there because it was such a huge village that and there was some political connections within that village. That village had people who were pretty aligned to the people of the city and politicians so even the teachers in this place were not very united. Some of them would get politically competitive for the job. Who knew who all that kind of stuff. What happened is it had the dynamic of a small city. Because of its population relation to a smaller xxx. Some people had some power had a little bit of education. Maybe four or five years of schooling. But you had jobs to compete for. Um and there was some small xxx small land owners some small. And then the people I have most experience working with um all my professional life as a community organizer, have no land whatsoever. So there was also a percentage of them. A large percentage. So the folks who had some power were a minority of persons. But that power they could wield um So you has to be careful how you worked with these people. Um you could Because if they saw you as the ravel rouser. It was going to be very obvious um because of the meetings being in public. They didn’t have a chapel yet I don’t believe. No they were having They would use parts of the school to have some celebrations of the Word. That’s what it is we used a classroom. That’s what we did. Then when the priest came for mass it was outside the school. Um see then there was this tiny little village next door and went ahead and made a chapel for themselves. And it was a tiny village. And what happened was in this village there was all kinds of um problems about the creating a chapel, building a chapel for themselves. And that’s what. Hopefully this um that this reading would address working together.
Did this reading effect that chapel?

Um to some extent yes. I wouldn’t say that was the transformational product at the end when the Chapel was constructed.

The reading where the other Chapel took place that that village xxx that was right next door. I forgot about that. That was a smaller village that used to meet in a house, put about seventy people in one house to have their celebration of the word. The Basic Christian Community experience. and interestingly enough they went ahead and built the chapel and when they did the people were fewer. Now this is a whole other dimension of a problem. We may not want to get into right now. That that effects the The men won’t go to the chapel as easily as they went to somebody’s home. Because they associate morality with stepping into a chapel. and some of many of them have women on their side. And all that. Had they never built the chapel it would(giggle) have been better. Ah because people felt welcomed in somebody’s home and they sang and they were organized more so then the bigger village. It was an outstanding study. They Because the people were there eager to sing they would write down all their songs in pencil in a notebook you know and they didn’t have like printed papers or anything. They do it little notebooks everything. They get out their little notebooks. It was inspirational. And about seventy people in one house and its almost like dear God I don’t want to do anything to mess this up. And I would go They were so pleased that they met me at the big village and said ’ Please come to our village. Please come to our village so I went and that’s what I discovered. They were an outstanding community. But then once they built this chapel it there were fewer people. I am not saying it died when the priest came for mass it was glorious. I mean everyone was there. Everything was you know prepared it was singing the
mass was well prepared. It was they were they were definitely outstanding.

um but that passage um the bigger village did effect the way they would put something together. Even when they were preparing for the mass. You know aren’t there they what did in that larger group was the political was if somebody from Yeah the location of the church became a political gesture. If someone said I want the chapel next to my house. Its because someone was able to get more money for the materials to build the chapel. And somebody says but this place isn’t feasible for everybody they have to go farther away. And he would win the location of the chapel. This was true in any village. Because of um Not so much in xxxxx .Xxxxx was They were very poor . That was a very beautiful village to me. I loved their spirit.

And the big place got messed up because of politics because they began to ask for money to buy cement . all this stuff. They wanted to a real chapel of cement. The other people made a little chapel of wood and palm trees. thatched roof and all that. These people wanted it because it was a big village see. And they wanted finer things. and so they wanted a thing of cement. All that . When you start asking for a sack of cement from somebody you are talking money now. And so the influence of that where They got divided around that stuff. I mean rally to do the work. But then they they’d They did have these That politic thing see its a the economic issue is invariable the killer. You know because I become very classist about this. Give me a smaller village very poor . People you know who don’t have anything. You can generate unity so much easier because money is not an issue. And no baby has any. And I am best in that kind of a setting. Put me there. You know and I am in my glory. You start getting in with all these power plays . Its like Ahhh. you know when people have money and all that its like... That not my vocation.
I think I share that change in attitude with the shift in putting the chapel up as opposed to keeping the word of God in somebody's home. The men felt more comfortable. There was a moral issue there. The shift in attitude would be the comfort of the men most especially. Women will usually go any where. And they will walk the longest. And they will carry the babies and they will do you know.

The small village it broke isolation. It uplifted their spirits. To come together share the word of God and sing and pray. Unquestionably it was a unifying uplifting element. um

Once that chapel was as modest as it was. Once it was constructed. You had less participation and that kind of made them sad because fewer people were coming. Especially the men. And then they also had a drought . and the men by droves would leave the village. and go to the gold mines thing . so that also um drained population. It was only the women and children left. And I visibly saw their bodies you know their bones You know just because they were really starving. And they were really hungry. And so the men were going off to the gold mines to try to you know get money and send it back and stuff. Um the drought was a major the major issue. So that also effected participation. And spirits you know. We would try to reflect around that. And I'll tell you boy. You talk about trying to resurrect yourself out of your own ashes. Even for myself I saw what was happening with the drought and I was going 60 miles to this place and the very day I'm arriving the men are pulling out to go to the gold mines. And now how do you reflect with the spirit of hope for these women and children that night in the village. It was very very difficult. Nothing glamourous about that I'm telling you. It was very difficult. Because they are sitting there and their bellies
are empty and they are thinking 'when is Daddy coming home? And is Daddy ever going to send us money'. and stuff like this. And some men did go away for two years at a time and start whole new families and all the rest of it. It was very very difficult.

Um So that village was filled with so much spirit and enthusiasm and life it was glorious suffered a little bit. The shift with the construction of the chapel and the drought setting in. um ah and in time the men would come back slowly. Um but in terms of the attitude was more moral of why you know why the men wouldn't go to the chapel um

I truly was sad they constructed the chapel. To be perfectly honest. Cause I had a feeling that was going to happen with them. It is a sign of prestige and status and there can be some shifts that are positive with that. But I always have an ambivalent feeling. I always accompany if a village says 'We want to build a chapel'. I never say don't do that you are going to be sorry. You go with it. You go with it and learn. And learn to organize and all that stuff. And um evaluate and then move on to a new issue. You know or something else they want to identify. So I want to be careful with this that in one instance I am telling you that in the larger village where the chapel was a conflictual political issue and the other chapel in one of the of um a loss of spirit. You know and a moral issue I don't want to give the impression that in every single instance that that occurs. But that's going to happen. Invariable you can talk to any sister I swear to God that worked in xxxx, in any village that was constructing a chapel. Invariably in the process there are fights. There is all this stuff that goes on. (laughter) with this and you just have to ENDURE it. Till they get this out of their system. We need this chapel. And let them have this chapel. And we have to go through hell till the chapel is finished. And then you can get away from it and get on to other kinds of
issues. (laughter)

Do you know what I am saying? But I am telling you talk to anybody. Whenever I hear a talk to no one for the next two months because I know what you are going to tell me is going on in that village if you are building a chapel. Anyway it is probably not what people expect you to say. When you are talking about constructing a chapel. Invariably because it is so status for some people if they give some cement to it or .... The more modest it is the better. But You Kaghn't convince them of that because they want to give the best to God and all that.

criteria of a shift

Does this shift have to automatically have to be positive? And the criteria the yardstick I'd be using is the numbers lessened. And the number of men lessened in terms of participation. So even though the men weren't coming any more or I still tried to find ways of talking to them. at their home and all the rest. Um that would characterize the shift. Then what would happen is is People start judging and getting mad if people don't show up for things. If we start getting mad at the people What is going on here? you know so when the people start getting mad at the people that has to be looked at. That's a negative. If that starts to occur. Well they did 'What happened Sister only 20 people tonight. Where is everybody? Da da da 'and start judging them see. You have to be creative about how you handle that because then you don't want to lower the boom on these folks cause they are complaining. Cause then you could be doing the very same thing with them as they are doing with people who didn't come so So its like when people are tired and we just have to listen and try to do other kinds of things. Participation critical spirit could begin to be generated and start judging one another. It becomes divisive. And the people tend to be very physical about their appraisal of situations. If there is tons of people, a cast of
thousands at any event it is a major event. It could be the most shallow experience on the face of the Earth but if there are tons of people there, it is a major success. That is the first criteria for these folks. The numbers lowered therefore ‘What went wrong?’.

