

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN IN CHADIZA:

A CASE STUDY OF THE KAMPINI ASSOCIATION

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I declare that this research report has not been submitted for a degree in this or any other university before.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DWA ---	District Women District Association
DAWN --	Development Alternatives With Women For A New Era
DWDA ---	District Women Development Association
GNP ---	Gross National Product
UNDP --	United Nations Development Programme
KAWDA -	Kampini Area Women Development Association
KEPA-Zambia ---	KEPA Zambia (formerly known as Finnish Volunteer Service). KEPA is a Finnish phrase 'KEHITYSYHTEISTYON PALVELUSKUS'. In English it means the Service Center for Development Co-operation.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother, Mary Mumba Musamba, and all those concerned about the struggle of women for development.

ABSTRACT

This report is the result of an evaluation on Kampini Women Development Association. It specifically looks at Kampini Area Development Association of Chadiza in Eastern Province, Zambia.

The evaluation contains three levels of analysis. First, the communication structure in relation to decision making and participation are analysed. The second level of analysis is the economic activities pursued by the association as a means of economically empower themselves. The third level of analysis is the relationship between the association and the external agencies and the community in general.

The findings of the report suggest that the communication structure of the association is inadequate. This seems to affect the level and manner of participation and decision making. Consequently, this influences the performance level of the association.

Apart from communication, the economic activities appear not to be diverse. These activities are limited to the production of a few cash crops. A number of factors impinge upon the success of the economic activities of the association. They include lack of market, low prices in the case of market availability, high production costs and modern input, lack of adequate water supply and transport. The second observation in this dimension is that women focused on the external than internal market for their economic endeavours.

The third level of analysis is the relation between the association and external agencies and the community in general. The women association seem to rely more on external than internal resources. There seems to be low use of local resources and promotion of local initiatives. This seems to create a danger of heavy dependence on external sources.

Lastly, the association seems not to involve the general community in their programmes. The association seems to promote a purely “female environment” approach in development. This maybe one of the many factors which contribute to the generally poor performance of the association.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 Introduction

This report is based on an attachment programme conducted in the Kampini area of Chadiza. The attachment period was for 30 days. It commenced on 19 January and ended on 20 February. The attachment was an agreement between the University of Zambia, Mass Communication Department which runs the Master in Communication for Development (MCD) Programme and KEPA-Zambia.

KEPA-Zambia provided four places of attachment to the MCD students. The students were divided into groups of two. One of the groups was attached to KADWA. This researcher was one of the two students who worked with KAWDA.

This report contains results of an evaluative study conducted during the attachment. The study aimed at finding out the sustainability of development in KAWDA. In doing so, it analyses the communication structure, economic activities pursued by KAWDA and the relationship between KAWDA and external agents. The link between KAWDA and the general community was also analysed.

The report also shows the facilitation process of change conducted by the researcher. The facilitation process was based on some of the problems currently existing in KADWA. These are structural and communication problems. Furthermore, it looks at the theoretical framework on development, women, participation and communication. The report also gives general information on Chadiza and Kampini.

Finally, the report gives suggestions regarding sustainability development initiative in KAWDA.

1.2 Describing the Environment of the Attachment

a) Chadiza District

Chadiza is one of the seven districts found in the Eastern Province of Zambia. It is situated in the southern-east corner of Zambia. It borders Mozambique in the south and Malawi in the east. Chadiza shares administrative boundaries with Chipata district in the south and Katete in the east. It is generally a hilly area.

Chadiza has a combination of light and loam soils. These soils are largely acidic and have low fertility. Only areas around the streams and swamps have fertile soils.. Generally vegetation in Chadiza is grassland and open woods. It is thicker and taller around streams and swamps.

Chadiza has three main streams. These are Nsadzu, Mwami and Vumbwi. The largest stream in the district is Nsadzu river. This river is used for water storage. The water levels are close to the surface during the rainy season and drastically fall during the dry season (Chadiza Profile, 1995).

The main tribe in Chadiza is Chewa but the northern region is concentrated with the Ngoni. As of 1995, the population of Chadiza was about 75,464. Data shows that since 1980, the population in Chadiza has been growing at the rate of 35% per annum. (CSO, 1990)

Standards of living are quite low in Chadiza. The majority of the people live in villages. Three-quarters of these people live below the poverty datum line. This is because their main source of income is small scale farming. This sector has been affected by drought, lack of access to credit, markets and farming inputs.

The main crops grown by these farmers are maize, groundnuts, cotton, sunflower, soya beans and tobacco. Data shows that the production capacity has drastically dropped over the past five years. Livestock is kept under traditional management system. Animals graze

on a free range system. Generally, the health of the livestock is bad. The most common diseases among animals are the East Coast Fever and Trypanosomiasis. The majority of farmers can not afford to pay for the veterinary services while the veterinary department also fails to provide efficient services because of inadequate funding from the government. Some of the off-farm economic activities pursued by the people in Chadiza are trading, hiring out of ox-carts for transportation, sale of harvest and livestock, piece work, traditional crafts and selling of beer. It is very common for people to work in exchange for food and clothing. Women are the majority in such activities.

Generally, Chadiza is not a busy commercial centre. It is generally a rural town. It boasts of a few shops run by Zambians of Indian origin. These are surrounded by a lot of small scale traders such as hawkers, pedlars, stores and lock up stalls. There is only one commercial bank - Finance Bank - a clinic and post office. About 80% of the labour force is employed informally in agriculture, fisheries, trading and forestry. The largest formal employer are the Government departments comprising the Council, Veterinary, Health, Agriculture and Education.

The main diet in Chadiza consists of nshima. The common relishes are leafy vegetables such as pumpkin and sweet potato leaves, rape, cabbage and okra. There has been a shortage of maize due to drought. The common fruits are mangoes, guavas, bananas, oranges and paw-paws. For most people, pork is the main source of protein.

Chadiza town is filled with houses of brick built for public officers. But the majority of the people in the villages have made their houses out of mud, pole and thatch.

Chadiza district does not have a hospital. Instead it has 12 Rural Health Centres (RHCs). So all emergency cases are referred to Chipata General Hospital, Mwami Seventh Day Adventist Hospital and St Francis Hospital in Katete which belongs to the Anglicans. The

most common diseases in Chadiza are diarrhoea, dysentery, measles, malaria and tuberculosis.

Chadiza shows potential of developing as a trading town. It has several primary, basic and secondary schools scattered all over the district.

The road network in the district is in a poor condition. Geographically, it shares borders with two countries, namely Mozambique and Malawi. It also lies along a main road running from Katete to Chanida Border Post. The border area is developing at a fast rate with Zambia Revenue Authority and Immigration officers being stationed there.

b) Kampini Ward

Kampini is one of the several wards in Chadiza Boma. It comprises 20 villages. To the north, Kampini borders with Mozambique. It borders Namwela river in the east and Nsadzu river in the west. Kampini has an estimated population of four thousand people. The main ethnic grouping is Chewa. However, there are a few Bemba, Lozi, Tumbuka and Tonga speaking people who come to work. Kampini does not have any health or education facilities. The nearest health and education facilities are at Mlolo. Mlolo is another settlement situated about 5km west of Kampini.

All houses in Kampini are made of thatch, mud and pole. Generally, the houses are made up of two rooms which are used for sleeping. Cooking is usually done outside the houses. On observation, most of the houses had fallen and were deserted. Because of the condition of the houses, it was not uncommon for houses to leak when it rained. As for education, the teaching staff was adequate at the school but lacked teaching materials and the school was in a bad shape.

There is a basic school (consisting of primary and junior secondary levels) at Mlolo. A senior teacher, Mr Mulenga explained that the teaching staff was adequate but the school

lacked teaching material. Mr Mulenga explained that over the past few years enrolment at the school had increased, however, attendance decreases in the higher grades. This is more common among female pupils than males. This was because the girls are married off as soon as they become of age.

School attendance was affected seasonally. The attendance dropped drastically during the farming and fishing seasons. Mr Mulenga explained that programmes had been put in place to encourage parents to send their children especially the “girl child” to school. On observation, the school is in a poor condition. (C.Musamba, Personal Communication: February, 1998).

The nearest health centre accessible to most Kampini residents is at Mlolo. Kampini settlers complained about the health centre and services it offered. It only had one trained member of staff, a nurse who was, at the time of the attachment, on maternity leave. Each time she went away, the office orderly took over her place. The clinic did not have enough medicines. Panadol was frequently distributed for all ailments. The people complained that the charges at the clinic were too high and the medical officer refused to accept payments in kind such as chickens or maize. These were more available to the villagers than cash. So most of them never went to the clinic.

The villagers of Kampini seemed unaware of some services provided by the clinic. For instance, only a few residents of Kampini knew that children under 5 years of age and people of 65 years and above qualify for free medical services. Secondly the majority of the people did not know that the clinic was given nutritious feeds for children who were malnourished.

The most common ailments in Kampini are malaria, diarrhoea, coughing and malnutrition. Most of the villagers took “*mapilusi*” for malaria. These “*mapilusi*” were actually panadol and cafenol tablets. These pills were obtained from the store within the village. They

claimed that they got healed and did not need to go to the clinic. After all they were given the same “*mapilusi*”.

The main economic activities in Kampini is farming including rearing of livestock. Crops grown include maize, groundnuts, cotton, soya beans and sunflower. Maize is mainly grown for home consumption. The other crops are for sale. Livestock reared includes pigs, goats, chickens ducks and a few cattle. Selling of these crops and livestock is done in Katete and Chadiza. Beer brewing and selling is also becoming a major economic activity for the people in Kampini.

The main diet in Kampini consists of nshima with traditional vegetables such as pumpkin and sweet potato leaves or okra. Occasionally, meals are accompanied by pork, beef or chicken. Other garden vegetables such as rape, cabbage, tomatoes or beans are very rare. These vegetables are not grown in the area. It is also rare to obtain foods such as “*kapenta*,” (fish) or milk.

The main means of transport in Kampini are bicycles, ox-carts and a few cars. In most cases, villagers have to walk. Most of the roads are gravel and have not been graded in a long time. The only tarred road is the Katete-Chanida border road. This road is commonly used by Sable Transport Company and a few other motorists going to Mozambique.

There are 7 religious denominations in Kampini. The majority are Catholics. The rest of the denominations fall under the protestants and pentecostal. The main social and traditional activities in Kampini are the Nyau and initiation ceremonies. Polygamous marriages are very common in Kampini.

During the attachment, the student worked in six (6) villages in Kampini. These were Chimbala, Mtusa, Ndundungwa, Chimcheka, Chibule and Chitengeni. This student was attached to four (4) women groups that made up the area women association.

Kampini has indices of poverty. This could be seen from lack of simple toilets and wells, low food security level, poorly thatched houses and a high level of disease.

1.3 An Overview of Kampini Women Development Association

KAWDA is made up of four (4) groups representing six villages. The names of the groups are Tikondane, Mutendere, Panganani A and Panganani B. This association is headed by a committee of 7, comprising a chairperson, a secretary and vice-secretary, a treasurer and a representative from each group.

The association traces its origin to 1991 and has a current membership of 55. The women who belong to this association are primarily illiterate. A few are semi-literate. The age range interviewed was from 22 to 53. The majority were married and had not traveled beyond Kampini area. The women's main economic activity is agriculture and rearing of livestock.

It seemed representatives from the groups were not active. They did not seem to be aware of a lot of what the chairlady and secretary knew. They did not appear to attend meetings organised by the executive committee. They claimed that they were rarely notified. They seemed not to remember the activities carried out by the committee in the past.

(C.Musamba, Personal Communication, 1998).

1.4 Definition of the Problem

Sustaining a development process entails developing appropriate skills, implementation capacity and establishing relevant institutions at all levels. These aspects are important because they ensure effective utilization of existing resources and also foster the mobilisation of additional resources for continued improvement. This is the aim of any long-term development effort.