**Community after shift**

The last time I was with that community I think they were still coming out of the difficulties with the gold mine the problems. You know. Getting their families back together. Trying to get their family intact. You don’t even try to talk about getting the community intact again. So those kinds of traumas in terms of a drought for example would dramatically effect. And I know where these questions are coming from. It would be wonderful to track what we had this reflection and the people learned organizational skills and went ahead and built the chapel and everybody was happy and there was a major thing. (laughter) No I can’t do that in some instances //

**Effect on large village**

What happened consistently To go back a little further. That’s little village was unquestionably mare alive from the outset in their faith expression and in their organizational skills than the larger one. In fact, the larger one wouldn’t do too many activities without calling them ‘Come and help us. Sing when the priest is giving the Mass sing for this and that’. Because they ah There was an outstanding family there that had like ten kids who new how to sing beautifully and all this. And that was a major factor in furnishing. um so they knew how to organize themselves around the celebration of the Word that could get people together and got them concentrated in one local. The larger village seeing this Very inspired by this. Knows that it is an incredible THEY TOLD me ‘Oh you’ve got to go there Sister. They are incredible. They are incredible.’ Al right they would say this to me.
The interplay between these two communities was an interesting study all the way down the line. Because of that. So if I'm not mistaken. They constructed that chapel first. Did it quite efficiently. It was a darling little thing. You know with a thatched roof and all the rest. Dirt floors nothing. It was modest and commensurate with the rest of the environment. Then they come to the Be.. and saw it. They already have their chapel up. You know. What are we doing. We are so many more people here. We even have electric light. You know some of the places there would be a hook up for a couple of stores or something. Excuse me um. So they became a motivating factor for the larger village actually. Um and to this day they might have succeeded in the larger village might have succeeded in the larger village might have succeeded in (xxx). What the name of that if I was trying to trying to think of the name. The term that the larger village it was probably the largest village in the xxx. Um a I think they succeeded eventually to get that chapel built but I suspect with more consequences of division amongst themselves. It would have been a labor of love as in that smaller village. It definitely was. I mean my memories of that are incredible.

Oh I think that family.. There was this family there that was outstanding. And I think the other thing was ..
This was the same family that sings a lot. Now this is going to sound egocentric you asked me this question something is hitting me. I was invited to go to this huge village I was the first sister from the church that went to this huge village. Then what happened was - - - Oh its wonderful. I haven't made coffee like that um Oh its great my brewed coffee doesn't taste as good. I make terrible coffee now I don't know what I am doing wrong. But now I am remembering um and so then what happened was xxx says um xxx says 'Oh come and visit us. Come visit us Sister we we have these
meetings at'... such a day and time. And so I go there. In my coming to those villages they then began to say well maybe the priest will come for mass now. They never had a Mass there before. They never had Baptism there before. They never had marriages their before. Um Ah That would then necessitate the construction of a chapel. So in a sense um arbitrarily any Sister it didn't have to be me. Became a catalytic piece in terms of organization around the church. You know 'Well Sister has come um She participated in the meeting she sees that we like to sing and we and you know we are doing the word of God. We are reflecting on the Word of God. Well maybe the priest will come celebrate Mass, Baptize our babies.

Now I am recalling that and then um And her this where the gender stuff comes up. I went there for Mass. Um I don't know I don't know when it was. And the priest was there. and one of the guys from the community says Father xxxx is the first priest to ever came to our village.’ Now I am in the audience at this point. And I knew I was the first person from the whole parish that seriously even when I was invited accepted to go. Al right because it is so bloody far for one thing. I was standing there and of course I would be very spoiling and in a collaborative spirit not that I wanted a big applaud for me but I said to myself “ and you dear Father know damn right well that if I hadn’t gone back to the parish to say” There are folks there who want you to go there for mass.’ You wouldn't be here today. You know But like that that would be another example of a gender issue that just in a collaborative spirit say and ‘Yes Thank you Sarah for letting me know about this village. Collab.. En after to come and say ‘I am so happy “ would privately come to me and say’ Thank you for “ You know. Nothing like that. in terms of a collaborative spirit as a team. The priest the man is everything. It didn’t matter how we.. what we did. Walk alone for hours 20m miles on foot. I’ve done it I know how to do it. I can go to any one of those villages on foot by myself  you
know and get there. And those priests have never done that. Never done that. Never
gone alone on foot in the back woods. None of them except xxxie. That first priest I
ever worked with. Al the other priests I have ever worked with would either go in the
jeep or have some other mode of vehicle or something. um And maybe on occasion
they would We walked a short distance from one place to another with a whole group
of people. And they loved being around the priest.

We'd go the snakes the wild dogs. the co.. the herds of cattle We were all by
ourselves. And that is choice I am not saying that we were the hero but but its the
difference in style you know was is significant. I suspect he still would today.

Role in Community

It's the community accompaniment. We would go into a village. visit everybody
first there is no way that we would attempt to do anything without visiting all the
families. I don't give a damn about how long it took. But you get your body into every
single one of those houses. And you get to know who these people are get to know
their name. How many children they have. How long have they lived here. You 'd
hours and days and weeks doing that before you know big stuff would happen. Who
are these people and what are their needs what are their problems. The point of
departure is them and it's this cup of coffee and you are sitting here with that . And um
I loved doing that. and then you would just compute all that information all the time I
mean there was no way you would be writing down all the names. Then go home and
systemize your information. But I mean you are gleaning information all the time. All
day long. How many people live here. When did this place open up How far away is it
from the town? What is the land rent. What are the prices of coffee and rice ? and um
all the commercial aspects Is there a school here? Um how many children go to the
school? How many classroom are there? How many teachers are there? And you are asking questions all day long. All day long all day long. And and as I say hold that information so that really you are getting a profile of what is going an here.

What appears to be a need that um that's coming up again and again and again. Somebody in the back kitchen might tell you what those needs are. The rent here you know they might not say that in public. If you start talking against the land owners in public boy. You could have your meeting sabotaged easily and it happened many times to me. Like you you'd there was a structure there that we have the ah how do you say? How do you say? The general store owner the little general store where you bought soap and kerosene and matches. and coffee maybe and sugar. um He is the plant of the land owner. He is paid the land owner to supervise this place. Buy the coconut from the people. Remember the Babasu nut I told you about at the retreat all right. HERE IS WHERE IT COMES INTO PLAY.

The babasu nut is the. The babasu tree is grows spontaneously all over xxx. Millions if not billions um Not all over xxx I'm sorry all over the state of xxx which is more xxx than xxxx. More toward the xxxx. Um and the these nuts grow in clusters. They're elliptical in shape. In the in the shell can only be broken with an ax. So the women go out in the early morning and they knock down the babasu nuts big clusters and they fall to the ground and the women sit there all day long breaking it open with an ax and they sell the nut that is inside by the kilo and they use the shell as fuel for cooking. So ever part of this is used. And um this coconut becomes a source of financial exploitation. Horribly so. Scandalously so.

And so the land owner forces the people to sell it to him on that land because
the trees the babasu trees grew on that land. And so if he only buys for three xxxx per kilo and the next village door more of the people will want to go next door and he will not allow them to leave the land and. He'd put gun men on the road to steal your babasu nut. And sometimes shoot at you also. Some people have lost their lives over this issue. um then there some others that don't want you to break the coconut at all on their land because the shell hurts the the hoofs of the cattle. And so they don't want you to do it at all. Consequently you are still left without at least if you can do it and sell it to him you can still get something. And then there are some that don't even want you and that's when they also shoot in the air. They see you underneath the tree they will come in and shoot in the air and just scare you off. Um It is a horrible horrible situation. And it is the major source of income outside of selling the rice and beans.

Um so anyway this man this man owns the commercial store and he also buys the babasu nuts and all that. He could show up at one of your meetings. So he could sabotage us. If he were saying You know after you do all this visiting and you gather all this information. you have a meeting at night with all the people you um you could say you are having a reflection on the world of God and then you get into we'll say St. John chapter 10 verse 10. “I have come that you may have life more abundantly.” Is there life here. Jesus said he came to have life more abundantly. Is there life here? 'NO!' Where is there no life? ‘Well we don't have a school. We don't have this. We don't have medicine. Our land rent is too high’ Somebody might say. And if they say my land rent is to high that man would go out and report it to the land owner the very next day. So the people know who is in that group. They won't open their mouth if that man is present. And sometimes if he come in we change the subject. I see him come in I've seen his face in the course of the day. And if he comes in I'll start going Oohhey lets sin now! We'll change the subject for a song so and its kind of like loose the
meeting that night.