In addition, sustainability demands full participation of all stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of development projects. Transfer of knowledge and skill is not effective as long as people's participation is negligible and sustainability is absent. Secondly, the absence of participation and sustainability hinders continuity of any development effort.

Though full participation and sustainability in development are important, they are practically difficult to achieve. There are many structural and organisational problems that tend to hinder their achievement.

Therefore, the attachment aimed at investigating the sustainability of development in KAWDA. It focused on the objectives, communication structure and pattern, KAWDA's relationship with external agents and the community. It aimed at examining the prospects of sustainability in development efforts pursued by the association.

1.5 Objectives of the Attachment

The following were the objectives of the attachment:

- a) To analyse the communication structure and patterns among women association.
- b) To examine the economic activities pursued by the women association and the sustainability of these activities.
- c) To analyse the relationship between the association and external agents.
- d) To analyse the relationship between the association and the community.
- e) To facilitate the problem-solving process in the association.

1.6 Significance of the Attachment

KAWDA's main aim is to help women to develop. In doing so, it has embarked on various social and economic ventures. These include training for transformation, income

generating projects and soliciting for external assistance. These ventures aim at improving the lives of women both at the individual and group level.

Therefore, the attachment programme provided an opportunity to evaluate KAWDA in regard to its goal. It was a chance for the local women together with external agents, to reflect on the performance of KAWDA and based on the findings, facilitate future plans and action. In short, the attachment was an opportunity to assess of KAWDA's performance. This is necessary for both the women and the external agents.

1.7 Outline of the Attachment Report

Chapter two is based on the theoretical framework that surround development, sustainability and women. It also gives general information on women and development in the international, continental and national contexts. The section is necessary for the reader to have a comprehensive background to the concern of the report.

The third chapter focuses on the attachment, methods used in collecting data, personal reflections of the student, facilitation process conducted by the student and the limitations encountered in this process. The fourth chapter looks at the perspectives on KAWDA and the results of the facilitation process. The fifth chapter is a discussion on KAWDA. It focuses on five elements, namely KAWDA's objectives, communication structure and pattern, the economic activities and KAWDA's links with external agents and community. The sixth chapter gives the conclusion and recommendations on the subject matter.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter is based on the theoretical framework that surround development, sustainability and women. The section is necessary for the reader to have a comprehensive background to the current concern of the report.

2.1 Introduction

The chapter looks at the theoretical framework that surrounds development, sustainability and women and development. It is divided into three sections. The first section deals with definition of concepts. The second looks at various developmental approaches from the historical point of view. Lastly, the discussion looks at women and development.

This chapter is aimed at helping us understand the development trends and the ideas propounded to influence these trends. It is also necessary for the reader to know the trends and position of women, as the subject of interest, in the changes of development processes. Thus the student has attempted to put in picture the history of women, in this dimension as it has an influence on the prevailing situation.

2.2 Definition of Concepts

Development and sustainability have become very common concepts in the field of social sciences. Along with them, come concepts such as participation, empowerment, vulnerability, equality and gender.

Development

Ackoff (1984) says that:

Development, contrary to what many believe is not a condition nor a state defined by what people have. It is a capacity defined by what they can do with whatever they have

to improve the quality of life and that of others. Therefore, development is a possession of a desire for improvement and knowledge than it is of wealth. (p.15).

This definition brings out the aspect of participation in the process of development. It also brings out the idea of using the available resources to improve all aspects of life.

In general terms, sustainability in development should entail continuity in knowledge and understanding, access to information, both statistical and qualitative, to technological creativitiy and presence of the right kind of social organisation to achieve continuous improvement.

Communication

“Communication is a sharing, a meeting of the minds, a bringing about of the common set of symbols in the minds of the participants - in short it implies understanding” (Okigbo, 1995, p.5).

Participation

Mercado (1992) sees participation as a people centered process aimed at enhancing skill, empowering and seeking active involvement of the target group in development growth.

Empowerment may be defined as the ability for people to generate and influence development at various levels, increasing access and influence over resources and institutions, including by groups, hitherto marginalised such as low-income populations and particularly women.

The interrelation amongst these concepts is very noticeable. Concepts such as participatory development, participatory communication and communication for development are all an attempt to make development a practical achievement.

When development is taken as the meaningful putting together of all resources, material and human to ensure a beneficial and sustainable improvement of all aspects of life for all, then participation, empowerment and communication become indispensable components of the process.

Ackoff (1984) argues that experience has shown that a bottleneck in most development projects has been lack of active beneficiaries' participation in the development process of planning, implementation and decision making.

Therefore, with emphasis on participation as the core of development, communication must assume the following functions. Any communication strategy designed for communication purposes should broaden the horizon of the people rather than manipulate them. It should ensure adequate flow of useful and relevant information in the system. This flow must be multi-directional, both horizontal and vertical. This will ensure a cross-fertilization of ideas. In this way, people develop themselves and determine the kind of society they would want to build.

2.3 Historical Overview of Development Process

To understand the foregoing conceptual framework, it is imperative to look at the trends the development concept goes through, applied as an approach in systems historically.

In the past, development was narrowly conceived and defined on the basic increase on the content of industrialization and Gross National Product (GNP). This approach was based on mechanical principles for the organisation of economic production and social life. The aim of this approach was to reduce the real cost of goods and services produced while increasing the output per human hour. The approach was based on central planning, control and coordination. Industrialization and expansion of the modern sector was seen as development.

In pursuing this approach, developing countries implemented programmes that heavily relied on external assistance to bridge the savings, foreign exchange and debt gap. They also intensified the importation of technologies. Development for these countries meant making available Western systems in agriculture, commerce, industry and health. This called for change in the communication of ideas, knowledge and skills. Extension services basically used persuasive communication to change people's lifestyle. They also decided what change was best for their clients and influenced the adoption of decisions in the direction they felt right.

This approach was based on the assumption that benefits of development of the modern sector would trickle down to all other sectors of society. But this approach caused fundamental damage to the possibilities of these nations mobilising their own resources and shaping their destiny. Thus, these nations failed to foster their capabilities and innovativeness. This led to dependence on external forces. Most important is the point that there was lack of people's involvement in the development process.

As the development priorities and paradigms were being considered, the dependency theory gained ascendancy. This theory came as a result of the disappointments they faced in pursuing the modernisation theory. The anticipated benefits had not been achieved.

So the developing countries began to revise their development strategies in order to re-emphasize self-reliance and interdependence among themselves. They started looking for ways to eliminate unemployment and mass poverty. Deliberate policies such as nationalization, import substitution industrialization and self-reliance were adopted. These were aimed at cutting dependence links.

As these countries were struggling with this approach, another model of development emerged. The latest approach termed "Another Development" has been in fashion to this date.

The basic assumption of this approach is that there are no countries that can function completely autonomous and that are completely self-reliant. Secondly, there is no country whose development can be exclusively determined by external factors. The most striking assumption of this model is that there are no universal models of development. Under this model, it is argued that development is an integrated, multi-dimensional and dialectical process that differs from one society to another. Therefore, each society must attempt to define its' own strategy for development. It also stipulates that development is holistic. It includes the social, economic, cultural and religious aspects.

Another dimension of this approach is to make development have a face more responsive to human needs and to incorporate the human aspect to the economic planning and policy making. Spearheaded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in 1990, the basic point of departure is "development of the people, by the people, for the people".

Under this approach, the most important aspects of human development have new criteria of measurement. These are development on human basis which is a process of increasing people's options to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to find access to assets for a decent standard of living (Human Development Report, 1990).

Currently, this model is being pursued alongside other developmental models prescribed by international agencies. In the late 1970s' the International Monetary Fund and World Bank recommended economic policies and strategies for the ailing economies of developing countries. These policies, under the umbrella name of Structural Adjustment Programmes, are complete liberalization of the economy, privatization of economic activities, removal of government subsidies, retrenchment and wage freeze.

After several attempts of resisting these policies, the number of developing countries adopting them is increasing by the day. This is because these policies have been tied to other external aid and supportive structures.

2.4 Women in the Development Process

In developing countries, concepts related to women and development originated within the period of the independence movements in the late 1950s and 1960s.

The oldest approach to women and development, the “welfare approach” is founded on the theory that women are solely passive recipients of development benefits because their major roles are reproductive ones - mothering and childbearing. This was very common in the colonial period (Hay, 1988 & Synder, 1995).

In the 1960s, the United Nations was dominated by this approach. It was taken as part of the aspects of the basic needs activities. But this approach lacked a developmental perspective. This approach failed to consider women’s productive and economic responsibility. The ‘welfare’ tends to foster dependency rather than self-reliance. Secondly, this approach rather focused on refugees, displaced persons, victims of drought and natural disasters (Hay, 1988 & Synder, 1995).

This approach was later replaced by the “human resource development” approach. It took a total opposite stance of the welfare approach. It brought in profound changes by recognising women’s reproductive and productive roles. Thus bringing in the women’s active participation in the economy. The approach emphasized the perspective called “efficiency”. The assumption of this approach is that the goal of human development should be based on creating better lives, with greater freedom and well-being for the members of the family, the local community and society as a whole. The approach made women’s access to productive resources a developmental issue, with self-reliance and a voice in setting priorities (Hay, 1988 & Synder, 1995).

The involvement of women in the design and operation of development activities was expected to expedite overall development because women provided the bulk of the labour needed and bore heavy economic responsibility.

The approach set in the condition for full participation of women in development. It advocated for the increase in productivity by providing access to resources such as education, technology and income through women's solidarity groups. An important condition of this approach called for women's active participation in planning and policy setting.

Over time, the efficiency theories became exhaustively market oriented. In the past form, this approach was closely tied to dependency theory. The dependency theory places responsibility for development solely with developing countries themselves. It gives scanty recognition to the influence of global, political, technical and economic factors. It was on these grounds that the efficiency approach was criticised.

The empowerment approach appeared in the mid 1980s. The emphasis of this approach was Development Alternatives with Women for a new Era (hereafter DAWN). DAWN sees women's experiences as varying with their race, class, colonial history and position in the economy. It questioned whether women wanted to be integrated in the societal system that oppressed both men and women. It advocated for the mobilisation and conscious raising with women's organisations especially at the grassroot level, as a source of empowerment. Other empowering factors were women's access to productive resources as land, credit, education and training. DAWN also addressed macro-system issues such as debt, expenditures and population programmes. This approach stressed the need for participation and self-reliance to ensure that targeted measures reached women through women's organisation (Hay, 1988 & Synder, 1995).

In the early African societies, the gender division of labour allocated responsibility for cultivation to women while men engaged in hunting. A balanced economic responsibility prevailed between men and women. The work of both was valued in a largely non-competitive division of labour.

Profound changes came with colonialism, technologies, cash cropping and wage economy. As the market economy became more entrenched in Africa, men engaged in political and economic activities. Women's responsibilities were limited to nurturing and conserving society. Men were favoured with opportunities for education and access to resources. Due to these developments, some serious setbacks to women were land consolidation and settlement schemes. These gave title deeds to men as heads of households. Thus, men were equated as breadwinners and as a result, technology and jobs introduced went to men. The prestige accorded to women's work in the society was degraded (Hay, 1988 & Synder, 1995).

However, during this period women persisted in their economic activities. One example comes from western Cameroon. In 1950, women mobilised themselves to form corn mill societies. They used grinding mills that were owned in common, fenced their fields, constructed water storage units and co-operative stores (Synder & Tadesse, 1992).

Women established some form of collective action to increase group productivity, to fill-in social economic gaps created by the colonial establishment. Despite these efforts, the market economy continued to revolutionize the traditional setting.

After gaining independence, many African states pursued the modernization development model. The underlying tent of this approach was the growth of GNP as an indicator of development. It was theorized that GNP would yield benefits for the poorest people. Thus, the prevailing prescription was applied to large scale, market oriented, industrial and agricultural economy.