There are pastoral concerns within the work of Basic Christian Communities. Community plans of the people to confront different agenda about land goes on at the same time as catechetical training helping people learn how to be leaders of the Word of God in the Basic Christian Communities. Pastoral concerns have to be tended to but land problems can erupt at any moment. There is nothing neat about it. So it is a simultaneous attention that has to be given. That’s where the challenge is present themselves. You know um Because the Basic Christian Community is the life blood of the people. So And that has everything going on at the same time. And its within the life of the people. And in the faith context it can’t be Its not always neat. That’s what I was trying to say that meetings might be simultaneously marked. And all of that. And then the safety of the people because what they were doing with land was very dangerous. Land owners could hire gunmen all the time and wipe people about if they thought they were going to get in the way. Because you have tenant farmers and um share croppers who don’t own the land. They are only renting. Or you may have folks that did homestead and you have someone come along with false documents and say that the notary public. We are the owner. And they had them falsified and they paid somebody to falsify those documents. So These people that do this have money and they can pay gun people. Gunmen and all those too. Anybody they see as a trouble maker. Just eliminate them.

Did that happen often?

Even now as we speak. You would have as much as 200 farmers killed in xxxx in the course of a year.
It's not just the sisters and the priests, it's also the lay people who are incredibly vulnerable. Without even the protective structural stuff like the community that we can avail ourselves of.

**Guido**

*Wednesday October 30 1996, at his living room in a Sunderland, MA apartment*

**Personal and community transformation**

There are two types of transformation that sort of occur. And they are interrelated obviously. One is what I call and others are starting to call this transformation of mental models. Which has to do with changing our mentality. And it is very linked to a paradigm shift idea. You know. And I think that can be something it can be dramatic. You know. It's like you know you go through this personal existential crisis. You recognize that a certain way that you have been thinking is wrong. And you assume a new way and you try to take on a new conceptual framework. How to see reality. How to see what you are trying to do. And I think that transforming those mental models ah is can happen in a short time. You know like within a year, six months depending on the intensity of your learning experience. And then that sets you up for a different type of transformation. Because once you have transformed your way of thinking and have adopted a new way of looking at things. That means you have to change your behavior. And that behavioral change may require the development of new capacities. In order to carry out the way you are thinking.

For instance you take out you transform your way of thinking about decision making, and you say "ahh Now I must learn to consult. This old way of trying to manipulate my way and dominate doesn't work I need to change that." And you understand why. Cause all the assumptions you had maybe aren't true. And that
forces you to ‘Well what way should I participate in decision And then you are presented with this idea or concept of consultation. ‘Okay well how does that work? Now I understand how that works. Now how do I develop that capacity. Now that I understand the concept how do I develop the capacity? What qualities do I need? What skills do I need? What attitudes do I have to assume to consult effectively in collective decision making. But then that capacity takes longer to develop. Takes time takes practice. The actual development of threat capacity is a form of transformation. Because you are taking some basic human potentialities and you are configuring them into a new capacity. That empowers you to do something you couldn’t do before.

So you are seeing the potentiality of human virtues, of human skills, of human attitudes of human understanding configuring a knew capacities. And that knew capacity exists. That allows you to participate in collective decision making in a very effective way. So that change of mental model of decision making now has. If you transform that to accepting a knew model of decision making which you needed to develop the capacity to implement. You see so there are two levels of transformation occurs. One its the way of thinking, your structures of thought, the way you think about things and you adopt consciously adopt a new mental model. That’s consistent, coherent and its hoping to perfecting to evolution. And then you are developing capacities to make it operational. And I think that these two forms of transformation are the basis of community collective transformation. Once peoples ways of thought change collectively and they develop capacities to make them operational then you see a behavior and the emergence of new social structures and things like that. That can not occur without those levels of transformation. So I think these things are implicit in everything I said before. Working at the community levels. And it took a long time to come to understand those things. So a good educator a good facilitator of learning
is someone who can help people become conscious critically conscious of mental models. Help them to surface them. And to analyze them critically. Well okay this is what my mental model looks like.

Bhaate

Does the shift in the community impact outside the community at all?

I think the impact of the xxx and the committees definitely I think. For the Mothers club I interviewed definitely. I'll give you an example. you know there is Some social consistency came to one group of mothers. And then somehow I think they communicate to other mothers. Because they did something good to that benefit mothers club in one village. What did they do? Yeah I think now a days there is a in my village a mothers club. There is a group of mothers they do you know not only the plantation of different crops and They are involved in building the water system. They are involving the daily trail. They have helped to build the school. You know They are growing different types of vegetables. Aah Which is marketable. I never heard of I never heard that people will sell vegetable from my village to the TOWN! Instead we used to import from from them. And economically I think people are becoming upper mobilized. If they were poor then I’d say less poor. And this thing is happening in majority of ways. It is not one group of women. If you are untouchable woman, there is untouchable group of untouchable women's committee. There is a women of well to do families women they have a group. But they all come together to solve some of the problems. Like drinking water will effect all the women's all the man. And then so they will They need a If they need some free labor all they women will go. So when you see in one village a drinking water system was being built by the women of that village and they raise What village was that? Its my home village. Now in
In most of the xxxx area you will see this thing is happening. **Please tell about the water system.** I think this thing particularly happened to my sister's village. Ah because in my home town/// That is called SSS. At SSS water is not drinking water is not a problem. I don't know the the clean water you know is the issue. But we have enough spring water so that the villagers don't have problem of walking miles to collect drinking water. Whereas the completely opposite to KKKK at my sisters village. In the summer... in the winter when the spring the source all dries up You know the spring water source dries up and the villager women have to travel miles and miles to get the drinking water. And a in the premonsoon season in April to May between that time is the hardest time people had to work work in the farms. And then women work all day in the farm come back and had to walk another miles two miles three miles to get the water. to cook and a h for get the cleaning. And sometime when it rains and then the people the women used to collect the the dirty water. The flood water just flood. You collect the dirty water Lets you know settle down and then the and when the mud and the dust and everything is settled and the people will drink the water. That means there is a lot of water born diseases. And a so winter time... These things keeping happening for generation to generation.

And ahh In my in my sisters village so My sister including a few women's sat down and then say " I think we should do something for them to solve the water problem." and then 'What can we do?' You know so they talk to people in the village and um There was a ...{ tape change #3 side 1 } One time the water system being built. With the help of the British ex-soldiers. But that didn't last long. So for six months I think the water systems runs and everyone enjoys the water . And the pip[e broke and there is no water And no one was responsible and then the same thing begin . The women job is mil... walk for miles and miles and um When that happens
This group of mothers they sat down and they decided maybe they should build a water system which is permanent. And so this time they talk they talk to the village women first. And they try to raise some money.

And ahh Then that time my brother was working in the project which is the Anna Purna Conservation Area. And the women group also go to him. Saying' This is our problem and I don't know whi... How we can solve. We don't know how we can solve this problem. But we need to have a water system here.' And um 'Can you help us?' So when this women approach I think from my brothers project there was seed money was given to them. But that project cost them something like 150,000 Rps. So the women group form a committee of all the village women and then their fund raising activities was like Someone's married to someone they would go and dance and sing a song. And then collect some money. For the donation. If someone has new baby born you know girl or boy They will go to the family you know sing a song in the evening. Some entertainment and then collect some money. Someone from coming from outside abroad for the vacation you know the a lot of kids not kids young men are in the army. So when they come home on leave the women's league will go there and have This mothers club dance and sing and a song That's how they collected the money. Wedding they would go. You know all kinds of death, wedding and the Bons and baby Bans and all that. Went to different places Collected a lot of money.

Then they approached the man. But man played a very limited role you know. I don't see my brother in law plays a very important role than my sister. And so the women they went to They collected that amount of money. Now they have this 40,000 seed money as well. And ahh so They I don't want to say ally with the ACAP project but the ACAP You know They talked to the ACAP personnel. And so um the
Anna Purna conservation project office provided technical hands to build the water system. So the women carried the water pipeline from PPP from the town to the village KKK. That was probably a one day walk. Now because they. A long time ago you know you had to go to all different places. Now they have important route and so the road is shorter than the path. The women went to collect the the sand and carry to the village. Sand to build the tank water tank. And also to stem the pipe. They went to carry cement from PPP they carried the pipeline. They carried the sand and from the river to the village. They dug the ditches to you know bury the pipeline. They did everything for themselves.

At the beginning it took as a water pipes project. and once they. They finished that one. That they you know somehow they started looking working another project like How about the kitchen garden. Introduce of new new improved varieties of garlic, onions, a cabbage things like that. And when these things happen successfully in this particular village in KKK. The other women in other villages are also united and say ‘Why don’t we do something like that?’ So a group of women from my village build a traveler in for the people who travel from my village to the Himalas. And they built a tin roof travelers inn for the you know the travelers. And then another group of women they they built a drinking water system for the main route back and forth from the village to the you to the other places. So they put a tap water in on places. ahh traveler inn in other villages and also they built a lot of um village you know community wise they did a lot of conservation. Individual wise they plant a lot of trees for farmers. The group of mother This plot of land. This group of mothers they plant trees for for their communities. Then the whole village as a whole you know plant the trees especially for fodder. And that is why I interviewed the women.
I said 'Why do you want to plant the trees? What is this for?' And the older women said the reasons. First of all I was You don’t keep buffaloes. You don’t raise cows. You know why do you need trees here for? And she said ‘I don’t but my neighbor will. If I have two fodder trees I can give them I can sell or give them my the two trees for their cows or buffalo. I can get the manure for my for my farm. I can get this some milk. My neighbor has some buffalo. I can have free. Even if it is small quantity I can have milk. I can buy butter from them. And they don’t have to travel far away to get the fodder for the animals. That means the jungle will be protected. Because you have fodder near your house you don’t want to travel in the jungle. So that means even if you don’t do any thing the trees will be saved.’ And then she said ‘In my childhood I used to collect firewood one hour walk from here. But today you have to walk two three hours and it is very difficult. So it is not because we know a whole lot of things but it will protect the trees and it will also save the time for the people who have animals.’ And I thought that was a very wise idea. You know wise answer. And I ne I didn’t expect that that kind of answer but in their simple language in their simple vision the women’s vision to me was ... God! And so there is a lot of I think the Because the women is seeing the benefited sort of things I see the other women from other villages are also doing the same thing. Only one of my fears from this thing is though that, I hope this doesn’t become commercialized. Because for example last summer I went to my village. The women’s club came to my house for the donation. Then my nephew visited when I was in my home. He did the same thing. The next time JJJ will come and oh he’s from America. This is the mothers club. and you have to do some donation. Yes it is a good cause but because e every time when you see somebody is coming in the village with some purposes or something then they have a good purpose then they can contribute to us. Then they have misuse the fund. But you know how other people from outside will take that and to me if it is too commercialized
in the name of development. And whether that will be sustainable. Definitely it is sustainable.

Back to the water system, they have trained one village person who will fix. in case of repair is needed. You know the pipes and all these things. In the past the government built the water system and let them go. And that is why the government built program um In my village (the government built water systems). In my village three times successful.

(In the sisters village) They built there was one system built before them. The ex-military personnel built them. It didn't work but this system was built five years ago and last year I went there I am talking about my sister's project. And it still works very well.

(In his village) We had three. Time and again villagers collected donations and built. That wasn't that important I mean from my house if you walk 25 feet and there is another spring water. 20 feet down another water. So it wasn't that important and first of all it was built by the you know our government. So people were not People paid and paid that much attention also I think that they feel that there is an accountability and responsibility maintenance. But now they have a water supply system and they have trained two persons. You know sometimes the social water is cloud because of the leaves you know filled and the the source. So they trained two persons who can repair the broken places. And in my home I have a I have a My father has a bathroom. Running water bathroom right at my house. And he doesn't need that. You know I mean They have a spring water 20 feet 20 feet above my village down my house. But still now I think it is becoming a the behavior if I could
say is also changing. You know why do you want to go Why do you want to walk 20 feet away while you have water here. You know house women's are becoming more. You know you can wash the clothing and everything. Laundry and everything. So all these things make women's life more easier. And lastly the electricity is the biggest factor of effecting in their household life.

So in many ways I think in the future electricity will play a very you know important role for economically and other reasons. But right now the household wives. Because right now in my house they have electric rice cooker. So the women can cook rice in the electric cooker while they are making fire and then the meals on the fire which save at least some some firewood.

**Women’s clubs tradition**

I think that in the educated circle probably they were called women's club this. In my hometown you know there was no well mothers used to group together called the dacuti system. The dacuti system is a you have a group of 10 people and then collect 100 rupees each and then the first person who needed the money all of the group members will pay give to her. And the next time when somebody who needs the most then out of the 10 member will pay with the interest so the first person will not get any interest but the last person will take the money will have more the highest interest because she is paid the people. So if you don't have a banking system I think it is a good way to invest your money. And its very famous and its good for men its good for women become for children a sons and daughters all. Its very popular I mean its becoming more popular.
The mothers club wasn't always called a mothers club... It has a hierarchy...
Someone will ask you 'Why don't you become our chairman?' Every member will be part of that. (The women chosen are known when they go to other villages.) Every thing is fast for the women. If you call the men for a meeting at 9, one will come at 10, another will come at 2, and the other person will be at 4. For the women's, let's meet together in the evening at so and so's house and come together. Because their funding has never been misused whereas men's do. Women are taking more leadership role especially in infrastructure building, social care and social issue. The drinking system is different than the mothers club because before there was no mother's club. The women got together and said we got the same problem. What can we do in our village to solve this problem.

So I talked to my sister and said How did this thing come up? And they said there were a few of us get together but it is not because we had the plan then we talk about the difficulties the easy things and the good things and the bad things and so this the issue of water system came. Then so there was 8 for that day and the next time more people came. More women came and they talked teach other about what are we doing the group getting together bigger and bigger. Within the group were active participants and others less active And so you know some were active and more active then tried to bring the less active to be more active. The biggest motivating factor for them was the seed money they got from the project. That was a challenge for them as well. ..... xxxx are generally very generous people. Even if you are a poor person you will contribute when there comes a time. They were able to collect a lot of money. ....... They will form a group for specific purposes. ACAP learned we should learn to work together with the community. Provided seedlings and all varieties of vegetables. All these things were done by women in a limited
period of time. These things look to the women as a big successful project. So this is kind of publicity. So women who weren't so active didn't take initiative became more active. Also different women's were organized in other areas. Women of the area thought why don't we do something like that. No one person did this. Women in a village started talking and did this. sss has five divisions and each one has its women's club. Every club is doing its own thing, fund raising.

The men are not particularly active. I think women have less political conflict among themselves. Even if you come your husband belong to a particular political group. When it comes this issue I think women are more united than men. And the men are more political divided and I don't belong to this group why do I go? ..... (Women) Are politically active but not that divided. When there comes a development activity that helps them whether you belong to the different political groups or the same they seem to be united easily than the men. And the men has a an animosity or a competition of leadership. That is why they are more easier to organize than the men.

Fund for Disabled girls

I also raised some money for a scholarship fund too. For disabled children in the school. And ah so in many ways in the last five years I am less active for this activities than I was active. I used to write all the village leaders. Greeting cards from here. Always talk about what we can do. I have registered an NGO in Massachusetts here. But it is not a tax deductible because I just registered. And to get this ..... Put this money into the bank in two high schools provide a scholarship from the sixth grade to the tenth grade. That means if you are selected for the scholarship then you will be getting all the way to complete high school. To me to give for one year doesn't make any sense. Then there is a better chance of investment. He or she will get
employment probably. At least she will contribute something to herself or her family. The scholarship fund is geared to disabled girls. Because she is the one family wise neglected. Community wise neglected. People in the family will use the funding for physically capable sons who will be able to join in the army and return with the. So who goes to the school? The son who is to be able to go to the army. Forget the disabled and the handicapped. Missing one arm one leg one eye. So my preference was to do something for the girls. They are the least priority given in the family. They become the economic burden of the family because they will not get married. Its a waste of their resources.

Nuri

*Influence to do community work*

The extended family patterns. My living situation since I grow up. When I was born in XXX actually ... I came to XXX when I was so young I had to grow up there with very communal place but I remember when I was six years old we moved to an extended family house. Our house which was living at home with the neighbors. We were in the house with 20 something kids and 5 grandmothers and we were assigned. Each five of us were assigned for one of the grandmothers. To make sure we had our tea in the morning. That we had food. And we shared everything and make sure at sunset the five kids are in the house. Safe till dawn. That was very interesting. change in my life from just being in my family and this huge number of kids and you had to negotiate your way around and it was like girls and boys and you had to struggle to make sure that you can eat in that house. You can find your slippers and you can cloths and no one is wearing your t shirt (laughter). Now we are 9 ... It was a
huge house like a huge block all by itself. Like each one of these grandmothers have
a bedroom with a veranda which is also like a hall because we also sleep there. It
was too hot so we The room is just like a closet to keep your cloths and things and
when it is raining then you can find a place and get in. It wasn’t like this is your
bedroom and you sleep there NO. Because everybody was sharing the whole
common areas. We have some partitions where each family knows where their
location are But for the kids for the grandmothers there was no partitions. Just like for
the mothers and fathers. So they know where the bedrooms are. and that thing but It
was like a common space for everybody.