In the midst of this pursuit, women in developing countries laid the foundation for the women development movement by institutionalizing their concerns. Women started to insist on participating in decision-making. For instance, the first Republic in Ghana (1960-1966) gave 2 parliamentary seats and a ministerial seat to women (Synder & Tadesse, 1992).

With time, the belief in the modernisation theory begun to fade. The expected economic growth was nowhere to be seen. While not entirely discarding the industrial approach, projects of labour-intensive type, small scale industries and interest in local communities began to build. Concerns to train women on methods of participation in community development became an element of overall community development.

This approach was an outcome of the concerns expressed on the international level. In 1970, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, produced a programme of 'Concerted International Action for the Advancement of Women'. This programme stood for women's contribution to the country's overall development, plans and programmes. It also stressed on the need to study the positive and negative effects of scientific and technical change on women and their status (National Address by His Excellency the President of Zambia, 1969).

On the national level, the women's development association can be traced to as far back as the early 1960s. The concern for women in development was intensified with the declaration of 1975 as an International Women's Year. The Republic of Zambia pledged to adhere to the demands of the declaration. These were: equal status between men and women, intergration of women in national development and promotion of peace both at home and abroad. The emphasis of the government was on development because of the prevailing philosophy of human equality embedded in Humanism.

Therefore, under the ministry of community development, the government introduced deliberate policies and programmes to promote women's participation in agriculture, small scale business like marketeering, in politics, health and education. This trend prevailed until the changes in political systems. The coming of the Movement For Multiparty Democracy, in 1991, brought in new demands from the women movements. They are demanding more explicit recognition in development. There have also been intensified efforts to organise women in fronts that can effectively express their concerns. Currently,

Zambia does not have an explicit policy on women or gender. A draft policy is still underway.

However, even in the absence of such policy guidelines, generally women in Zambia have gone ahead to organise themselves in various ways to emancipate themselves economically, politically, culturally and socially. Support and facilitation has been made possible through both local and international organisations. These organisations have rendered financial, material and qualitative support.

In Eastern province, evidence shows that women development clubs were in existence as early as 1960. The most prominent being the nutrition groups co-ordinated by the government department of community development. This department imparted skills domestic oriented-skills such as sewing, knitting, cookery and gardening (Mulikita, 1995). By 1985, these clubs had spread throughout the province.

Kampini Area Women Association traces its origin to 1991. The club was initiated by a woman who settled in that area after the husband retired from civil service. According to this woman, she had gone to visit a relation in Kazimule, (another area in Chadiza). This relation was in charge of the women's club in that area. During her stay in Kazimule, she had the opportunity to witness the benefits of women working as a group to develop themselves. At that time Oxfam, a non-governmental organisation, gave out financial and material support to women.

So when this woman went back to Kampini, she decided to introduce the same association. She explained that it started as a very small group but has enlarged to the present size because more and more women were becoming interested. She also explained that it was not easy to come to the current level. These women had faced opposition from the community in general and women were scared to join initially. But after seeing what their fellow women were receiving, at that time, from the Finnish volunteer Service, they began

to join. Currently, Kampini boasts of four groups with a membership of 55. These groups make up the Area Women Development Association.

Currently, the pursuit of externally prescribed economic development policies of the Structural Adjustment Programme and the 'Another Development' model of development has brought with it serious problems. Existing information suggests that except for a few women, who are privileged, the situation of women is improving slightly but stagnating or even deteriorating in some cases, as modernization prevails.

The next chapter gives a brief background to the attachment. It contains a section on the experiences the student went through during the attachment. The chapter also contains a section on facilitating the change process and the limitations faced in the process.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ATTACHMENT

3.1 Introduction

The student was attached to four groups representing six villages. This student stayed with the women in the village for thirty days. During this period, the student worked with the women association as a facilitator. The women identified their areas of need and the student facilitated the processes of change. She promoted discussion on the identified problems and generated debate. This encouraged women to reflect, question their past performance and look for solutions. Most of the resolutions were long-term and thus could not have been attained by the end of the attachment. The student worked with the women on the group and association levels.

3.2 Data Collection

Data was collected through interviews. Individual women were interviewed and person-to-person discussion were also conducted. Most of the data was collected through brainstorming sessions. These sessions were organised on group level. This was accompanied by observatory work. Records containing information on the association were also reviewed. These records were obtained from the district level. The information obtained from this level appeared to be too general and detailed. Very little information exists on the association and group level. This is because the women seemed not to record most of the events. Interview guides and short questionnaires for Ward Councillor, District and Development workers were also administered.

3.3 Personal Reflections

The next section looks at the experience of the students in Kampini area, Chadiza district in Eastern Province. It is an attempt to give the reader a picture of the students' perception of

issues during their attachment period. Secondly, it is meant to expose some problems as experienced during the same period.

Four students were attached to Chadiza women development associations. The students were divided in groups of two. Thus, two students were stationed at Kampini area while the other two were stationed at Kazimule.

The attachment to the Area Women Association in Kampini commenced on January 19, 1998. It was for a period of thirty (30) days. During this period the student was expected to stay and work with the women in the association.

Upon arrival, the Finnish development worker based in Chadiza took us to Kampini. In Kampini, we were taken to Chimbala Village where the Chairperson for the women's association resides. Shortly after arrival, the development worker severed her relationship with us by informing us that her office were not responsible for us.

The students' entry was further hampered by the initial reception of the local women. First, the women seemed not to be aware that we were coming. For example, contrary to the prior understanding that there had been communication between KEPA-Zambia office in Lusaka and the women association representatives in Chadiza, we were informed that they did not expect us. They explained that they had been awaiting males and not females. Because of this, there was confusion about accommodation. Our luggage was being shifted from one hut to another. Finally, it was decided that we reside in the Chairperson's house.

The Chairperson's hut had two rooms – a kitchen and a bedroom. She gave up her bedroom for us and shifted to the kitchen which she shared with her daughter. Her husband disappeared to his other two wives. After settling, we were taken to the headman's house by one of the group leaders. From there, we were taken to meet other people in the village. The women welcomed us warmly.

On the first meeting, the women clearly stated that whilst they were willing to work with us, they did not want their work routine to be disturbed. Due to the late rains in the 1997/98 farming season, the attachment coincided with the farming period in that area. The women left as early as 04.00 a.m for the fields and returned at noon or late afternoon. As such, the attachment activities were scheduled from noon -time onwards.

Such an arrangement was also advantageous to the students. The mornings were used for reviewing, consulting and preparation of work. We also used the morning to familiarise ourselves with the place.

Initially, the majority of the women in the groups were reluctant and reserved. Only a few of them, such as the group leaders were outgoing. Those who were reluctant started opening up. They seemed to be more articulate in explaining their problems but did not seem active when asked to think about possible solutions to their problems.

None of the women was conversant with English. We did not know Chewa. Fortunately, we could communicate in Nyanja. Although there is a distinct difference between Nyanja and Chewa, it is possible to communicate because of the common words found in both languages. Within a short time, we were able to establish a cordial relationship with the women in the association and the people in the village generally.

There were a lot of misconceptions about our presence in the village. Some people thought we were there to give out loans, cement, food, employment or assess the living conditions of the people. So in most cases, people concentrated on informing us about their problems than their capabilities or achievements. It was rumoured that we had been sent by “*bazungu*” (Europeans) to give help to the villagers who were poor. So we were approached by various people to render assistance. It took quite some time for us to clarify our presence there.

During our attachment, we faced several problems. First, we were living in a hut that was leaking. At that time, it was raining very heavily. Each time it rained, we had to re-arrange ourselves. Secondly, there were not enough proper toilets in Chimbala village. There were two toilets that had to be used by several homesteads. In most cases, people used nearby bushes while children did not care where they helped themselves. At this very time, almost every home was complaining of diarrhoea. Only a few people knew about dehydration and rehydration. Wthcraft was blamed on the three deaths which we attended during the attachment.

We had been warned that there was hunger in Kampini because of the drought. And so we carried our own food. But these resources ran out before the end of the attachment. So we changed our diet to nshima and “*delele*”. *Delele* is a bitter okra. During the first few weeks, there were a lot of mangoes. These mangoes became our main food until they went off season. There was a small shop in Kampini which was full of “*Chitenge*” (piece of cotton cloth) materials, fertilisers and sweets from Katete town. I believe that our food problem could have been solved if we had access to transport. Katete has a good supply of commodities but is 55km from Kampini.

One of the biggest problems in Kampini is water. There are no wells or boreholes. People get water from the dambos. The quality of water from this source is poor. Livestock such as pigs also use the same water. The colour of the water was light brown. The villagers did not boil the water.

Transport was another perennial problem. During our attachment we had no access to any form of transport. We were strangers in the area and the last time we had seen any representative from Chadiza was on the day of arrival. The roads were in a state of extreme disrepair. Thirdly, no traffic was operating along Chadiza - Kampini route. To get to Chadiza, one had to go round to Katete and Chipata, then Chadiza. For a lift to Chadiza, which was called “booking” by the villagers, we were asked to pay K120, 000 and another

one suggested K30,000. Villagers were also reluctant to use their ox- carts or bicycles on such roads. In most cases, these villagers cover distances on foot.

On one occasion, we had to cover 35km on foot through Tafelasoni to Chadiza to attend a seminar on Training for Transformation. During this journey, we got soaked, walked in heavily muddy paths and had to cross several streams. This problem of transport made us look for assistance from other people. Fortunately, the officials from the Chadiza District Council and Office of the President came to our rescue. They provided transport to and from Kampini.

It important to attend the seminar for various reasons. First, some participants were from the attachment area. Second, women had been using the terms TOT and T for T that we were not conversant with. Third, we wanted see the type of training that our target group underwent. In the seminar, the participants from Kampini area were not very active. Even when we went back, the participants found it difficult to narrate the seminar's theme and tenets to their fellow women.

Unfortunately during the last week of the attachment this student fell ill. The student had a running stomach and vomiting. The student also got malaria. The clinic had no medicine and the attendant was the office orderly. The student refused to get any treatment. There was no transport to Chadiza and we had to wait until the last day of the attachment. The officers from the Office of the President provided transport to Chadiza and the student was quickly rushed to the clinic where the student received some treatment. It took one whole month to fully recover.

Whilst in Kampini, the student observed that women played an important role in village life. Their labour was essential both in the fields and in the home. They tended the fields, cared for the home, prepared food and looked after their children and husbands. They

seemed busy from the minute they rose to the time they went to bed. Men also worked in the first hours of the day but it was very common to find them relaxing and drinking their *kachasu* (a local and illicit brew produced by fermenting maize meal). Generally, women who brew *kachasu* rarely went to the fields. (C.Musamba; Personal Communication, 1998)

Only a few children in the village went to school. Most of them stayed in the village to look after the animals or go to the fields with their parents. As indicated earlier, polygamy is also very common in Kampini. Women married to the same man are expected by the community to get along. They work together in the husband's field before they go to their "*munda*"(the piece of land for cultivation). They look after each other's children and in some cases, they even share meals. If one of them has a problem, that is, an ill child, it is all their problem and they have to show concern. If one behaves contrary to these expectations, then she is not fit to be a wife. Marriage is considered important and a great achievement by the community.

One occasion that brings the Kampini village together is a funeral. When someone dies, no one is expected to go to the fields. Instead, everyone is expected to congregate at the deceased one's home. Even those from the surrounding villages are expected to attend the funeral. People only go back to their daily routine after the burial day. Deaths are treated with high suspicion of witchcraft.

The experiences I went through helped me to understand the life the people in Kampini led. It also helped me create a warm working and understanding relationship with the women in particular, the villagers in general and the other officials in Chadiza. This experience also helped this student to understand the behaviour and attitudes of the people in Kampini.