The neighborhood was more or less like everybody knows everybody.
Everybody is parenting. So your neighbors have the right to tell you what to do and
what not to do. And if you are like missing up out you would be strained with your
neighbors and your family would never object that. You don’t feel like they are
interfering. And they do the same thing for the other neighbors kids. It was very
protected safe environment. That was when major change in my situation in a
communal setting. Because my mother is coming. She is half xxx and half xxx That
the unit family was also because Father was living in XXX long enough so he was like
the supporter of my cousins and nephews who would come to find work in xxx and live
with them in the house. So still she has the extended family type culture in her
house...

One other thing when I was like 10 yrs old We were part of a swimming team.
Like most of the team was like neighborhood and relatives my cousins and my
neighbors friends and the coach was from the same neighborhood. Like everyone
was known to everyone. But part of the discipline was to clean the streets in the
neighborhood and do a lot of communal work. as part of funding the team because we didn’t have any money and we had to clean the swimming pool itself for the club people to give us the chance to swim there. We couldn’t rent the swimming pool we don’t have. The team wasn’t registered. And the minister of sports and cultural affairs. We can have some support. The coach was volunteering and we had to identify ourselves for being recognized and win a lot of games before we had to be registered with the sport and culture because it was like luxury for rich family and poor kids didn’t have a chance to do that. Our neighborhood was like low middle class low income. So we didn’t have any chance to do that. The coach was the one who put the initiative for the kids instead of playing. Being in that teen age doing things out it is better for them to put their energy into a cooperative way and Team do this and do that.

But also being in the girl scout was the whole values of the girl scouts. to be to help the community to help the elders to help the people in the need who are another influence in my life. I was doing a lot of voluntary work. around the neighborhood so I guess that was also very significant shift being in the girl scout. Than just hanging out and just play with kids and do these things. I guess because of my mother she was working and there is and there is no. She had ex (they moved two times to a private house as mother and children).

Severe culture severe difference in culture was part of having a biracial mother. She was part XXX and half YYY. Well culturally she was different than people there so that was the first thing. She didn’t have any experience living in YYY. She was born ....in XXX. That was another shift for us. She knows some of the people because of the father. She didn’t have the experience living there. And most of the neighborhoods we were in were ethnically different a little bit. But there is a lot of
similarity within the culture. One of the houses we rented was near a shanty area. The starting of a low middle class low income neighborhood. ... The ethnic groups in that area were very different. They were from different regions of Sudan. They had different features. And we talked with them... The living conditions was very poor. No electricity no running water supplies nothing. And non of the North YYY people from where I am were living in that area.

For us it was like that was the line between being in a safe place and going into another place. And there were a lot of stories about things happening and that. People stealing and it was not a safe environment to go but as kids you know we kept sneaking in and go. You know there was nothing just poor people. It was like a conflicting message. We had some of these kids in school. It doesn't make sense. They are good kids. There is nothing wrong with them being poor. That was a major conflict on why you say these people .. I mean all kinds of crimes were labeled for them. They were hyphenated with like kilo like any problem happened they would be the first one being accused. That they are the ones who did this or did that and the real life. There was some decent families living in that place because they didn’t can not afford other places. They used to live in that place. That was an eye opening for me is why anyone was different. We label them. And anyone who is poor you label them too. It was for me more or less a lot of questions and the answer was not convincing. You know there were no good answers for why they are doing that except that this is pure discrimination. It was nothing else. And we felt um because we had that xxx thing. And they think that are oppressed and the other think they have this you know development and the yyy’s We hate xxx’s. And we don’t want to deal with them. So we were very resistant to identify ourselves being you know having xxx blood whatsoever. Cause we thought this XXX’s treat us like s- -. We don’t want to
deal with them. My mother was very furious because like this is her family. This is her home which we were saying that we don’t want to deal with that. Excuse us. You want to deal with your family. You do it.

I didn’t have any family that were XXX in YYY. Most of my family we had there were my mother family also... Our adaptation was very quick because of my mother but we had a lot of trouble from my aunt. ... She would beat us using yyy language in the house but we couldn’t remember xxx language. We didn’t have the accent. And we had to look like every other person and we were dark in color not like xxx. We didn’t feel like we belonged there. So that was another thing added to When you see people different. People don’t identify with their own cousins which like.. That doesn’t make sense they are cousins you know. You can’t just say no. And that was for a while and then after that everything was like pshd . We were in the community there was no way we can be out because the school with friends you play the whole play areas were common so you meet the other people and you have to be You have to feel like you are one of them. So that was another factor in dealing with people that was different.

The other thing I guess is when my brother was around. HE was 15 v and I was 14 and he want to play boxing and we were so happy we were so happy to be invited to see the games and things. We didn’t know that he didn’t tell our parents that he was doing boxing and when we were you know that was like He became very excited about the game. And my father and my mother just went bananas about that. Because boxing was not a sport which people from the North would do. Well like family kids would do . Boxing is for people from the south. What we call slaves in our slang that is .. This is people who are second class. But no people from families do
that kind of sport. What do you think yourself you hang with this kind of people. And you know the whole argument with between he and my parents was very strong. You talk about equality in the house they are liberal people. They think about human beings are the same then they label people by color. ‘Um these black people from the south they are less human.’ I mean the conclusion of the discussion when you don’t hang with them because they are different. But why not? I mean. They are very close friends. Nothing wrong with them. And my mother would say ‘No. No. No. You don’t make friends with people who are that different. Still we can be brothers with them friends with them but we can’t get married with them. These kind of things. No NO that doesn’t go with the facts.’

Another thing is the definition of who is human and who is not. And I was To some extent we had to struggle very hard within the family to make it clear that you know. There is no way you can call people because they are dark slaves. Slaves especially I had to read about it I had to read about it very much. Then I said no. Slaves during history were white people even. It is a matter of job. They were slave because of the war because of this but not because of the color. Color had nothing to do with it. And if you think that white people are not slaves black people are slaves from where we have that problem. We have some blood of the slaves in our blood. If you think color is a determining factor. And they said no, no, no. We are from that tribe. These tribes are not slaves. It wasn’t very convincing. For me it was antireligious too. Despite that in Islamic religion slavery was allowed. It wasn’t restricted but there was a lot of effort to change it in the prophets life. He couldn’t do it for so many reasons economically and support and power and it was like trying to change that. I was very religious and I thought if Islam would allow this then it is not a good religion for me. And that was a big change for me.
Being a female and that was another thing and being very religious was a lot of questions which couldn't be answered with the religious. It was another conflict in my life. I can't handle that any more that's it. And also the religious concept on females wasn't convincing to me at all. That was another issue with me. I was in a very liberal family. I was better off than my two brothers school wise. There was no reason for them to be better than me because they were boys. No good reasons why that could happen. They said Religious and so I just would not take it. ...And couldn't find religious people who were convincing. You know you just had to obey and I couldn't obey because that wasn't part of my reading. My father used to discuss everything with me I can't just take things for granted. And the system with religious was you had to just obey. You had to believe in it. No way you can argue it. And that was in contradiction with principles of mine. Because you can't just obey you had to believe in it. You had to understand it. And then you had to take it, internalize and believe in it.

I discovered that wasn't really it. ... Actually I was reading a lot of books. There were Colon Wilson's series. And it was about the whole question of life. And if it is non sense to be living. What kind of things I had to be looking at. I was also reading to Sataire at that time too. At that time it was too conflicting. I was 16 or 17 when I was reading this book. So I think I was basically I was looking for answers. I was just reading here reading there trying to find some meaning for your life something which make you feel like human being was like. And why you were living. The use of it the value of it. And we just hear to do mistakes and then we finished? It doesn't make sense to me. Why? Why? What are the main reasons we live out our lives to do what?
Finally when I was like 18, 19 I started to be very radical. Willing to change the structure in this country if we want to have a better life. that would be the only way. I was looking around and finally I joined the women's movement. In my country I feel that is the only way I can help out is being part of it. It was hard to find because they were working under ground. During that period of time there was no democracy. there was a dictatorship. There are were so many things. Sometimes I was very active in the student union and I feel that organizing is the only answer for doing this. And I dropped the whole subject of religious. I had nothing to do with that ...