3.4 Facilitating the Process of Change

The change process involved assessing the performance of the association in relation to its main goals. This was done by identifying the successes and problems encountered. The women were asked to identify factors that led to the successes. Women were encouraged to identify what they considered major constraints to their progress as an association. The women were asked to identify causes and effects of such problems. This was done on the individual and group level. Thereafter women were asked to look at these problems on the intergroup and association level. The women were encouraged to come up with possible solutions to the problems

3.5 Limitations Experienced During the Attachment

The students faced certain constraints in providing this input. These included funerals. Time management was poor on the part of the members. Attendance was affected by farming and domestic activities. There was also poor co-ordination among the group leaders.

Funerals affected the schedule of the attachment programme because for every funeral that occurred in any of the nearby villages, no one was expected to go for work until the day after the burial. Each funeral would take about three (3) days. Unfortunately, during the period of attachment, cases of deaths resulting from diarrhoea and coughing were very common in the district. These swept across all ages.

Time management was a serious constraining factor for the students during attachment. The programme schedules were greatly disrupted because of a high level of unpunctuality by the women. The major reason was that the attachment coincided with the farming season of planting and weeding. So the women preferred to attend to their economic responsibilities while at the same time doing their domestic chores of housekeeping and caring. They only agreed to congregate for the association activities when they were free from their usual chores and expectations. This view was given by the women themselves.

They promised better co-operation with the during the non-farming season, that is after the harvesting period.

Lack of co-ordination of group and intergroup programmes by group leaders was another hindrance. This only shows the validity of the finding that these groups rarely met as one group. The various group leaders failed to organise and inform each other about the attachment programme. Even when given individual responsibility, the group leaders would prefer to hand that responsibility to another leader because they would always be tied up. It was also common for these group leaders to blame each other for the failed plans.

This section has highlighted the problems identified by the women in the association and the students during the attachment. These problems could be used to explain some of the retrogressiveness observed in the association. The student uses these problems as a basis for analysing sustainability in the association in the next chapter. The arguments and discussion are focused on solving these problems.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERSPECTIVES ON KAWDA

This chapter gives information on the perspectives of KAWDA by various groups of people and individuals. It also contains a section on the results of the facilitation process.

4.1 Introduction

This section gives information on the perception of various individuals about the women association in Kampini and the district in general. It is meant to give an insight of differing attitudes and evaluation of the association. These views are important to consider in the development of the association because they make up the other components of the general society to which the associations belong and operate. These perceptions could affect and influence the association in one way or the other. They also make the base for legitimizing the relevance of these associations as a necessary development tool today.

The women development association did not seem to be popular in the community. This can be deduced from the different views expressed by various groups of people from the community. These include the women in the association, the women who were non-members, husbands and men in general. These views would help us understand certain attitudes, behaviour and practices observed during the attachment.

Generally, the women who belonged to the association did not come out confident and zealous about the association. The majority had a lot to complain about than to give credit. These complaints included working too hard for the club and reaping nothing, only the chairperson and her executive committee members were enjoying the benefits of belonging to the association, women were always contributing money to seminars in Chadiza but these seminars were not focusing on their problems and that their leaders rarely listened to them. The leaders did not consult their members when making decisions or planning anything. The women explained that this had affected group work and spirit. The

divisions in the association and amongst groups gave a wrong picture to the community. People generally looked at the association as a place where women just went to sit and gossip. Of the various complaints, the major one was that the women had not seen the benefits of their membership. All they did was to farm for the club during rainy season. After this hard labour, they sold their produce cheaply or sometimes have no market at all.

One woman made the following comment

When we were joining and making these clubs, for most of us, our husbands were against the idea. We convinced them on account that the clubs were formed to economically empower our families. But ever since we started, we always go home empty-handed. It is better today I go with a packet of salt, the next day with some soap, then our husbands will be happy and give us support. But as long as we stay like this people will be against us" (C.Musamba, Field Interviews: January, 1998).

But the leaders and a few members had a different view. To them, the association had brought a lot of benefits. They explained that they were now more enlightened on various issues. These issues included gender equality, development, literacy, seminars, workshops and various farming methods. They also explained that congregating in development associations and groups had made them become more confident of themselves as individuals, mothers and women in a community. They now had a say in family and community matters. They further explained that nothing was initiated in the community without the association being consulted. This was a sign that the association was recognised and appreciated by the community.

Most of the women who did not belong to the association believed that the association was not doing anything. These women explained that the association did more talking than action. They argued that there was nothing new in the community that the association had

brought. They also explained that the association had failed to look into the interest of its members and was always resolving conflicts.

One woman who belonged to another group under the Catholic Church had this to say:

Look at the women in the association and the women who do not belong to the association. Women who do not belong to the association are more enlightened than most of those members. Find out how many of those women have toilets, take care of their homes or send their children to school. Actually, most of them brew *kachasu*. They spent most of their time attending meetings and seminars. As a non-member, I am free to plan my daily activities and that is how I manage to do my work. (C.Musamba, Field Interviews: January, 1998).

Husbands and men in general had a similar view. They explained that they were hopeful when clubs were introduced in Kampini. They said that they had heard about the benefits of clubs in other areas. So initially, they encouraged their wives, daughters and mothers to join. But with time, these clubs have been disappointing. They claimed that their spouses paid money for membership but got nothing in return. Secondly, their wives left homes to attend meetings and nothing came out of those meetings. An angry husband made this comment:

All my wife mentions is the chairperson has gone to Chadiza to attend a seminar. It is the same story everytime. She attends meetings and pays her K500. Is this all the clubs are about? Where is the fertiliser, borehole and hammermill they were promised? (C.Musamba, Field Interviews, 1998).

But there were some men who supported the existence of the association. The main benefit pointed out was the literacy programme. Some men explained that through the literacy programme initiated by the club, their wives were now able to write and read. Secondly, it

has made children become interested in school because they see their mother writing or reading. Since children spend most of the time with their mother, they are influenced.

The ward chairperson for Kampini was optimistic about the women association and groups. He explained that these development groupings had opened up the Kampini area to the outside world. He further explained that the women had become enlightened through mixing with women from other areas. They were learning a lot and in turn brought these new ideas into the community. He explained that Kampini was taken into consideration in planning for development at the district level because of the existence of organisations such as the women association.

He also said that the women development association had created a sense of unity and belonging amongst women. Through these groupings, women were now able to communicate and share information, problems and solutions. This is impossible on individual basis. He concluded that these groupings had been set up to help the women first but the whole community would benefit finally. He assured the women in the groups that he would support them in their efforts.

The District Community Officer praised the association for the role it was playing in the development of women and the district in general. He explained that the association had created a strong and proper link of communication between the women folk and the government. He said that his work was made much easier because he knew which channel to utilise when delivering the government programmes on women in the area. This, he had explained to the students, was impossible in the past because the women lived and worked in isolation and as individuals. Thus, it was difficult to articulate their concerns and deal with them for developmental purposes.

He further explained that these associations had made the representation of women in community development possible and a reality. Thus on the district level, these

associations were always consulted and informed on the various issues and opportunities available under Community and Development. At that time, he also revealed that he was informing women about the availability of loans for developmental purposes under his office. His duty was to advise these women to apply and write proposals and his office would then make a follow up.

The Council Secretary of Chadiza also praised the creation and strengthening of the women association in the district. He explained that his council had adopted a deliberate strategy of giving a seat of representation to the association for any development projects in the district. He cited the Water and Sanitation Project. He further explained that the association had raised a certain level of consciousness and confidence in women that was lacking before. Now it was easy to relate and communicate with the women in district for developmental purposes. He also explained that by forming associations, the women had created a good front for participation.

The development worker, under the KEPA-ZAMBIA, explained that the associations made a significant mark on women both in the district and in their communities. She explained that the association had raised a high level of responsibility and assertion in women. It was now easy and possible for the women to articulate their problems and work to overcome them. The women, through the associations, had become aware of various sources and channels to utilize to get what they wanted. As a facilitator, she was positive that the women had reached a stage of organising all matters on their own.

She praised the training courses offered to women by various organisations as a good foundation for the development and sustainability of these associations. Having worked with these associations for quite sometime, she was aware and recognised some of the factors that would hinder progress in some areas. She explained that lack of commitment and transparency in some of the associations was creating problems.

The main observation was that the women development association in Kampini lacked publicity and general community support. Most of the association activities are not integrated in the general community activities. The association is weakly linked to the entire community.

4.2 The Results

This section highlights the problems identified by the women in the association and the students during the attachment. These problems could be used to explain some of the retrogressiveness observed in the association. The student also uses these problems as a basis for analysing sustainability in the association.

These findings were an outcome of a two (2) weeks evaluation process. The student used the participatory and probing methods to arrive at these conclusions. Group discussions, debates and individual brainstorming methods were the main means used to work out the problems.

The question and answer method was also used to encourage women to reflect on their lives, attitudes, practices in their groups and community in general. “*Kutukuka* (develop) was not directly mentioned but it emerged frequently as the main aim of the women, individually and generally.

Results of the evaluation process showed that there was poor group organisation. Membership was irregular and inconsistent. The structures and regulations of both the groups and association were frail. There was lack of knowledge on the essence of the development association. Members lacked motivation and commitment to the group. Lack of intergroup and intra-group communication. Record keeping and accountability were poor. There was also low participation in decision-making. There was also lack of group planning, poor project identification, poor time management and lack of initiative. There was heavy dependence on external forces.

The association and groups lacked publicity in the community. They also failed to implement most of the initiated projects. The women also failed to practice in their groups, homes and community what they learnt. The women also failed to integrate the initiated projects into the general development of the community. There was lack of community involvement. This affected the level of support from the community.

The input of the student is based on the findings of the evaluation exercise conducted during the attachment programme. These are discussed in the following sections (4.3 to 4.9)

4.3 Regrouping of women

Some women merely registered as members of certain groups but never identified themselves with the groups. For this problem, the women and the students concentrated on the importance of identifying oneself with the group. It was concluded that it was only through strong group identity that these women would be able to achieve their aim. In dealing with this problem, women were asked to review their aim for joining the clubs.

4.4 Community and Family Involvement

This problem has sprang from the approach which women use in identifying themselves in the community. Whilst it is important that the women association operates as an independent entity, it is equally important that its activities show relevance to the community in general. Several activities initiated by the women have failed to succeed because they lack family and community involvement.

A good example is that of the toilet project. This project was scheduled to take off in August, 1997 but had not by February 1998. The women had all the technical resources they required at their disposal. But in order for this project to succeed, it was necessary to use family and community labour and support. In addition, the project lacked publicity. Very little information was known about the project, yet it was originally designed to benefit the whole community.

4.5 Formation of objectives

Formerly, the groups and the association operated on a “*tabula rasa*” situation. They did not have any stipulated objectives. All they wanted was “*kutukuka*” - to develop. They constantly referred to the District Women Development objectives in stating their aims. It was decided that the groups and association needed a “directed” development. As such, women were asked to form objectives on the group level.

Secondly, there was need to formulate rules to be used as guidelines in attaining objectives. Previously, the only rule that existed was concerned with paying for membership. Nothing was stated on term of office, elections, misuse of group property, absentism, lateness or thefts. Yet these issues were causing perennial problems in the association and groups. So women were asked to formulate rules that would assist them in overcoming and avoiding such eventualities.

Thirdly, these women did not plan for their activities. This affected the manner and pace at which projects were initiated and implemented. The women were encouraged to plan. The women underwent a short session on planning offered by the students on attachment.

4.6 Participation and Motivation

Participation and motivation was very low in groups and the association in general. This affected the organisation and decision-making processes. Only a few people were active and zealous about the groupings. It was observed that decision making was centralized and only those women with posts seemed to be confident about the groups.

Therefore, women were encouraged to promote transparency, decentralize the decision making process by giving everyone a chance in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the activities. Every member was encouraged to show her potential contribution to the group. For instance, it was encouraged that the hosting of group