Everyone was surprised because I don't practice. And at the same time I have a lot of values which don't Contradict with the religious. They couldn't understand how you could be very human having a lot of values when being very helpful, communal being there, working,volunteering and at the same time you don't practice. It doesn't make sense. People told me if you just cover your hair you will go to paradise in a second. I said thank you. I don't want to go to paradise I am fine here. That is how I became very involved in community work organized work.

I went to government school all my life up to the Masters's degree. So I felt like I had to pay back. Part of what my people paid for it. The privilege of being educated was a very low percentage. And a very high percentage of people want to be educated. Especially women and being a woman made me feel that I had to do something about it. I had to be involved in helping people out with it with the lives. Being privileged with an education make me more committed that education is the key for all development. And this is why I was involved with literacy work and a lot of training for women and the women's movement. ... I worked with local farmers.
worked with the government because I was mobile always moving. I would be in
contact with rural people. ...Due to my political affiliation I was also very committed that
I had to do something. I believed in democracy. ...One major obstacle was to be
mobile to move around. Take my own decision and have control over my life.
Because your parents are the ones who tell you what to do. Even if you were 25 years
old. As long as I am single. I had to stay with my parents I can't live alone. I can't say I
don't want to live with you. It doesn't work there. Your family is responsible for you.
Till you get married then your husband had to deal with you. Even if you get divorced
you go back to your family. There is no way as a single female that you will be living
alone.

After I graduated I told my father there is just no way. I am working now and I
have to do my job and I have to move. Where ever the government is sending me I'll
just move. And finally they have to accept that. But actually I was the one who was
nagging to be sent out. No one was causing me to go. But it was one excuse to do
that. When I had to choose my husband I was very careful about having someone who
had the same commitment or belief of community work. And have the same political
affiliation so we can be in the same boat. Because it is very hard to have a different
husband and then you have to struggle in the house and struggle outside. It wasn't
working out that way.

Community transformation

In my work place in SSS in the government. I think it was I had the chance to
see the shift. How we started and where we were before I left there. The job I was
doing there with the government. And that was when I came and I applied for the job.
It was very difficult peoples... They were that kind of feeling that there were so many females who were graduated from agriculture. I went to agriculture school. The year before us there were only 2 SSS females in the whole group. When we went there we were like nine girls in the group it was like whoop. Nine girls at a time that was a huge number. They said that and the problem was they kept increasing the numbers of girls who is going to a different faculties. Which was dominant by men. Agriculture was not one of the favorite college for girls to go. But because they increase the number of girls who wants to go to school when the only two jobs was was going to medicine school or being a teacher. And the numbers was increasing. You can't have everybody as a teacher. So there were so many girls who started to go to different college that were not open except for men before. Especially with agriculture because the work is all in the field.

You can't just be sitting in the ministry doing nothing. Because you had to work in the suburb you had to go to the rural area. Especially in the tool department which I applied for. The agricultural extention was my major and agricultural economics. These two are working outside the office and there is nothing you can do inside the office. They felt like they had enough girls sitting there doing nothing. so they wanted no more girls. So when I applied they gave me a letter to sign which was a statement of commitment that I the undersigned know that agree to work in any other station to this ministry and wherever the government send me and all these kinds of things. Before e they would accept my application. So I said all right fine with me I signed the thing. And I was accepted for the job and I came down when there was like another nine females in the office. And I started looking at the paperwork. Boys go to the field they bring information We code information down load it. We do all this kind of analysis. And I what I am not going to work I mean I studied 5 years to come and sit
hear doing this. And I started complaining to my boss. I said I signed on that letter why do you want me to sign on the letter if you do not want me to do work. And he say Oh we just use that letter for the girls who apply for the job. And they sign it and they go on. And I said so you were just using that to discriminate against us females. Not to apply for the job. And he said yes. Okay I am taking that to court. If I am not sent out I will get to the court with that letter. Because I had my copy. And it is against the constitution and you did that. We are girls and we had equal opportunity to apply for the same jobs. My major problem was we were not allowed to compete in. It wasn’t written all the things... only the letter was written. All the other regulations inside the department was just like agreed upon and was against the law. They would not accept any promotion for any of the girls. Unless there was no one to be promoted. And all scholarships abroad was just assigned for men. And only excuses were that You don’t go to the field. So I said okay if that is the only excuse I want to go to the field right now. Right away. And then I waited and they kept saying ‘Ah no. no. Not this time. Not this time.’ I said I’m going to the court again. They were oppressive in the way they are inconsistent if I didn’t see my name in the next list. I am going to the court. Then they tried to discourage me from going. Saying no one else is going. If you want to go all by yourself without no other female colleague. I am going.

Then that was another problem with the team leader. Which was my boss and me going. He said ‘No. If she goes I will not go.’ I said I don’t care. If you don’t want to go that is your problem. I am going. And he tried to discourage me and I said there is no place for you to stay. I said no problem I will just stay where you are staying. I will share the same place you are staying. ‘No.No. The water is dirty.’ I said you don’t have a filter in your stomach. What you drink I will drink what is the difference? Well he said ‘look I don’t trust girls.’ I said this is your problem too. I was working I had the
same mission as this one you are taking. I had the exact same education in the same classroom. They didn't give me less information I have the same information as you. I work for you for six months. Did you ever have any complaints of the quality of the work? Never. He said 'Nope.' you don't have any good reason. I bet you when we go to the field if I have to sit before you. Send me back. He said this is very funny. I said I don't care. Okay the day before we were supposed to leave they told me no way. You can't go by yourself you have to find another female colleague who will be willing to go.

And I was talking to my colleagues and a lot of females and they said we tried before and they refused to send us there. You will not go. You will see they will just find a reason to kick you out of there. So when it was really serious they said well okay just find someone who will go with you by tomorrow. Well the team was leaving the very next day and there was no time. They wanted me to find somebody. Well fortunately I was talking with so many of my colleagues. And I was trying to convince them. If we all said we wanted to go then it is better than just me standing there. So I came back and I said you know what Send me alone and they said 'oh no.' So one of my colleagues she said 'I will.' And you have to be ready to go tomorrow. She said 'I'm ready.' YES! So we had to leave next day the two of us with eight men and they sent letters to the department we are going to that project. The team is eight boys and two females. And everyone was confused. What on earth? Two females are coming to do this work.

So we were there anyhow they were very polite they took us there we went all over the project area they showed us all over the project area. Very nice area. So we are going to start the program tomorrow at six o'clock. I was in my jeans and she was
in her jeans. She used to dress in the national ways. I didn't use too. It was a little bit cold so I had my sweater on a surf over my head just to keep me warm. And the project director said 'Oh you don't need to get up that early. You can stay.' We said why? The office is ready here you can stay and wait in the office. People who are going to the field will go early. Because we have to start early. I said do you think we came all this way four days in a train just to sit in another office? We have a better office down there in the capitol city. With air conditioner, lights and a computer why should we just be here. 'Well I don't know what you are doing here any how? I don't think you will be able to work in the field.' I said do you know me 'No.' Have you ever seen me before working? 'No.' You can't judge before you see me work so excuse me I am going ahead in that team.

We were in the first day and they thought okay a day or two and they will get tired and they will leave. We were there for eleven months. Just to make a point The team leader didn't come so the only two graduates on the team was myself and another colleague and a technician so we had to lead the team. I was very fresh I was just graduated six months ago. My colleague was like a year older. It wasn't that big a difference. We decided we went the first day. It went very slow because ten of us were moving in the same place we came and we talked about it and said this is not working out. And we said we can have two teams and one can start at the end of the project and the other can start at the other end of the project. And we would come together. And that was tough to finish it was a huge irrigated area. And calculate the irrigation rates to do that and to just. Two separate the two females was my suggestion put each one of us in a team. We don't want to be together so they will say. Oh the girls they just let us do. They be in the way of that thing. Then after ten days no one had complaints. The project director was harmonized with that thing. We felt the work
was going on everything was okay. We used to work 12 hours a day.

Six o’clock in the morning six pm. And the men said you know this is too much work. We are not supposed to do that. We took some of this information and we just. You know. We said no who ever can’t do the job just go back. I will send you back who ever can’t do the job go back. And another problem in the team was we were only two females and the assumption was. After we worked 12 hours we come back and cook for every body. Excuse me. Na Na Na Na . Me and my friend will cook and we will eat. You eat in the market if you want to cook here we have to share responsibility. And they said ‘But you are the females.’ I don’t care. We are here we are equal working. We go out at six and return at six. And sit there and do the cooking and the cleaning and then we have to sit there and do the paper wok with you. Excuse me Excuse me no way.

Then there was some complaints some said we don’t know how to cook. Fine. Four of us know how to cook. Two of the females and four of the males. We are going to assign each one who doesn’t know how to cook with some one who knows how to cook. And we share responsibility. The one who doesn’t know how to cook will do the dishes and do the fire and do this. Because we lived in a very remote area so everyone had to bring the water had to the wood. And after three months everyone was knowing how to cook. Everyone was sharing the same responsibility. Two a day had to do the work making tea making food like this. There were no more complaints.

My boss came to visit because he was saying three months and no one was coming back. He was surprised. With the teamwork we had the harmony of the team. There was problem what so ever. No complaint. The project director said send more
girls. They don't drink they don't play cards. There is no way they can be bribed. There is no way. Send us females. Now we know we can show their work they are hard workers and that was a shift in the whole department. In the later years you know three years later that was the start point. No females were just sitting there. Everyone had the right to go. Women were given extra chances. When you go out you have extra money. Because it is like a hardship. There were a lot of economical benefits for females to do it. It was really a shift in the whole department. And the mentality of who to compete. What to do. Sometimes the girls would joke about it and say. Oh why you did that we were so happy sitting here doing nothing.

It was something very serious because second time when we have a big wave of girls to go out my director was saying' Well you know women can't do that.” They said ‘nope Nuri did that they were there for eleven months.’ And he would say 'Oh But she is not a female. ' No. No. She is a female. I was so angry. He said no I was just praising you. You are better than three men. I said I don't even want to be compared to men. I am a female and that is okay with us. It is not only me. It was me and my colleague and they can do it. So that was a real shift. It was one of the departments in the ministry of agriculture when you have females going in the field doing all the work bringing it back and doing all the analysis. For me it was a community shift and it was also a rural area shift also because when I went there in my jeans There were people coming to tell me if this is a male o a female. They would come and sneak in the house and they would see me in my dress. My hair was long and 'She is a female.'

And we had to be attacked by the Mosque. You know the mosque? The guy in the mosque was saying 'Girls could be teachers they could be doctors they could be
nurse but not agriculturalist. They put trousers on they do this and they do that. Two Fridays and he got tired and just let us go. That kind of change with the community as well with the community as well. For us as females For me the indicator for me of acceptance was when one day one of the farmers we are working with They came and they told me We have a girl a new born girl and we call her my name he gave her my name. And he said you know when she grows up I will love to see her like you. He was an old guy very traditional from a rural area to name his daughter on me was like a lot of credit. That he would really get to the point to see more than just being like mothers. Females being in the house doing nothing. and that was the role of females girls. Being in the village also we worked they don't work. And we'll come home and we will find they would come and clean our house for us bring us wood. They don't have to do that for us. But that was kind of just showing us that Credited how well we were doing. Coming and asking Why you do that leave your family and you come to this area to do this. And it was all for discussion you can do what you want to do. We were like one girl she was a very good grades in her school. But her father refused to send her to the government school to study. And we had to talk with him for months. The thing he was thinking about has no basis in doing. He had a fear she would go with boys but he had no basis to fear. He knew everybody in the village for him it was no big deal. He didn't know what she would do in the capitol city. People would accept the change but it was like a sudden shock for people. When we first came these women are in trousers. It wasn't acceptable at all in the rural area. But like also she is a stranger she is from the capitol city. I wouldn't talk in the village. They were not very aggressive. I do not know if it were one of their girls doing that they would accept that. Somehow I wasn't sure for me it was like the village itself it was a different story.
criteria of shift

Acceptance of change. When people are used to do something and then they accept to do it in a different way. That is a shift for me. Respect of change happening means people are adapting themselves. (TAPE CHANGE #2 side 1) The acceptance and respect and the willingness to do it. For me it is the basic criteria. The shift is in people's behavior. It is very important. How they behave how they live. Take for example two females and having that as a part of the reality you can have. You can have a female with you and you do not have to be afraid of your sister. It could be your colleague with you in the same job without no sexual relation associated with that you can look at her as just your colleague. We obviously in the way we you know play a lot of card games with out gambling and all social activities together. When you know doing a lot of things together. Any other team would do the same thing. But if they were eight men they would end up doing the same thing. They end up telling us jokes and telling us what the girls are doing. It was just like being a brother just that kind of relationship. That wasn't something people would be familiar with. And we would have the girls from the and she would say there is this cute boy and would you tell him that we know the team and him work together. And being together with male and being accepted by the director was a shift.

impact outside the community

Within the whole department we started with eight people in that department and then we had to deal with. We have 65 people in that department so we had to get with the whole shift in the department and the whole growing in the department. Like ten years later when I went back and visited. My department I was separated for a couple of years I was another three years in another place. You know going out and finding that the trend is still there. All new acceptance people had to go and work in
the field and do this and do that. Nothing really went backward. It was a sustainable kind of impact. ... I’m not sure if it was real acceptance. If it was one of the villagers would it be the same thing? Or because I was coming from the capitol city was it okay. Because I don’t belong to that area. I wasn’t sure. A couple of people at least have been changed. But for the whole community the guy who is calling his girl my name this and very few people who I would think seriously. But it wasn’t like there was a major shift in the community. So the main effect was in the ministry in the department. We were being used like an example or a case for other females to say ‘Yes people in other departments went so why don’t we go. It was a concrete shift in a small community. That’s what I think had the most effect. ... Some international organizations came to the department to ask for a couple of females to do some studies. It was well known that there was a couple of graduates in this department female that would work out in the farm with no question about it. So for the department there was a whole benefit for them. ... The total number of women in that department when I came was only like 4 or 5. 20 or 30 after I left in 5 years of 60 it was a big shift.

**role changes**

It wasn’t a planned change in the community it just happened through living there. The team that was there we were just doing our job as government employees. So that nothing in that case.

**As a women leading the way**

I did that on purpose. And I actually I insisted on wearing my blue jeans in the not wearing my traditional cloths. my father and my boss and my family were saying if you are going to the rural areas you better change the way you dress. And I insisted no they had to know that other people in this country who are that way and are not
changing. There was some things that I did intentionally that I was believing them. You had to be yourself to link with the people. We had a long debate that you build a gap when you behave that way. You build a wall between you and women. Because they feel more threatened with your behavior. They don’t see the similarity that you are a female yourself. They think oh you can do that but not us. Because we are not like you. And that wasn’t convincing for me in the beginning but over time I discovered that was true to some extent. And I was not serving the majority of SSS women I was just serving the elite. Which were not really in the rural area where I was. So I had a change in my perception in how I behave.

When I went to a rural area again I dressed traditionally and I had my babies with me and I insisted on breast feeding while doing my work and that developed a lot of relation with other women. Who was really that was my target goal. that was a major shift. Taking at least seven years to see the difference. To see the group I was targeting. Who I want to help. And how to fill the gap between you and the people I want to work with. There was a change in my perspective. I was young I was active and I wanted to change the world. I had the perception yes I can do it. If I could do it other people could do it. And I thought like When they see that they will change. And I never figured out how difficult change is. You can’t just go there and change it. Its not like just changing the color or your car. It is a people behavior it is a subtle blend of cultural behavior. Societal patterns It doesn’t work in isolation of other things you need to change. Just being there is not enough to change it. In this specific case I was sometimes felt like we have a double rationality. We had to behave differently. So I was the same person in the rural area and in the office. My language was the same in the 3 areas and that wasn’t really smart. I had difficulties in figuring out a common language with women. I can’t even say it was a language of educated
females. It was one of activists. Like union people. Education had nothing to do with what I was doing. My perception of change had to change a lot over years to fit with what I believe in. Implementing theories you believe in is very hard when it is not culturally grounded in the basis of the day to day life of people. What I believed in when I started was that women are equal and can do the same thing as men and nothing can prevent them from being promoted. They can work in the field they can work long hours. Even physically they are more fit. They work more hours than men and they don't complain. They are tough enough to do it. That was my perception when I went to do that. The other thing I wanted to do was to state the point that women can be very liberal having their jeans on and go to the rural area. There was nothing with you born in the capitol that you can't communicate with people in the rural areas. I still believe in that.

What I believe in is the welfare the wellbeing of all women. The target group was different. I was not talking to my boss I wasn't talking to my department I want to communicate with grassroots women. So this was a complete shift in my target group. I wasn't making a point for my group I wasn't doing that. ... My hidden agenda was to try to organize women to make a change. If I wanted to make a change they had to get organized. And that wasn't part of their agenda at all. They want to eat and feed their kids and family. So that was an eye opener to see who's agenda was getting addressed...

During that 11 months I was there partly what I was dealing with was my department and my bosses my colleagues. And having difficulties to organize women on new branches and getting them training. I was volunteering time and had classes while all was there and had a good relation with teachers in the school and spent
evenings with the teachers trying to build and link and bring girls to Having them and out of that I felt like that wasn’t their basic need and I wasn’t trusting them. And even the ones who came were not interested in learning how to read and write. They didn’t feel like they needed it anyhow. Do what with read and write. They are farmers they do agricultural work they don’t need to read and write. For me that was like the best the number one activity and I wouldn’t change it. Having more fun socializing and asking questions about the city life and this and that and social pride. When I would cook something and they would eat it and they would say. They have more fun in socializing than in learning. And we ended up no teaching no teaching. They were teaching me hand work. Making and doing things and they were laughing when I couldn’t do it. For them it was just like a night club. we did a lot. I learned a lot of dancing from them. Culturally for me it was a great experience and they never saw jazz and rock and everything. I did a unit for the professionals but I could not do one for the farmers. My agenda was completely different. And that’s what we figured out later. You are both speaking the same language and you want to teach them and they want something else. They were refusing to learn because they were not interested in that. They told me frankly what are we going to do with learning alphabet and numbers. And that was the adult curriculum we had. The books we had. Just out of sense. It took me a couple of years to discover that. They were right what are they going to gain from just knowing the numbers. And I learned from them The ministry of education developed that and I was over there and ready to do it and happy to train others girls who were like sixth grade to continue with that literacy class.

I had to hit my head to the wall a couple of times before I came to my senses. Really look at it from their point of view. All my frustration was They don’t know what is useful for them. Are they crazy or something. That was my own frustration. Why this is
not working. You know you have the passion. You have the tools. You think you are educated well enough. It wasn't. I had to go through a lot of thinking also development to develop tools just to work with them. And developing a lot of informing king of things and be open to them. For a lot of suggestions to deal with that. Again that was very important. I was very traditional in my thinking, I was very academic. Dit Dit Dit This is the way. And we educated committed people are up here and these people are done there and we want to bring them up there. So that was the whole attitude we doing that for them. And them identifying what they want to do. A couple of years before I stood on my feet and said there is no way I can change them unless they are ready to do it. And this is there agenda not mine.

I took a lot of believing and trusting. A lot of up front with my agenda. A lot of my professional career that belongs to them. My pass to working with international development, sitting there being paid well that was part of it. My knowledge of the community working for the community all this volunteer work I was doing with the community was paying off because all was look at this and this and this My credential my CV was getting bigger and bigger because of them and because of what I learned. I owe it all to them. Learning how to organize and how to work. Many people told me why do you bother why don't you stay in the house with your husband and your kids. My mother had that belief that God creates some people to work with other people just to be there for other people to work for them. And she believed she was one and I was one. You take a lot from them. ...

I was transformed from one person to another person. It was not just a qualitative change. There was a lot of accumulation change in my life. with all theses factors going on. I had a complete shift in my thinking.
Appendix C
Sample Observations

Guido
October 22, 1996 10: - 12:00 am

Guido was giving a talk in a classroom at the School of education at UMASS on his work. He provides a background on the regions of xxx and a background on education. He talked about the program he developed in adult learning to empower communities in rural areas.

(Quiet subdued speaking, he responds to the audience. He addresses comment gently and seriously) He has his hands in his pocket. The Institute for rural education has a capacity to administer programs, to mobilize funding from the world bank. We are training Five hundred primary school teachers in a three semester program. 460 m teachers enrolled who were required to pay their own costs for a 6 to 7 month course on a salary as a teacher of $120 per month. The government promised to give a bonus to their salary as an incentive. The institute offers supervision and writes the modules used in the training. The program is a Capacity Centered training that trains people to transform people to be effective social agents.

(He approaches the audience. Takes out his books and put them on the floor in the center of the room where the people sitting on chairs in the center of the room can see him. Standing over the books with one in this hand.) Moral leadership is the key role teachers play in this program. Trust must be developed, transparency in moral leadership. 18 capacities are identified in moral leadership. Social research is important. The moral leaders must generate knowledge within the community. Resources and problems must be mobilized. The moral leaders must animate community participation. Domination must be changed to reciprocity. They must deal...
with relationships vertical to horizontal. (He squats on the floor over his books. He holds a book to his chest with his arm he points out things in the book.) He talks about research transformation. Refer to the audiotape. (He stands and backs up to the blackboard.) The books are written in Spanish oriented to the country where he works. He wrote the manuals and is the advisor to the project as well. (he looks at the different individuals in the audience. He has their attention.

Sarah

10:00 -12:00 am, Thursday, October 10, 1996 The living room of Bahin

Sarah was visiting Bahin as part of her service in outreach to the families of international students at UMASS. Sarah was sitting on the living room couch admiring and praising Bahin’s baby cradled in her arm and lap. She and Bahin were smiling and at ease in each others company. I was invited in and took a seat near Sarah. Bahin took a seat and also sat. Sarah played with the baby and inquired about the neighborhood Bahin was living in. The interaction of numerous families and mothers interaction while taking walks was discussed and Bahin’s comfort in establishing relationships. Sarah commented on her like for Bahin’s husband and his warm and welcoming demeanor. Sarah continued with her disclosure and commented how well he was received and his acceptance of a nomination for a committee position by his peers. Both were in lively interaction about the conversation. They talked about “Women around the World Club” and how Bahin had already been to a meeting and liked the people there. Sarah relayed how she had promised to promote WATWC through the outreach program. Both programs have complimentary purposes. Sarah offered to promote WATWC through her outreach.

Tea was offered. Both got up and Sarah followed Bahin to the dining area in the same room. On the way Sarah noticed a picture of a garden with a fountain and a
set of blue seats. Bahin explained it was a place in Israel. Sarah vocalized expressions of wonder at its beauty. The conversation moved to talk of the apple straddle Sarah had brought to Bahin (of Austrian origin) and the pumpkin pie Bahin had made for her American guest. Sarah spoke of her community where a polish community has a fine bakery and the lovely woman who sells pastry from 5 am -2 pm. Sarah noted how this woman was always welcoming and happy to receive her customers. Bahin discussed her experiences in her former Bolivian home and how she liked the interaction with people there. The differences in population, US is very populated. Remembering this past brought up some emotions. Sarah offered her love for the interaction in Brazil at outdoor markets and her interaction with people. And her being overwhelmed to return to the US supermarkets after 15 years in close contact with the sellers. She would ask for someone to "just get this for me so I don't have to face all that".

Sarah talked about her training as a nun and recalled the process she went through to define her relationship to God and mentioned her connections through the Catholic sisterhood that allowed her to help others. Bahin recounted her experiences with catholic HS. Bahin discussed her desire to look into Montesori training and her previous work with Montesori in Bolivia. Sarah inquired about Bahin’s husbands and Bahin’s religious affiliation. More comments continued as the baby was fed. Sarah talked to the observer and Bahin. Cardomon and cheesecakes were discussed cardomon was offered by Bahin to both Sarah and the observer.

Sarah was frequently silent in order to listen intently to Bahin and allow for her responses but at some occasions she interrupted in excitement to ask a question which further directed the course of the reply. Sarah approached many areas of life that might be of importance to a spouse of an international student. By opening conversations in these areas Sarah allowed opportunities for Bahin to voice concerns
where Sarah may be able to offer some advise or leads to sources of benefit. Sarah's enthusiasm and energetic approach helped create a positive atmosphere. Sarah displayed great sensitivity to peoples feelings and needs. A sense of ease and trust was quickly developed. This ease Sarah had expressing with emotion opened opportunities for Bahin to present her concerns, feelings and needs. Sarah was there to do what she could to help Bahin explore her needs and relate information about some resources.
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